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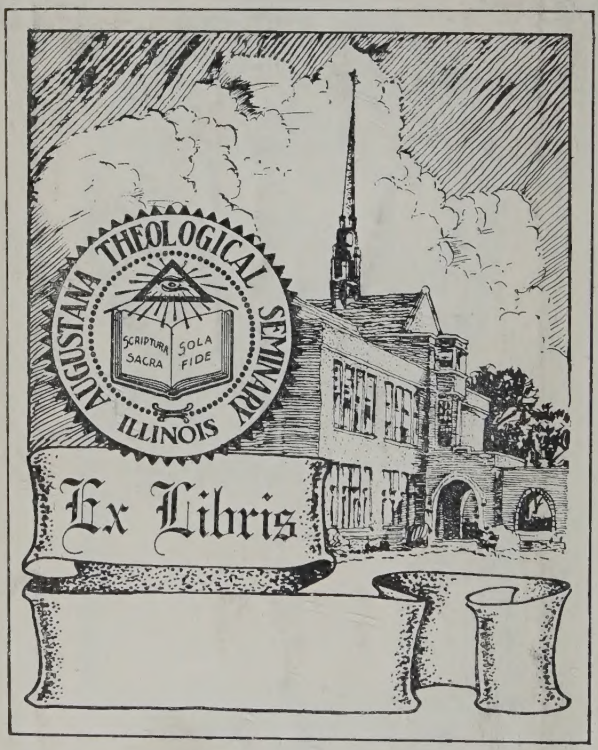
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INTRODUCTION
TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

NEW TESTAMENT

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE THIRD GERMAN EDITION

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS FOR REVIEW TITLES

AJSL. . .	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
AJTh. . .	American Journal of Theology.
AOF . . .	Altorientalische Forschungen.
BZ. . . .	Byzantische Zeitschrift.
BbZ . . .	Biblische Zeitschrift.
ChW . . .	Christliche Welt.
Expos. . .	Expositor.
ET . . .	Expository Times.
GGA . . .	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN . . .	Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten.
JBL . . .	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JbBW . .	Jahrbücher der biblischen Wissenschaft.
JbfDTh . .	Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
JbfKPh . .	Jahrbücher für Klassische Philologie.
JbfPTh . .	Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JbPK . .	Jahrbuch der kgl. Preussischen Kunstsammlungen.
JHSt . . .	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JPh . . .	Journal of Philology.
JQR . . .	Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAS . .	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JThSt . .	Journal of Theological Studies.
LCBl . . .	Literarisches Centralblatt.
LR . . .	Literarische Rundschau.
MBBA . .	Monatschrift der Berliner Akademie.
MDPV . .	Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MGWJ . .	Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums.
MVG . . .	Mittheilungen der Vorder-asiatischen Gesellschaft.
NGWG . .	Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NHJb . .	Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher.
NJbfDTh .	Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie.
NKZ . . .	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift.
OLZ . . .	Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.

PEF . . . Palestine Exploration Fund.
RB . . . Revue Biblique.
REJ . . . Revue des Études Juives.
RKZ . . . Reformirte Kirchenzeitung.
SBAW . . Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.
SWAW . . Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.
ThJb . . . Theologische Jahrbücher.
ThLb . . . Theologisches Litteraturblatt.
ThLz . . . Theologische Literaturzeitung.
TQ, TThQ, or ThQSc } (Tübingen) Theologische Quartalschrift.
ThR . . . Theologische Rundschau.
ThStKr . . Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
ThTij or ThTjd } Theologische Tijdschrift.
TU . . . Texte und Untersuchungen.
TZfTh . . Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie.
WZfKM . . Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZfÄgSp or ZfÄ } Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
ZfA . . . Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete.
ZfATW . . Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG . . Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV . . Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZfHTh . . Zeitschrift für Historische Theologie.
ZfKG . . Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZfKTh . . Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie.
ZfKW or ZfKWuKL } Zeitschrift für Kirkliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben.
ZfLTh . . Zeitschrift für lutherische Theologie.
ZfNTW . . Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZfThuK . . Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZfWTh . . Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie.

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

IX.—*Continued.*

THE WRITINGS OF LUKE.

§ 58. THE TRADITION CONCERNING LUKE AND HIS WORK.

The Luke to whom the composition of the third Gospel and of Acts was unanimously ascribed by the ancient Church (n. 1), is first mentioned by Paul in the Epistles of the first and second Roman imprisonments. Since he is characterised in Col. iv. 14 as "the beloved physician," and mentioned in Philem. 24 last in the list of Paul's helpers, we are justified in assuming that he was in some way connected with the missionary work in Rome, without, however, having given up his professional calling, which might open the way for him to many homes and hearts that remained closed to others. It is also possible that he rendered valuable services as a physician to the apostle himself, who was often severely ill. While Demas, who is mentioned in both these passages along with Luke, deserted the apostle from sordid motives in 66, after the apostle's second arrest, and when his life was in constant danger, Luke remained faithfully with him (2 Tim.

iv. 10 f.). The only other thing indicated by Col. iv. 10–14 and its context is the fact that Luke was a Gentile by birth (n. 2). Further facts with regard to Luke's life history have always been derived from the two parts of the work ascribed to him, under the presupposition that he is the author of both, and that the "we," which occurs repeatedly in Acts, includes the "I" of the author who mentions himself in Luke i. 3 ; Acts i. 1.

In the original recension of Acts (§ 59) this "we" occurs for the first time in Acts xi. 27 (n. 3). Inasmuch as the narrative in this passage dates back to a time preceding the first year of the joint work of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch (43–44), before the Emperor Claudius came to the throne (Jan. 41 ; for both dates cf. Part XI.), the narrator must have become a member of the Antiochian Church at the latest by the year 40, so that his conversion cannot have been due to Paul, who did not come to Antioch until 43. Nor is this statement affirmed by Luke. The tradition that Luke was a native of Antioch was always so definite, that it is extremely unlikely that it is the result of scholarly reflection upon Acts xi. 27 (n. 4), and we are unable to prove that the oldest witnesses for this tradition, Eusebius and Julius Africanus, who wrote probably a hundred years before Eusebius, were not in possession of other information besides Acts xi. 27. There must be taken into account here the further tradition, likewise old, according to which there was a rich Antiochian by the name of Theophilus who became a Christian in the apostolic age, and who later was expressly identified with the Theophilus of Luke i. 3 ; Acts i. 1 ; but not in any way contradictory of the original story (n. 5). Everything else that is said and narrated about Luke impresses us as being of the nature either of uncertain conjecture or inference from the "we" passages of Acts and from the hints of the prologue to the Gospel, which were in part misunderstood, in part exaggerated (n. 6).

In the same way, the ancient Church possessed no tradition regarding the time and place of the composition of the two books, but depended altogether upon conjectures (n. 7). Only one point seems to go back to a very ancient recollection, namely, that Luke wrote later than Matthew and Mark, and before John, *i.e.* somewhere between the years 67 and 90 (vol. ii. 392–400).

1. (P. 1.) Concerning Luke as the author of the third Gospel, so acknowledged even by Marcion, see vol. ii. 389 f. That he wrote Acts was equally taken for granted by the earliest writers who discuss the book or cite it formally: Iren. iii. 13. 3, after extracts from Acts i.–xv. (*ex sermonibus et actibus apostolorum*, iii. 12. 11; *ex actibus apostolorum*, iii. 13. 3), speaks of the book as *Lucæ de apostolis testificatio*, and similarly in iii. 15. 1 as the *testificatio* following his Gospel. Canon Murat. line 34, "acta autem omnium apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optime Theophile," etc. Clem. *Strom.* v. 83: Καθὸ καὶ ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομνημονεύει τὸν Παῦλον λέγοντα (Acts xvii. 22); *Hypot.* (Lat. version) on 1 Pet. v. 13: "Sicut Lucas quoque et actus apostolorum stylo exsecutus agnoscitur et Pauli ad Hebræos interpretatus epistolam." Tert. *de Jejunio*, x., after citations from Acts, *in eodem commentario Lucæ*. The fact that the book is seldom ascribed explicitly to Luke, even by those who mention its rejection by Marcion (Tert. *c. Marc.* v. 1. 2; *Præscr.* xxii; pseudo-Tert. *Hær.* xvi.; also, indirectly, Iren. iii. 14. 4–15. 1), and that it is constantly cited simply as αἱ πράξεις with or without τῶν ἀποστόλων, Lat. *acta* (so Tertullian always, and also Cyprian *GK*, ii. 52, A. 1) or *actus*, likewise with or without *apostolorum*, shows that no other opinion concerning its authorship had been expressed in any quarter. With regard to the claim that Clement of Alexandria (Scholia of Maximus on *Dionys. Areop. Opera*, ed. Corderius, ii. 242) asserts that the Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus was written not by Ariston of Pella, but by Luke, the present writer believes that in *Forsch.* iii. 74 enough has been said for anyone who knows what ἀναγράφειν means, as distinguished from γράφειν and συγγράφειν (cf. *e.g.* Eus. *H. E.* iii. 4. 11). Following Grabe's necessary emendation, Ἰάσωνος ὃν (instead of ἣν) κλήμης . . . τὸν ἅγιον Λουκᾶν φησὶν ἀναγράψαι—we find that Clement simply said that the Jason of the dialogue was the same one that Luke mentioned in Acts xvii. 5. It was doubtless this passage, and not Acts xxi. 16 (ℵ Copt. Ἰάσονι) that Clement had in mind. In *Hom. in Ascens. Chr. et in Principiam Actorum*, ii., which Montfaucon (*Opp. Chrysost.* iii. 757 ff.) includes with the "Spuria" as only partly genuine, it is said (p. 764) that some considered Clement of Rome the author of Acts, others Barnabas, and still others the evangelist Luke: the preacher himself decides for Luke (cf. also iii. 774). This is repeated verbatim by Photius in *Quæst.* cxxiii. *ad Amphil.* (Migne, ci. col. 716), which, like *Quæst.* cxxiv., is simply an excerpt from the homily. Plainly the preacher, speaking extemporaneously, was led by mistaken recollection or careless reading of Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14. 2, 25. 14, to confuse the tradition concerning the author of Heb. with that concerning the author of Acts, which could happen the more easily since, in mentioning the

former, Clem. Alex. and Orig. allude also to Luke's authorship of Acts (vol. ii. 308 f., notes 5, 7).

2. (P. 2.) From Col. iv. 10–14 it follows that Luke was not only a Gentile by birth, but also remained uncircumcised; cf. vol. i. 450 f. This was also the opinion of the early writers. When Jerome, *Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* (ed. Lagarde, 64), writes "licet plerique tradant Lucam evangelistam ut proselytum hebræas literas ignorasse," he can hardly mean that he was first converted from heathendom to Judaism, and afterward from Judaism to Christianity, but only that, unlike the other N.T. writers, who were Hebrews, he came to Christianity out of heathendom; cf. Just. *Dial.* cxxii. When, in another place, he credits Luke with only a better knowledge of Greek than of Hebrew, and so with some knowledge at least of the latter (on Isa. vi. and xxviii., Vall. iv. 97, 378),he doubtless has in mind merely such explanations of proper names as are given in Acts i. 19, iv. 36.

3. (P. 2.) Underlying the usual text of Acts xi. 27, D—with which several Latin authorities are in substantial agreement—gives: ἦν δὲ πολλὴ ἀγαλλίασις. συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν, ἔφη εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἄγαβος σημαίνων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος κτλ. As to text and style, see § 59, n. 6. Harnack (*Berl. Sitzungsbericht*, 1899, S. 316–327) has extended his depreciating judgment concerning the β text to cover this passage also, and, besides, has explained the ἡμῶν as a later interpolation, in no respect originating with the author of the text, instead of an original αὐτῶν. In view of the agreement of the numerous witnesses from Augustine (from 394 A.D.) onwards for β in this passage, this last statement would, however, need stronger proofs. The solitary position of the ἡμῶν is not strange, since, except perhaps for xiii. 2, this is the only place where a single scene taken from the Church life of Antioch is portrayed. In xiii. 2—especially according to β (see n. 6)—only the prophets, not all the Church members, are the participants, and Luke has there expressed in another way his especial interest in Antioch. The charge that the description lacks the vividness which would be expected of an eye-witness, is based upon arbitrary assumptions, as, *e.g.*, that σημαίνων points to a symbolical act (S. 319, A. 1; cf. *per contra*, with the exception of διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος, which is rather against it, John xii. 33, xviii. 32, xxi. 19; Rev. i. 1), and that ver. 29, where the "disciples" are again mentioned quite objectively, refers to the gathering described in vv. 27–28, whereas it has to do with decisions and economic deliberations of individuals who are without official position. If Luke had said that he also was one of these more or less affluent and charitable Church members, no one would have commended him for such a statement. The agreement of the β text of this passage with Luke, and especially also with the peculiarities in style of the β text in general (Harnack, S. 321 f.), is no proof against the originality of the entire β text, but is a witness only to its integrity.

4. (P. 2.) The episcopate of Timothy at Ephesus and of Titus in Crete (iii. 4, 6), the distribution of countries among the apostles (iii. 1), and the composition of *The Shepherd* by the Hermas named in Rom. xvi. 14 (iii. 3. 6), are plainly mentioned by Eusebius as uncertain traditions. Other matters, such as the identity of the Roman bishops Linus and Clement with the N.T. personages of the same names, are supported by the citation of the N.T. passages (iii. 2, 4. 9 f., 15; cf. iii. 4. 11 on Dionysus the Areopagite). On the

other hand, iii. 4. 7: Λουκᾶς δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας, τὴν ἐπιστήμην δὲ ἰατρός κτλ. It is probably not Eusebius but Africanus (cf. Spitta, *Brief des Afr. an Aristides*, S. 70, 111) who, being himself a physician, writes of the physician Luke (Mai, *Nova. P. Bibl.* iv. 1. 270): ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς τὸ μὲν γένος ἀπὸ τῆς βοωμένης Ἀντιοχείας ἦν, ἐν ᾗ δὴ οἱ πάντες λογιώτατοι τοὺς Ἴωνας προγόνους αὐχοῦσιν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἑλληνικῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπήγετό τι πλέον ὁ Λουκᾶς ἐν λόγοις, ἅτε ἰατρικῆς ἔμπειρος ὢν ἐπιστήμης. The true Euthalius depends on Eusebius (Zacagni, 410; cf. 529); hardly, however, the old prologue (*N.T.* ed. Wordsworth, i. 269; cf. the prologue on Acts ii. 1–4): "Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis, arte medicus, discipulus apostolorum, postea Paulum secutus," etc. In this and in other particulars Jerome's Præf. *Comm. in Matt.* (Vall. vii. 3) accords more exactly with this prologue than do *Vir. Ill.* vii. and other passages. Origen, iv. 686, on Rom. xvi. 21, mentions, without approving, the view that Luke was the Lucius there referred to; which is impossible, if for no other reason, because Paul speaks of the latter, as of Jason and Sosipater, as Jews (vol. i. 417, n. 22). This view was known also in another form, namely, that the Luke supposed to be mentioned in Rom., *i.e.* Lucius, became bishop of Laodicea in Syria (Dorotheus on the 70 disciples, *Chronicon Paschale*, Bonn ed. ii. 126). Modern scholars (Wettstein, *N.T.* ii. 532; Bengel, *Gnomon* on Luke i. 1, 3, ed. Stuttgart, 1860, pp. 204, 205) were the first to undertake the identification of Luke with Lucius of Cyrene (Acts xiii. 1), explaining thus the tradition that he was an Antiochian. But (1) no one of the early writers thought that Luke was mentioned in that passage, and the text tradition of Acts xiii. 1 shows no trace of this identification. It cannot, therefore, be the source of the very old tradition in question. (2) The idea that Luke was a native of Antioch, or even Syria, could not arise from a passage in which a Lucius living in Antioch is called a Cyrenian. (3) Luke (Lucas) has nothing to do with the name Lucius, or Λεύκιος, as it is commonly written in Greek, but is an abbreviation of Lucanus (perhaps also Lucilius, Lucillus, Lucinus, Lucinius, but certainly not Lucianus). It may be due to authentic tradition that in the Old Latin Bible, along with the thoroughly Greek *cata Lucan* (*Evang. Palat.* ed. Tisch. 232), we find not infrequently *secundum Lucanum*, which is probably the original form. So *Cod. Vindobon.* ed. Belsheim, 1885, p. 1 ff.; Verc., Ambrosian., Corbei. in Bianchini, *Evang. Quadrupl.* ii. 2, 208; *Old Latin Bible Texts*, ii. 85; further—as Turner (*JThS*, 1905, June, p. 256 f.) has recently proved by use of new material—in Cyprian's *Testimonia*, also in Priscillian, ed. Schepps, 47. 4, and on a sarcophagus of the fifth century at Arles; cf. Schultze, *Greifswalder Stud.* S. 157; Mercati, *JThS*, 1905, April, p. 435. The present writer finds a Lucanus in Cypr. *Ep.* lxxvii. 3, lxxviii. 1, lxxix.; a Lucas in August. *Ep.* clxxix. 1. He knows of no one bearing the name earlier than our evangelist. Cf. *C. I. G.* Nos. 4700*k* (in the add. vol. iii. 1189) and 4759 from Egypt. In Eus. *H. E.* iv. 2. 3 the reading handed down is Λουκούα (in gen.), but Rufinus has *Luca*, Syr. *Lukia*.

5. (P. 2.) Clem. *Recogn.* x. 71 says in describing the great success of Peter's preaching in Antioch: "Ita ut omni aviditatis desiderio Theophilus, qui erat cunctis potentibus in civitate sublimior, domus suæ ingentem basilicam ecclesiæ nomine consecraret, in qua Petro apostolo constituta est ab omni populo cathedra," etc. Later writers, spinning out this thread,

made the Theophilus of Luke a bishop of Antioch (pseudo-Hippol. at the close of the *Const. Ap.* ed. Lagarde, p. 284; cf. min. 293 in Tischend. *N.T.* i. 738), and finally identified him with the well-known bishop and apologete, *circa* 180; cf. Cotelier on *Recogn.* x. 71. For this, however, the author of the *Recogn.* is not to be held responsible. Nor can his graphic account be compared with the colourless statement in *Const. Ap.* vii. 46 to the effect that, after Zacchæus (Luke xix. 2) and Cornelius (Acts x. 1), a Theophilus was appointed third bishop of Cæsarea by the apostles. Along with the N.T., Eusebius' *Church History* is the main source of *Const. Ap.* vii. 46, and this Theophilus of Cæsarea is identical with the one (*circa* 190) mentioned in Eus. *H. E.* v. 22. Whether the Theophilus mentioned as joint addressee in the seventh letter of Seneca to Paul (ed. Hase, iii. 478) is the same as Luke's, cannot be decided. Without absolutely disputing the historicity of the person outright, Origen, *Hom.* i. *in Luc.* applied the name, Theophilus, to everyone who is loved by God—which is not even linguistically correct (better Jerome, *Anecd. Maredsol.* iii. 3. 20, *amicus vel amator dei*). Salvianus, *Ep.* ix. 18, goes so far as to say that Luke addressed the two books *ad amorem dei*. A preacher under the name of Chrysostom (Montfaucon, iii. 765 f., see above, p. 3, n. 1) infers, no doubt, simply from the title κράτιστε in Luke i. 3—which in Luke's time meant just what λαμπρότατε did later—that Theophilus was an imperial governor, and, like Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii. 7), had become a Christian while in that office. As to this it may be remarked that the prefects of Egypt had the title κράτιστος till about 160, and after that λαμπρότατος, but that senatorial rank need not be inferred from the latter; cf. Wilcken in *Hermes*, 1885, S. 469 f., 1893, S. 237; *Berl. Ägypt. Urkunden*, i. 373, ii. 373.

6. (P. 2.) With regard to Luke as the brother referred to in 2 Cor. viii. 18 and his Gospel as that of Paul's, see vol. ii. 385. The contradiction between this exegetical discovery and the much older tradition that Luke was written after Mark, and, consequently, after Paul's death, was not noticed. Still, if Luke was occupied for some time in Philippi as an evangelist in the N.T. sense of the word, it may be that he is really intended in 2 Cor. viii. 18, in an allusion to this work; for 2 Cor. was written in Macedonia, and in the interval between the we-sections of Acts xvi. 10 ff. and Acts xx. 5 ff. (§ 60). Even Iren. iii. 4. 1 began to exaggerate somewhat when he inferred from Acts xvi. 8 ff. (for he allowed the "we" to begin in xvi. 8) in contrast to xv. 39, as also from 2 Tim. iv. 11, that Luke was inseparably associated with Paul. This again was further pressed into an assertion that in the entire book of Acts he recorded only what he himself had experienced (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 4. 7; Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* vii.; not yet true of Canon Mur. lines 34 f., see *GK*, ii. 54, and cf. ii. 28). That Luke had been a disciple of other apostles also (Iren. iii. 10. 1, 14. 2) was the more easily inferred from Luke i. 2, if one saw in the παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν of ver. 3 a reference to his accompanying the eye-witnesses as a disciple or a travelling-companion; so probably Justin (*Dial.* ciii. vol. ii. 389), and clearly Eus. *H. E.* iii. 4. 7; Epiph. *Hær.* lvii. 7; pseudo-Euthalius (Zacagni, 421). This is not impossible linguistically (see vol. ii. 455), but is forbidden by the context. Luke, like Mark (vol. ii. 445, n. 3), was declared in the fourth century to have been one of the seventy, or seventy-two, disciples,

Luke x. 1 (Adamantius, *Dial. c. Marc.* ed. Bakhuyzen, p. 10. 14; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 11; *Anaceph.* ed. Pet. 138). The identification with the unnamed companion of Cleopas, Luke xxiv. 13–18, is much later (cf. *Forsch.* vi. 350). In the *Acts of Paul* (ed. Lipsius, p. 104. 2, 117. 5), Luke is joined with Titus, and instead of Crescens (2 Tim. iv. 10), is sent to Gaul, which explains the confused statements of Epiph. *Hær.* li. 11. His work as evangelist came naturally to be regarded as a higher counterpart of his medical work, Eus. *H. E.* iii. 4. 7; Jerome, *Epist.* liii. 8; Paulinus Nol. *Carm.* xxvii. 424; Prologue to Acts in Wordsworth, *N.T. Lat.* ii. 2. 9, 3. 1. The passages, 1 Cor. ix. 9, 1 Tim. v. 18, 2 Tim. ii. 6, were the more readily applied to the evangelist among Paul's disciples (cf. Aug. *Doctr. Christ.* ii. 10. 15; Prol. to Gospels, *N.T. Lat.* ed. Wordsworth, i. 271. 5) because the *bos* was made his symbol from early times (see vol. ii. 399, n. 7),—in better taste, at least, than when Baronius, *Annales* ad a. 58, n. 34, put forward the conjecture that the symbol was chosen in allusion to his name and the *bos Luca* or *Lucanus*, i.e. the elephant. A Greek legend appears to be the source of the tradition that Luke was unmarried, that he wrote his Gospel in Achaia and later than Matt. and Mark, and that he died in Bithynia at the age of seventy-four or eighty-four; cf. Prol. Wordsworth, i. 269. 4 ff., 271. 3 ff., ii. 1. 4; Niceph. Call. ii. 43 says he died at eighty, in Hellas, where he had previously sojourned, first meeting Paul at seven-gated Thebes, that is to say, in *Bœotia*. A glance at Acts xvi. 7–10 and a comparison of the Latin prologues shows that *Bœotia* has arisen from *Bithynia*. Jerome combines the two statements of the Latin prologues, and says, provided that he is the author of the Præf. *Comm. in Mat.* (Vall. vii. 3) *in Achaiæ Bœotiæque* (al. *Bithyniæque*) *partibus volumen condidit*; cf. Paulin. *Carm.* xix. 83, *Creta Titum sumpsit, medicum Bœotia Lucam.* In 357 A.D. the remains of Andrew and Luke were brought from Achaia, and Timothy's from Ephesus, to Constantinople (Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* vii. *contra Vigilant.* ed. Vall. ii. 391; *Chron. Anno* 2372; Philost. *H. E.* iii. 2; Theodorus Lector, ii. 61; Niceph. Call. ii. 43). The origin of the tradition that Luke was a painter has not yet been made clear, even by E. v. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, ii. 267**–280**. According to Theodorus Lector, i. 1 —if this is not an addition made by the compiler of the extracts (v. Dobschütz, 271**)—a picture of Mary supposed to have been painted by Luke was sent from Jerusalem to Constantinople by the empress Eudocia about 440. Cf. J. A. Schmid, *De. Imagin. Mariæ a Luka Pictis*, Helmstedt, 1714, n. 2. Since the word ἱστορίαι was used of paintings as early as Nilus, *Ep.* iv. 61, and ἱστορεῖν with the Byzantians was equivalent to ζωγραφεῖν, Theodore's words (τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεοτόκου, ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς καθιστόρησεν) certainly cannot be understood otherwise. But may not the whole myth go back originally to an early misunderstanding of the word καθιστορεῖν? It is not Luke, to be sure, but Leucius, who repeatedly reports (καθιστόρησεν?) concerning contemporary portraits of Christ and the apostle John, and it is he also who reports legends concerning Mary; cf. the present writer—*Acta Jo.* pp. 214. 7, 215. 13, 223 f.

7. (P. 3.) Though Iren. iii. 1. 1 (vol. ii. 398) gives the time and place of the other Gospels with more or less exactness, all he knows with regard to Luke is that it is the third in the order of composition. Perhaps Clement (vol. ii. 394 f.), or his teachers, had already inferred from the conclusion of

Acts that it, and the Gospel with it, were written just after the expiration of the two years mentioned, Acts xxviii. 30. Euthalius (Zacagni, 531) makes this same affirmation with regard to Acts. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* vii.) concludes from the ending of Acts that it was written in Rome, and so intimates indirectly that it was written at the close of those two years. In Greek minuscules, at times Rome, also, however, the "Attica belonging to Bœotia," are mentioned as the place where Luke's Gospel was written (Tischendorf, 8th ed. i. 738 ; cf. the meaningless combination *Achaiæ Bœotiæque* in n. 6 above, as if Bœotia did not belong to Achaia). Macedonia also was sometimes spoken of as the place of composition of both Luke and Acts (*Doctrine of the Apostles* in Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, p. 32 ; an Arabic authority in Tischendorf, *N.T.* i. 738), a view which is easily explained by the early interpretation of 2 Cor. viii. 18, see above, n. 6. Ephrem (*Ev. Concord. Expos.* p. 286) probably gave Antioch as the place of the composition of the Gospel ; cf. *Forsch.* i. 54 f. The later Syrian tradition, quoted on the same pages, gave Alexandria. This view grew on Greek soil, for according to Tisch. *loc. cit.* it is found in seven Greek minuscules. Consequently it is probable that it arose from *Const. Ap.* vii. 46, where, after Mark has been named as consecrator of Annianus, the first bishop of Alexandria, Luke is said to have ordained Abilius, the successor of Annianus. Since it could not be an apostle, a second evangelist was named along with the first from sheer perplexity. In short, nothing was known about it. In a later liturgical fragment (in Grenfell and Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, Series ii. p. 170), Luke as apostle and archbishop of Alexandria is even placed before the apostle and archbishop Mark. Also the Syriac *Martyrdom of Luke* (edited by Nau, *Revue de L'Orient Chrét.* [1898] iii. 151 ff.) contains nothing of historical tradition.

§ 59. THE TWOFOLD RECENSION OF THE TEXT OF ACTS.

In the preceding investigations it has been possible to proceed without entering, except incidentally, into questions of text criticism. Here, however, the case is different, and the investigation of both of Luke's books depends at essential points—as, for example, in connection with the question of the author's witness to himself in Acts—to a considerable extent upon the answer to the question in which of the records we possess the original form of the text.

Recently Fr. Blass, following several earlier attempts in the same direction (n. 1), which were for the most part, however, barren of results, has energetically attempted

to prove that two recensions of Acts are to be distinguished, exhibiting characteristic differences in contents and style, both of which go back to very early times, and neither of which could have originated from the other by the ordinary processes of text tradition, *i.e.* through unrelated interpolations, emendations, glosses, and scribal errors, but must have come—both of them—from the author himself. According to his view, Luke, who wrote Acts in Rome shortly after the two years mentioned in Acts xxviii. 30, revised the first draft of his book before he let it pass into Theophilus' hands. The first copy (recension β or *editio Romana*) remained in the possession of Luke and his Roman friends, and naturally circulated chiefly in the West, while the second copy or improved edition (recension α or *edition Antiochena*) predominated in the East. Blass limited his hypothesis, at the outset, strictly to Acts (*ThStKr*, 1894, S. 118), later, however, he broadened it to include the Gospel, but without making his case any stronger. According to Blass, the Gospel, which was written as early as Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea, was afterwards revised and re-edited by Luke in Rome, so that the case here is the reverse of what we find in Acts, and recension β is the improved second edition, recension α the first draft. For the present we confine our attention to Acts.

To begin with, we must rid ourselves of the idea that we possess β only in one Greek MS.—perhaps the codex Bezæ Cantabrigiensis (D)—which originally suggested these observations, or only in one complete translation. On the contrary, there is a large amount of material at our disposal (n. 3), on the basis of which it is possible to claim that for centuries a form of the text (β) was prevalent in different parts of the Church, varying widely throughout in contents and language from the text of Acts dominant later (α). This was the case in the West from Irenæus to Jerome. The fragments of the Old

Latin translation and the citations of a writer like Cyprian are sufficient to prove that this version, at least in its original form, which goes back to between 200 and 240 A.D., is derived from a Greek text which is related to the text of our oldest Greek MSS. (ℵABC, etc.) in the way indicated above. It is possible that the latter text existed in the West in numerous exemplars long before Jerome's time, but we cannot prove it. On the other hand, we know that Western readers, who were confined to their Latin versions, as the Roman interpreter of the Pauline Epistles, known as Ambrosiaster (370 A.D.), rejected the *a* text on the ground that it was interpolated by the Greeks (nn. 3, 5). So far as we know, it was not until a later date that the *a* text influenced appreciably the Latin texts of the West. The Græco-Latin text of Codex D, written in the sixth century, is the outcome of very complicated developments, mixtures, and corruptions, but nevertheless retains in its Greek portion important features of the form of Acts known to Irenæus, and to the first, unknown *interpres Latinus*. The Alexandrian scholars, Clement and Origen, seem to have used a text practically identical with *a* (n. 2); but there must have been also a *β* text which circulated in Egypt in their time, and which was highly esteemed, otherwise we are at a loss to understand why it was that the Sahidic, presumably the oldest Egyptian version, written possibly during Origen's lifetime, while not adopting *β* in its entirety, did take over important elements of it. These were afterwards removed in the later Egyptian version, the Coptic proper. It is possible that at this time a text existed in Egypt which represented a mixture of *a* and *β*. Such a text was found by the Syrian, Thomas of Heraclea, as late as the year 619, in the Anthony cloister in Alexandria, and he borrowed from it a number of readings belonging to *β*, adopting some of them into his revision of the Philoxenian version, putting others on the

margin as noteworthy variant readings. In this way Syrian scholars of the Middle Ages afterwards became acquainted with the fragments of a text which—in how pure a form we do not know—was at the basis of the oldest Syriac translation of Acts. Meanwhile, however, the *α* recension triumphed in the Syrian Church also, and in the Bible which was used in the Syrian Church, the Peshito. Only scattered traces remain, showing affinity with the original text of the Syriac Acts, and these would not be noticed now save by a few (n. 3). Wherever we find traces of *β*, whether in the West, in Egypt, or in Syria, it seems to represent the earlier form of the text, while *α* represents the later form. With those to whose historical sense these facts do not appeal further discussion is useless.

The *β* text is not in our *possession*, but evidences that it existed at an early date in parts of the Church, widely separated from one another, put us under obligation to discover it. Gratitude is due to the philologian who has devoted so much energy and shown so much acumen in restoring it as far as was possible. The main difficulty in all the investigation arises from the fact that, with the exception of a number of fragments, *β* is preserved to us only in texts which are strongly mixed with *α*, or represent *α* predominantly. Since undoubtedly *α* also dates back to a very early time, we are unable to say how early the process of mixing began at various points in the Church. Furthermore, it is to be remembered that *β*, which possibly Irenæus and the first Syrian and also the first Latin translator had before them in a pure form, could and presumably did undergo numerous changes through internal developments, apart from the influence of *α*, before it came into the hands of these writers. By no means all the variants from *α* which we find it necessary to class with *β*, because of difference from *α*, and similarity to *β*, are at once to be regarded as

necessarily an original part of β. As was natural, and as is proved by numerous examples, the most radical changes in the text of the N.T. were made as early as in the second century.

Assuming then the existence of a β recension, in order to answer the question concerning the origin and relation of α and β it is necessary to enter into details. In and of itself it is quite conceivable: (1) that β is a modification of α, and that either this took place suddenly or developed gradually, appearing in the West some time between 120 and 150. After gaining a certain currency and authority here, it circulated in Syria and in Egypt. It is also possible: (2) that β is the original form of the text which was deliberately worked over into the form α by recensionists, more or less learned, who improved the style, and removed much that was unnecessary. This revised Acts, which was accepted by scholars and by the heads of the Church, circulated under their patronage and finally replaced β almost completely. It is further possible: (3) that α and β are both original, if, as Blass assumes, the author issued two editions of his work, as was very frequently done in ancient times (n. 4). In favour of the first possibility is the undeniable fact that texts which are undoubtedly spurious, *e.g.* Mark xvi. 9–20, or the apocryphal additions to Matt. xx. 28, were in circulation from Lyons to Edessa as early as the second and third centuries (vol. ii. 486, n. 9). In favour of the second possibility is the equally undoubted fact that from an early date changes were made in the N.T. text, partly for dogmatic, partly for stylistic, and partly for liturgical reasons. In many passages this caused either the complete or the almost complete disappearance of the original text from the Church (n. 5). Only here, as in almost every other instance of the kind, it is necessary to understand this revision of the text as independent of the myth of a

canonisation of the N.T. writings in connection with the equally mythical rise of the Catholic Church about the year 170. For, while Rome, Lyons, and Carthage were parts of the Catholic Church, they retained β after as before the revision, and knew little of α until sometime in the fourth century, and to some extent refused to recognise it. It must also be borne in mind that, while Origen lamented the confusion of the N.T. text, and was the first to think of remedying it, he never became the text critic of the N.T. (*GK*, i. 74, A.). But, according to this second hypothesis, the revision in question was thoroughgoing and carefully planned, affecting contents as well as style, and indeed of such a character that it must have been made long before Origen's time. The first hypothesis mentioned, namely, that of a gradual or sudden rise of β on the basis of α, is likewise out of harmony with the facts. If this were its origin, we should not have in β simply single interesting sayings or narratives added, designed to enrich the book, nor should we have simply single instances where the narrative is rendered awkward by such additions, but we should have a systematic recasting of the text without essential enrichment of the contents, showing a general deterioration in the style. Only the third possibility remains. Decisive proof of the essential correctness of Blass' hypothesis is to be found in the following considerations: (1) The facts to be found in β and not in α are neutral in character. They are not such as would be excised, nor are they important enough to call for insertion. (2) Notwithstanding the difference in their contents, α and β never really contradict each other. (3) Both recensions exhibit throughout the style characteristic of the larger part of the book, which is the same in both recensions.

A few examples will suffice to make this clear. It has been previously remarked (above, p. 2) that the

tradition which makes Luke a native of Antioch is in agreement with the β text of Acts xi. 27, but could not well have originated from this text. Still less can β be a gloss suggested by the tradition. An interpreter or scribe who wanted to insert a marginal note in connection with a passage of Acts to the effect that Luke was a member of the Church in Antioch, or who wanted to incorporate this remark in the text, would have selected some other passage like xiii. 1, and would have written, *καὶ ἐγὼ Λουκᾶς ὁ Ἀντιοχεύς* (§ 60, n. 11). What follows in the β text after xi. 27, "And there was great rejoicing. And when *we* were assembled, one of them by the name of Agabus spoke," etc., certainly does not sound as if it were an intentional addition, designed to indicate that the narrator was a member of this assembly. It seems to us rather to be the involuntary impression of the memory of the exalted state of feeling produced in the infant Church by the visit and messages of the Jewish prophets. The originality of the words is further proved by the genuine Lucan character of the language (n. 6). On the other hand, α could not have been produced from β by a corrector, since correctors who did not object to the sudden and repeated appearance and disappearance of "we" from xvi. 10 onwards could not well have rejected the "we" in this passage. Nor is the description of the joyful state of feeling that prevailed in the Christian assemblies something exceptional in Acts (ii. 46, xv. 3, xvi. 34); it certainly was not objectionable to later readers. The only other hypothesis possible is to suppose that the author himself, when he revised the first draft (β) of his work, found the description of the gathering where he had been present not only unnecessary, but even out of keeping with the style of his outline sketch of conditions in the Church at Antioch during the early years of its history (xi. 19–30). Accordingly he substituted α for β. In chap. xii. we find in β a whole

series of additions, part of which it would have been entirely impossible for a corrector to invent without the aid of knowledge derived from sources other than *α*, *e.g.* the seven steps which led down from the castle of Antonia to the street (xii. 10). Other of these additions are so harmless and so unnecessary, that they could not have arisen from the necessity of explaining the text (n. 7). On the other hand, they do not contain anything of a character which might have led a corrector to omit them. Since, however, there is nothing, either in contents or style, contradictory to *α*, it follows that this is another case where the author, in revising his book, cut out unnecessary details. The especial interest of the author in the continuance and condition of the Church of Antioch, which is apparent even in the common text of xiii. 1, has, unless all the facts are deceptive, found in *β* an especially vivid expression in the statement that Lucius of Cyrene was still living when Acts was written, whereas the other teachers of the Church of the years 43–50 were already dead (n. 6). The statement of Acts xviii. 22 in *α* has often been taken to mean that Paul, after his first short visit in Ephesus and his landing in Cæsarea, visited Jerusalem. But this interpretation is to be rejected as being quite unsupported by the text, to say nothing of the surprise which one must feel at the entire lack of information concerning this visit to Jerusalem (n. 8). Luke says simply that Paul landed in Cæsarea, greeted the Church in that city, and journeyed to Antioch. If the goal of this journey were Syria (ver. 18), that is to say Palestine (cf. xx. 3), it remains unexplained why he went no farther than Cæsarea; or, if his objective point were Antioch, where he made a stay of some length (ver. 23), it is not clear why he went to Cæsarea at all, instead of journeying directly to Seleucia, and thence to Antioch. We have also elsewhere similar cursory sketches of journeys, *e.g.* xx. 1–4 (n. 9), and, formally

considered, the account in question lacks nothing; however, it leaves the reader, who seeks a clear conception of what took place, unsatisfied. From β alone we learn that Paul actually intended, when he left Corinth, to journey to Jerusalem, there to take part in the approaching feast, and that he urged the importance of this journey as an excuse for the brevity of his first visit in Ephesus (ver. 21). Afterwards, however, we learn (xix. 1) that Paul was prevented from carrying out this plan by an exhortation of the Spirit, by which he was directed to turn back to Ephesus (without continuing his journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem). The intention to go to Jerusalem suggests xx. 16, but not a single word in xviii. 21 suggests that the addition in β is borrowed from this passage. Similar cases where Paul's own plans were set aside by a warning of the Spirit are to be found in xvi. 6 f., according to β also in xvii. 15 (vol. i. 214, n. 7; Harris, *Four Lectures*, p. 47), and again later in xx. 3. Comparable also is the almost reverse case, where Paul refuses to be hindered by prophetic utterances from continuing his last journey to Jerusalem (xx. 23, xxi. 4, 11–14). But here again it will be observed that the expression in xix. 1 is entirely original (n. 8 end). If there be no question that this revelation took place in Cæsarea, then it cannot be regarded purely as a coincidence that at this time Paul was among those who cultivated the gift of prophecy (xxi. 9), and that in one other passage, in which an account of such a revelation of the Spirit is given (xvii. 15, here again only in β), he was journeying in company with a prophet. The injunction of the Spirit to Paul, "Return to Asia," *i.e.* "Do not proceed further on the journey to Jerusalem," is to be regarded as a prophetic utterance of the Church spoken by someone near the apostle (vol. i. 207, 227 f., 237, n. 6; vol. ii. 110 f.), as is true in all analogous cases, especially where direct address is used (xiii. 2,

xxi. 11; but cf. β, xx. 3). Possibly it was the prophetically gifted daughters of Philip (xxi. 9) who "spoke to Paul through the Spirit" (cf. xxi. 4), or, in other words, through whom the Spirit spoke to Paul (cf. xiii. 2, xxi. 11); just as it was the prophet Silas through whom the Spirit spoke in xvi. 6, 7, and, according to β, in xvii. 15 also. Is it conceivable that one whose only sources were α and his inkstand, should introduce these transactions into the narrative just in those passages where it can be proved historically that they are possible and really presupposed? And if, like ourselves, he had reached this conclusion by a process of combination, could he have failed to mention Silas and the prophetesses in Cæsarea? The only other thing which it is possible to suppose is that out of the fulness of his knowledge the author wrote down much in his first draft (β) which he cut out again in the revision (α), because it was unnecessary and in parts might even be misunderstood. The connection of the episode in xviii. 24–28 with what precedes, and the resumption in xix. 1 of the account of the journey interrupted in xviii. 23, shows an improvement in style in α as compared with β. But anyone who has had occasion to correct his own work, with a view to cutting out whatever seems superfluous and otherwise awkward, knows that in this process it is easy to lose some of the original freshness, and that not everything designed as an improvement is really such. In Acts xx. 12 a picture is spoiled in the α text with no corresponding gain, a picture which, to be sure, is only imperfectly developed in β. Paul leaves the house where he had talked to the assembled congregation until the break of day. The narrator, with the greater part of the company of travellers, departs to the harbour and goes on board the ship, while Paul plans to follow by land somewhat later. The last glimpse which Luke had, as the ship departed, was that of the Christians beckoning and

calling good-bye to him and his companions, and in their midst Paul holding the young man by the hand whom he had restored to life (n. 10).

It has been supposed that, according to the common text of xxi. 16, the house of Mnason, where Paul and his numerous travelling companions (n. 9) were entertained, was in Jerusalem. It is peculiar, of course, that no mention of the arrival in Jerusalem is made until ver. 17. It is equally strange that Christians from Cæsarea should accompany Paul and his companions all the way to Jerusalem in order to secure lodging for him in the house of Mnason, notwithstanding the fact that in the large congregation in Jerusalem, where now, as earlier, Paul received a most cordial welcome (xxi. 17, cf. xv. 4), there must certainly have been several houses where entertainment would have been most gladly furnished him, and where assistance would have been rendered in caring for the numerous strangers. All these difficulties are cleared up by β. Mnason lived in a village on the way from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. Paul and his companions were accompanied to this point by Christians from Cæsarea, who provided him with entertainment for the one night with a good and aged Christian—perhaps the only well-to-do Christian—in a little congregation in Samaria or Sharon (Acts viii. 4–17, ix. 31–43, xv. 4). This is what is meant in α; but the abbreviation of the narrative produced a certain lack of clearness.

The text relations of Acts xv.—a chapter naturally much considered from the earliest times—are peculiar. Even in the early verses of the chapter (vv. 1–5) the witnesses from which our knowledge of β is derived show variations from α which at once give rise to the suspicion that originally they were not a part of β (n. 11). Even more in the case of vv. 20, 29 — from which xxi. 25 cannot be separated—readings occur which it is impossible to reconcile with α, if this variant form be

correctly transmitted in our oldest MSS. and in the majority of citations and versions—readings, therefore, which certainly cannot have the same author as *a*. Particularly but not exclusively in connection with the decree, xv. 29, the following peculiarities are to be noticed: (*A*) The omission of καὶ πνικτῶν or καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ; (*B*) the famous saying: καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν (θέλετε) ἑαυτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἑτέροις (ἑτέρῳ) μὴ ποιεῖν (ποιεῖτε), which is frequently found after the enumeration of the four or three things from which the Gentiles were to abstain; (*C*) the addition φερόμενοι ἐν (τῷ) ἁγίῳ πνεύματι after εὖ πράξετε (n. 12). *A* is clearly a mutilation, since if καὶ πνικτῶν were a spurious addition, the most natural place for its insertion would be in the decree itself, xv. 29, then in xv. 20, and least natural of all in xxi. 25. But as a matter of fact it is in xxi. 25 that evidence for this fourth item is strongest. Since, moreover, it is inconceivable that the author should have recorded the decree more fully in an incidental reference (xxi. 25) than in the passage where he gives its original form (xv. 29), and in the discourse of the mover of the resolution (xv. 20), it follows that καὶ πνικτῶν is genuine in all the cases where it occurs. While always retained in the East, before the time of Irenæus and Tertullian it disappeared from the text commonly used in the Western Church. But that it belonged originally in the Western text is proved also by the custom of the Church in abstaining from the use of the flesh of animals which had been strangled, or which had died a natural death, as is witnessed by Tertullian; although he no longer found this passage in the text (n. 12). Nor is *A* to be regarded as a defect due merely to accident. It connects itself with a tendency variously manifested in other parts of the Church also. Only after the word "strangled" had been removed was it possible to make "blood" refer to human blood, and to find here, as Tertullian did, a commandment against murder. In accordance

with this interpretation, the use of flesh offered to idols was made to refer to idolatrous worship itself (n. 13), and unchastity was narrowed to mean adultery. Thus we get the three mortal sins: *Idololatria*, *mœchia*, *homicidium*. The apostolic enactment, which had reference only to certain phases of moral life emphasised by the conditions of the time, became thus a sort of elementary moral catechism. *C* is of the same general character, and like *A* was confined to the West, being the only text possessed by Irenæus (who also gives *A* and *B*), and by Tertullian (who also gives *A*). It is true that in the East also the conclusion of the apostolic communication, which had a secular sound (εὖ πράξετε, ἔρρωσθε, "So shall it be well with you. Farewell"), was given a moral and religious turn—the former phrase being taken as a general injunction to good conduct, and the latter being enlarged into a Christian formula (n. 14). But this process was carried further in the West, and good conduct in general, which was left undefined, was referred to the power of the Holy Spirit in the sense of Phil. iii. 15 (D, Irenæus, Tertullian), which opened the way for an extension of Church morality. The secular *valete* was also stricken out (n. 14). How widely *C* was circulated in the West it is impossible to say; in the East it did not make headway. On the other hand, the East was the home of *B*. While this text was not known to Tertullian, unless all appearances fail this *locus communis* was accepted as a part of the apostolic decree by the apologist Aristides of Athens in 140, and by the apologist Theophilus of Antioch in 180. Moreover, in *B* alone (without *A* and *C*) xv. 20 and 29 are witnessed to by Origen, the Sahidic version, the Neoplatonist Porphory, and Greek cursives, and in xv. 29 by Thomas of Heraclea (n. 12).

The spuriousness of the saying is proved by the fact that its omission is entirely inconceivable in view of the general tendency to construe the decree as a moral cate-

chism for those "turning from the Gentiles to God" (xv. 19), especially where this tendency had already exerted a strong influence upon the text (Tertullian). On the other hand, the addition of this "simple, true, and beautiful law, without question applicable to Christians," as it is called in the *Didascalia* (Syriac ed. p. 2. 7), is fully explained by just this tendency. Direct occasion for its addition among the Greeks in the East was given by the *Didache*, which was much prized by them. In the first part of this document, which was intended "for the Gentiles" and appointed to be read to candidates for baptism (chaps. i.–vi., cf. vii. 1), this commandment stands at the very beginning (i. 2) along with the commandment to love God and one's neighbour, while at the conclusion of the same part (vi. 3) restrictions regarding the use of food are mentioned, only one of which, however, is unconditional, namely that relating to things offered to idols. Since this writing was regarded as a teaching of the apostles, it was deemed all the more permissible to enrich from this source the apostolic decree, parts of which had become obsolete (§ 62). That this was the origin of the insertion is betrayed also by the fact that the sentence structure is not always smooth where these words are incorporated in the text (n. 15). The insertion was made in the East between 110 and 140, soon after which *B* began to circulate in the West, though its acceptance was by no means general. Tertullian does not have *B*, although it is found in Irenæus, Cyprian, and many later Latin writers, also in D. In Irenæus and D alone, however, it is fused with the two Western variants, *A* and *C*. It may be considered certain that the author of Acts was not responsible for this *mixtum compositum*, nor for any one of its three elements, all of which give an interpretation unhistorical in character. The only reason why *A* and *C* can be regarded as deteriorations of the original β text is the fact that they originated and circulated in the

region where the β recension predominated; while *B* could just as easily have been inserted first in an exemplar of the α text, from which it found its way into copies of α as also of β.

Although in this important point and in many others less important, readings, which Blass explains as part of the original text, prove to be only deteriorations of it dating back to an early time, the essential correctness of his hypothesis remains unaffected. On the other hand, his extension of the theory to the Gospel of Luke is untenable. The text which Blass gives us as the second or Roman edition of the Gospel, prepared by Luke himself, is in reality nothing but a bold attempt to restore what is known as the Western text (n. 16). The question which has been answered in so many ways as to the value of this form of the text—it can hardly be called a recension—is by no means confined to the third Gospel, but arises also in connection with the other Gospels and the Epistles of Paul. The only difference in this regard between the Gospels on the one hand, and the Epistles and Acts on the other, is occasioned by the existence of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. While it is true that this work of Tatian's is as yet far from being fully restored, it is nevertheless a valuable source, which, taken together with the Western witnesses, enables us to determine accurately the age of many Western readings, and also to explain the circulation of this form of the text from the Rhone to the Tigris. In addition, we have for the Gospel of Luke, and for this Gospel alone, the Gospel edited by Marcion in Rome about 145, our knowledge of which is far from complete, but much more accurate than it once was (*GK*, i. 585–718, ii. 409–529). It is not strange, therefore, that in the case of Luke the variation of the so-called *Western text*—which here also may be designated as β—from the text (α) preserved in our oldest MSS. and the majority of Greek witnesses comes more clearly to view than in the

case of the other Gospels, and particularly the Epistles. But throughout the question is essentially the same. There must be made a much more extended study of β—in the widest sense in which β is used—before a unanimous conclusion can be reached by the critics. There are as yet no definite results, the statement of which would properly find place in a text-book. But those who hold that our oldest MSS. (ℵB) are to be dated about 200 years later than Marcion, Tatian, and Irenæus, and who have some feeling for the difference between originality which is naïve and uniformity due to liturgical, dogmatic, and stylistic considerations, must in a general way agree on the following points: (1) Very much that is original both as regards contents and form is preserved in β, which was of a character that, for the reasons indicated above, early led to changes, and after the close of the third century to excision by learned recensionists of the text (Lucian, Hesychius, and Pamphilus). (2) A large number of arbitrary additions and verbal modifications were made in β throughout the whole of the period during which the text of the N.T. remained without systematic revision, and when it developed without the regular control either of the Church or of scholars. More of these additions and modifications were made in the more naïve period from 150 to 200 than later, and in the Gospels much more than in the other N.T. books. This was natural, in the *first* place because the recollection of parallel texts led to the enrichment of each of the Gospels from the parallels, and, in the *second* place, because there were reports concerning words and deeds of Jesus which had not found their way into the four Gospels, but which were retained in the oral tradition until the beginning of the second century, and then continued to survive in writings like the five books of Papias. (3) The difficult problem will be solved to be sure only approximately, at any rate, however, only as two extremes are avoided: on

the one hand, superstitious reverence for our so-called best MSS. which is often accompanied by a corresponding contempt for much older traditions is to be laid aside. On the other hand, the critic must beware of an unhealthy fondness for all the interesting products and excrescences of the wild tradition of the second and third centuries, and of the feeling that goes with it that the learned recensionists from 300 onwards were simple destroyers of the text, to be compared, if not as regards orthodoxy, at least in matters of taste, to the enlightened revisers of German Church hymns in the rationalistic period. Applying these principles, we shall find in the case of Luke and of other N.T. writings in the β text, of which here also D may be regarded as our clearest witness: (1) a number of apocryphal additions (n. 17), and (2) many cases where words are substituted and transposed, often for very trivial reasons (n. 18). (3) We shall find also a number of texts, giving material for the most part important, and exhibiting an originality such as could not have been invented, which were wrongly set aside by the tradition of the third and fourth centuries (n. 19). This complicated relation between β and α is to be observed in all the Gospels, being more marked in Luke than in the others for the reasons indicated above. But we are not confronted in Luke as in Acts with parallels which make equal claims to acceptance, but the question is always an alternative between what Luke did write and what he could have written. This conclusion with regard to the texts of Luke does not in any way weaken the other conclusion that in Acts we have a twofold form of the text. This fact, however, is of importance in connection with the question as to the origin of Luke's work. In determining his witness concerning himself in Acts, α and β are to be treated as of equal value. Whether the author who edited the second part of his work twice was what he claims to be, or only a compiler and fabricator of a some-

what later period, does not enter into the question here under discussion.

1. (P. 8.) According to Semler (*Wetstenii libelli ad crisin NTi.* 1766, p. 8), Jo. Clericus (in what writing?) under the pseudonym of Critobulus Hierapolitanus was of opinion that Luke published Acts twice; and Hemsterhuis (where?) expressed a similar opinion in regard to still other N.T. writings. Deserving of mention here is also *Acta apost. ad codicis Cantabrig. fidem ita rec. Bornemann, ut nunc demum divini libri primordia eluceant*, Pars 1, Grossenhain and London, 1848. In the winter of 1885–86, in the New Testament seminar in Erlangen the present writer proposed as subject for the prize competition: "*Untersuchung der sachlich bedeutsamen Eigentümlichkeiten des cod. D in der AG*" (Investigation of the essentially significant peculiarities of Cod. D in Acts), and required that the spread of these variants among Latin, Greek, Egyptian (*Sahidic*), and Syrian writers should be taken into account as far as this was possible for a student, using Tischendorf's apparatus. According to the purpose of the present writer at that time, the objective point which he hoped to see the investigation reach, and which Fr. Gleiss, now pastor in Westerland on the island of Sylt, in some measure approached, was: (That there is presented in this recension) "either the first draft of the author before publication, or the copy which the author used with his supplementary marginal notes." Further than this the present writer had not advanced, but was not surprised when Fr. Blass, without knowing his view, came forward with his more definitely conceived and more thoroughly elaborated hypothesis in the following publications: "Die Textüberlieferung in der AG" (*ThStKr*, 1894, S. 86–119); *Acta apostolorum sive Lucæ ad Theophilum liber alter, Ed. philol.*, Göttingen, 1895; "Über die verschiedenen Textesformen in den Schriften des Lc" (*NKZ*, 1895, S. 712–725; cf. *NKZ*, 1896, S. 964–971); "De duplici forma actorum Lucæ" (*Hermathena*, 1895, ix. 121–143, as against Chase in the *Critical Review*, 1894, p. 300 ff.); *ThStKr*, 1896, S. 436–471; *Acta ap. secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam*, Lips. 1896; *Ev. sec. Lc. secundum f. R.*, Lips. 1897, with an extensive introduction; and, again, recently in *ThStKr*, 1900, 1 Heft. Those who expressed themselves as substantially in favour of this view were E. Nestle, *ChW*, 1895, Nos. 13–15; cf., by the same author, *Philologica sacra*, 1896; *ThStKr*, 1896, S. 102–113; Zöckler (*Greifswalder Studien*, 1895, S. 129–142); Belser, *Die Selbstverteidigung des Pl im Gl* (*Bibl. Stud.* ed. Barderhewer, Bd. i. 3, 189); *Beiträge zur Erkl. der AG auf Grund der Lesearten des cod. D und seiner Genossen*, 1897. Against Blass there have written, among others, P. Corssen in *GGA*, 1896, S. 425 ff., and B. Weiss, *Der cod. D in der AG*, 1897. Of recent literature are mentioned: Pott, *Der abendl. Text der AG und die Wirquelle*, 1900; Coppieters, *De historia textus actor. ap.*, Louvain, 1902; Ernst, "Die Blass'sche Hypothese und die Textgeschichte," *ZfNTW*, 1903, S. 310–320.

2. (P. 10.) Cf. Griesbach, *Symbol. crit.* ii. 457–468. On the addition to Acts xv. 20, which, as has been recently attested, Origen also used, see n. 11.

3. (Pp. 10, 11.) A survey of the sources of recension β seems necessary: I. The *Greek witnesses* with which we are concerned are (1) the Greek and Latin

Cod. D sæc. vi., of which, until recently, *Bezæ Cod. cantabrigiensis*, ed. Scrivener, Cambridge, 1864 (now in the phototype edition, 2 vols. Cantabrig. 1899), has been the best edition to use. Cf. also the collation in *NTi. Supplimentum*, ed. Nestle, 1896. For criticism, cf. D. Schulz, *Disputatio de cod. D*, 1827; Credner, *Beitr. zur Einl.* (1832) i. 452–518; Rendel Harris, *cod. Bezæ Cantabr.* 1891 (*Texts and Stud.* ii. 1); by the same author, *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, 1894; Chase, *The Syriac element in the text of Cod. Bezæ*, 1893; furthermore the literature in n. 1. The Greek text of Acts viii. 29–x. 14, xxi. 2–10, xxi. 15–18, xxii. 10–20, xxii. 29–xxviii. 31 is wanting in D, and the defects of the Latin text do not coincide fully with these, inasmuch as the latter is written on the front of the leaf to the right of the Greek text which is upon the back of the preceding leaf. In addition, but only here and there of significance, are (2) *Cod. E Laudianns, Oxon* (sæc. vi.), Greek and Latin, ed. Tischendorf, 1870, in *Monumenta Sacra*, ix.; (3) cod. min. 137, sæc. xi. (*al.* xiii.) in Milan; for the last four chapters newly compared by Blass, cf. *Acta*, ed. minor, p. xxi; fully compared by Mercati for Hilgenfeld; *Actus apost. gr. et lat.* 1899, p. ix. The collation of Min. 58 (Bodlei. Clarke, 9) in Pott (*Der abendl. Text. der AG und die Wirquelle*, 1900, S. 78–88) offers only a little that is of value. Presumably there lies still in the minuscules, as well as in the Greek writers, a great deal of undiscovered material. To the latter belongs especially Irenæus, although he speaks to us almost entirely through a Latin translation; to a certain extent Tertullian also, inasmuch as he read the N.T. not in the Latin translation, but in the original. Traces of recension β, perhaps due to dependence upon an older commentary, have been proved by Harris, *Four Lect.* pp. 91–96, and Conybeare, "On the Western text of the Acts as evinced by Chrysostom" in *AJPh*, xvii. 2. A trace of the β text is contained in Pionius, *Vita Polyc.* chap. ii. (of the fourth century, see *GGA*, 1882, S. 289 ff.); for if the journey of Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1 through Galatia to Asia is there intended (cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Part I. vol. i. *Ign. Polyc.* 447), then the words *μέλλων λοιπὸν ἀπιέναι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* would be based upon an inexact recollection of β xix. 1. II. The Latin witnesses all go back to the old Latin translation. This seems to be preserved in an almost uncorrupted form (1) in the fragments of a Paris palimpsest (Acts iii. 2–iv. 18, v. 23–viii. 2, ix. 4–23, xiv. 5–23, xvii. 34–xviii. 19, xxiii. 8–24, xxvi. 20–xxvii. 13), edited by Berger, *Le palimpseste de Fleury*, Paris, 1889; cf. *JThS*, 1906, p. 454 f. (designated in Tischendorf as *reg.* in Wordsworth, ii. p. ix as h); (2) in the citations in the writings of Cyprian (cf. Corssen, *Der cypr. Text der Acta ap.* 1892). Portions also in the works of Augustine, Ambrosiaster (see below, n. 5, and vol. i. 553 f.), Lucifer, and others; *e.g.* in a writing, *de prophetis et prophetiis* (from Cod. 133 of St. Gall, published in *Miscell. Casinese*, parte ii. No. iv. p. 21 ff.), and in the *Martyrologium* of Ado; cf. Quentin in *Revue Bénédict*, 1906, p. 4 ff. Mixed texts are exhibited in many Bibles which give the Vulgate in other books of the N.T., namely, (3) the so-called Gigas in Stockholm (ed. Belsheim, *AG und Ap. aus dem Gigas*, Christiana, 1879; (4) Cod. Paris, Lat. 321, especially important for chaps. i.–xiii., edited in part by Berger in *Notices et extraits des mss.* xxxv. 1, 169–208, fully collated by Blass (ed. min. p. xxv); cf. Haussleiter, *ThLb*, 1896, No. 9; Blass, *ThStKr*, 1896, S. 436 ff.; cf. both of the above for (5) Cod. Wernigerodensis Z^a 81, collated by Blass; (6) Paris

Lat. 6 (Bible of Rosas, see Wordsworth, ii. p. vii ; Berger, *Hist. de la Vulg.* p. 24 f.), partly in text, partly on margin ; (7) a Provençal N.T. ed. Clédat, Paris, 1887. III. The Sahidic translation, almost entire (i. 1–xxiv. 19, xxvii. 27–38) in Woide-Ford, *Append. cod. Alex.* 1799, pp. 106–167 ; the *lacunæ* filled out in part by Amélineau, *ZfÄgSp*, 1886, pp. 112–114, and by other as yet unedited fragments ; see Scrivener-Miller, *Introd. to the crit. of the N.T.*[4] ii. 135 f. IV. It has been shown from the commentary of Ephrem on Acts, for the most part preserved in an Armenian catena, and from several passages in his commentary on the Pauline Epistles, that the oldest Syriac version of Acts coincides in many decisive points with Cod. D (Harris, *Four lectures*, pp. 22–51). The later Peshito has retained, as in the Pauline Epistles, many remnants of this oldest Syriac version (*GK*, ii. 556–564). Very little light has been cast upon them. At all events, Thomas of Heraclea, who in the year 616, in the monastery of St. Anthony in Alexandria, revised the so-called Philoxenian version of the N.T. which arose in the year 508, and who employed for Acts and the catholic Epistles one (for the Gospels two or three) Greek MS. of that monastery, gathered from this MS. and translated into Syriac a considerable number of readings which agree in substance with β. Some of them he introduced into the text, calling attention to them, however, by means of asterisks ; some he placed in the margin beside the reading given in the text. This indicates evidently that both sorts of readings were foreign to the older Philoxeniana. Still the question requires renewed investigation ; cf. *e.g.* Gwynn, *Hermathena* (1890), vii. 294 f. 301. In what follows, these Syriac readings, as elsewhere the whole text of Thomas of Heraclea, have been designated for the sake of brevity as S^3.

4. (P. 12.) Blass, ed. maj. p. 32 ; ed. min. p. vi, gives as examples of works which were twice edited by their authors :—Demosthenes, *Philipp.* iii. ; Appolodorus, *Chron.* ; Longinus, *Nom. Attica* ; Cicero, *Academ.* ; and, in addition, a remark of Galen (ed. Kühn, xvii. 1. 79) concerning the marginal notes of his own writings. Zöckler, *Greifswalder Stud.* 132 f., adds the three editions of Tertullian, *c. Marc.* i. (also *adv. Judæos*) ; a double edition of Lactantius, *Inst.* ; Eusebius, *de Mart. Pal.* ; and other instances from the Middle Ages. Cf. also what Sedulius (ed. Huemer, p. 172) says concerning triple editions of the writings of Origen and the jurist Hermogenianus originating with the authors themselves.

5. (Pp. 10, 12.) Ambrosiaster on Gal. ii. 1 ff. (*Ambrosii Opera*, ed. Bened. ii. app. p. 214 ; Souter, *Study of Ambros.* p. 199 f.) cites the decree to all appearances substantially complete, "Non molestari eos, qui ex gentibus credebant, sed ut ab his tantum observarent, id est a sanguine et fornicatione, et idololatria." Thereupon he attacks the *sophistæ Græcorum*, who imagine that they are able to observe these articles by their own reason and strength. Then he rejects the interpretation of *a sanguine* as *homicidium*, and wishes to have this understood correctly according to Gen. ix. 4, *a sanguine edendo cum carne*. Then, p. 215 : "Denique tria hæc mandata ab apostolis et senioribus data reperiuntur, quæ ignorant leges Romanæ, id est ut observent se ab idololatria, et sanguine, sicut Noë, et a fornicatione. Quæ sophistæ Græcorum non intelligentes, scientes tamen a sanguine abstinendum, adulterarunt scriptarum, quartum mandatum addentes 'et a suffocato observandum,' quod puto nunc Dei nutu intellecturi sunt, quia jam supra

dictum erat, quod addiderunt." On the use of recension β by Ambrosiaster, see vol. i. 553 f. On his attitude to the Greek text, see *GK*, i. 34. Even impartial Greeks like Origen (*in Osee*; tom. xxxii. 32 *in Jo.* Delarue, iii. 438, iv. 455), and even an Epiphanius (*Ancor.* 31), recognised that not only stylistic, but dogmatic scruples of the orthodox had altered to a great extent the biblical text of the Church.

6. (Pp. 14, 15.) Acts xi. 27 β shows the linguistic character of Luke. Aside from Jude 24 and a citation in Heb. i. 9 we find ἀγαλλίασις only in Luke i. 14, 44; Acts ii. 46. He employs the verb also in Luke i. 47, x. 21; Acts xvi. 34. He alone, following the classical usage, has, Acts xxviii. 3, συστρέφειν = "gather together" ("*zusammenraffen*"); xix. 40, xxiii. 12, συστροφή, "mob" ("*Zusammenrottung*"). With the same meaning, the verb, according to β, Acts xvi. 39, xvii. 5; textually uncertain, and with another meaning is συστρέφεσθαι (= συναναστρέφεσθαι), Matt. xvii. 22; Acts x. 41; Cod. D. The word gives a graphic picture of the way in which the crowds collect about and press upon the prophets. The text of D is confirmed in essentials by d, Paris, 321, the Bibles of Rosas and Wernigerode; by Augustine, *de Sermone Dom. in Monte*, lib. ii. 17, § 57; Ado on Ides of Febr. (Quentin, *Revue Bénédict*, 1906, p. 4), and the writing *de Prophetis*, p. 21. In the last writing xi. 27–28 is quoted with the introduction: "et in actibus apostolorum sic legimus." Immediately connected, however, with this citation is the following: "Et alium in locum: 'Erant etiam in ecclesia prophetæ et doctores Barnabas et Sailus (read Saulus), quibus manus imposuerunt prophetæ, Symeon qui appellatus est Niger, et Lucius Cirinensis, qui manet usque adhuc, et Ticius conlactaneus, qui acciperunt responsum ab spiritu sancto, unde dixit: 'segregate mihi Barnabam et Saulam,'" etc. Also in this citation there must be some trace of β. That *a* and β vary widely from each other in this passage appears from the remarkable variants of D (ἐν οἷς after διδάσκαλοι [this also in Vulgate] Ἡρώδου καὶ τετράρχου) and Paris, 321 (secundum unamquamque ecclesiam). In the text given above, before or after *conlactaneus*, which would otherwise be unintelligible, a genitive belonging to it, either *ejus* or *Herodis tetrachæ*, has at all events dropped out, in addition, however, probably also *Manæn* before *conlactaneus*. This last omission could perhaps have arisen mechanically from the similarity of *MANÆN* to *MANET*, which stands a few words before it. But the entire citation, in all its original variations, could never be explained from a false reading of the name *Manæn*. *Ticius* is for *Titus*; cf. the variants Τιτου, Τιτιου, Acts xviii. 7, a difference which the Latins did not express in the genitive *Titi*; see Wordsworth, *ad loc.* Since Paul, a few years later, took Titus (Gal. ii. 1) with him from Antioch to Jerusalem, Luke could have mentioned him very naturally in this passage. How the name *Ticius* or *Titus* in this passage could be otherwise explained, is unknown to the present writer. The most remarkable variant, however, is the addition to the name of Lucius of Cyrene: *qui manet usque ad huc*, i.e. ὃς μένει ἕως ἄρτι; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 6. All must acknowledge that this cannot be an arbitrary addition of a writer citing Acts, or the gloss of a later copyist. It can have been written only at the time when Lucius of Cyrene was still alive, and indeed by the same man, who, in this passage, according to all recensions of the text, by the enumeration of the teachers and prophets of Antioch,—persons who, with the exception of Paul and Barnabas, are wholly unimportant for

the further narrative,—has shown his especial interest in this Church, and according to β (Acts xi. 27) has made himself known as a member of this Church about 40 A.D. It is Luke, then, who allowed these and other remarks of interest for his friend Theophilus to appear in his first edition. In the revision of his work preparatory to a second edition, he might have thought of a larger circle of readers, and a longer continuing circulation of his book, and therefore struck out the statement concerning Lucius, which after a short time might not agree with the fact. Luke wrote at a time when there was living at least one of the men who about 43–50 had been busy as teachers and prophets in Antioch, while others, at all events, the Simon Niger mentioned above, probably also Paul and Barnabas, were already dead. The especial interest of Luke in Antioch is also confirmed by the fact that in vi. 5 the home of only one of the seven men, *i.e.* of Nicolas of Antioch, is given.

7. (P. 15.) The clause ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, xii. 1 (β), is not, as though τῆς stood in its place, a nearer definition of τῆς ἐκκλησίας which might have appeared necessary to a later reader, but indicates the scene of the story, xii. 1–20, in contrast to Antioch, the scene of xi. 19–30. Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας is good Greek (Kühner-Gerth, i. 457) = Church members (cf. xv. 5*a*) = οἱ πιστοί, ver. 3 (β), entirely without regard to any particular place or the congregation of any locality. That it is a question concerning such persons in Jerusalem and Judea and not in Antioch follows clearly enough from the personal and other particulars of the account. A reader who felt the loss of an expressed subject of ἀρεστόν ἐστιν in ver. 3 would have introduced τοῦτο, as several translators (*e.g.* Lucifer) have done. The text β, ἡ ἐπιχείρησις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστούς, is too original in its manner of expression to be ranked as a gloss. In the N.T. ἐπιχείρησις does not occur elsewhere, and ἐπιχειρεῖν only in Luke i. 1 ; Acts ix. 29, xix. 13. Moreover, the feminine subject following the neuter predicate (Matt. vi. 34 ; 2 Cor. ii. 6) does not look like the work of a glossarist. Such a one would have supplied the need in ver. 5 of completing ἐτηρεῖτο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ by mention of the guards, with words taken from ver. 4. The ὑπὸ τῆς σπείρης τοῦ βασιλέως extends beyond ver. 4, and does not indicate the 4×4 soldiers entrusted with the guarding of Peter's person, but the whole cohort (cf. x. 1, xxi. 31, xxvii. 1) which served as a garrison for the building, —probably the Antonio,—and whose duty it was to station the various sentries (ver. 10) in continuous relays. The words κατέβησαν τοὺς ἑπτὰ βαθμοὺς καί which β (ver. 10) offers between ἐξελθόντες and προῆλθον can only have been written by one who knew the locality. In xxi. 35, 40, where the stairs are mentioned which connected the Antonio not with the street, but directly with the Temple Area, no one could hit upon these seven steps by guess and then introduce them with the article as if well known to the reader. The seven and eight steps at the Temple gate in Ezek. xl. 22, 26, 31, in which Jerome found great mysteries (*Anecd. Maredsol.* iii. 2. 18, 111 ; cf. Origen, *Fragm. in Jo.* xi. 18, ed. Preuschen, 547. 21), explain nothing. On the contrary, it is quite plausible that Luke, who introduced for the first time at this point, unchanged, the story which evidently arose in Jerusalem, and was probably found by him in an older writing, upon looking over what he had written removed these words as being superfluous and ill adapted to foreign readers.

8. (P. 15.) Belser has recently (*Bibl. Stud.* i. 3. 141 ff. ; *Ausführlicher Beiträge*, S. 8, 89 ff.) not only maintained the formerly prevalent interpre-

tation of xviii. 22 of the *a* text, but introduced it into *β* also. Paul is supposed to have journeyed from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, and, after he had wandered from Antioch through Galatia and Phrygia, according to xix. 1 *β*, once more to have entertained the thought of returning to Jerusalem, instead of going finally to Ephesus, as he had promised. The Spirit, however, prevents him from carrying out this plan, and compels him to keep his promise. In the first place, as far as *a* is concerned, (1) the bare *ἀναβάς* (ver. 22) cannot indicate a journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. The 18 passages in the N.T. (3, Luke; 7, Acts) where *ἀναβαίνειν εἰς Ἱερ.* occurs, prove that this qualification is indispensable, as well as *εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν*, xiv. 26, xv. 30, xviii. 22. An absolute *ἀναβαίνειν*, John vii. 10, near the thrice recurring *ἀναβ. εἰς τὴν ἑορτήν*, or John xii. 20, where Jerusalem is the scene of the previous events, and where, in addition, attendance upon the feast is given as the purpose in view, can scarcely be used for comparison; for, according to *a*, Jerusalem, in Acts xviii., has not yet been named at all as the destination (ver. 18 = Syria; ver. 21 = only that Paul must make one more journey before his permanent settlement). The meaning of *ἀναβαίνειν* here is either "to go ashore" (cf. Matt. iii. 16), or, according to the Greek notion, to go *up* from the harbour into the city, *i.e.* from the shore inland. Cf. *καταβαίνειν* (Cod. D, *κατελθεῖν* Textus rec.), Acts xiii. 4 of the wandering from Antioch to the seaport; xx. 13 D and elsewhere *κατελθόντες* from the land to the harbour and ship. (2) The Church in Jerusalem is nowhere called simply *ἡ ἐκκλησία*, cf. rather viii. 1, xi. 22. On xii. 1, see n. 7. Chap. viii. 3, following viii. 1, proves nothing aside from the fact that at the time of the events of viii. 1–3 the local Church of Jerusalem (v. 11) was still essentially identical with the Christendom which Paul had persecuted (cf. Acts ix. 1, 31; 1 Cor. xv. 9; Gal. i. 22 f.). Only the Church, therefore, of the place which is mentioned (xi. 26, xv. 3 Antioch; xv. 4 Jerusalem) can be meant: in this instance the Church of Cæsarea. It is not easy to see why the Church of Cæsarea, which at that time had been so long in existence, might not have been called *ἐκκλησία* as well as those which were much younger (Acts xiv. 23, xv. 41, xvi. 5; 1 Thess. i. 1; Rom. xvi. 1, 4). But as for xix. 1 *β*, it is unthinkable that Paul, just after he had, as alleged, visited Jerusalem, and had made the long journey from that place *viâ* Antioch and through Asia Minor as far as the neighbourhood of Ephesus, suddenly decided to journey again to Jerusalem, and in doing so, after having almost reached the end of a month's journey, to return again to its starting-point. This would be exactly an *ὑποστρέφειν*, and, on the other hand, the continuation of his journey would be merely the completion of a journey already nearly finished. The *β* text reads rather the opposite. And what then would be the *τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη* which Paul would have had to wander through, after he had already traversed the land of the Galatians and Phrygia (ver. 23), in order to reach Ephesus? He is indeed, according to xviii. 23, already on the border of Asia in the narrowest sense of the term (as used by Luke, vol. i. 186 f.), and only a few days distant from Ephesus, and the short journey thither leads through *ἡ κάτω Ἀσία* (vol. i. 187, line 16; Aristides, *Epist. de Smyrna*, ed. Dindorf, i. 766; Pausan. i. 4. 6). It cannot be doubted, then, that Luke xix. 1 *β* refers to what precedes xviii. 23, or rather that xviii. 23 anticipates the journey of Paul,

and has so far described it that xix. 1 ἔρχεται εἰς Ἔφεσον could immediately follow. Even in xviii. 24, Luke goes back in time before the point reached in ver. 23; for what is related in xviii. 24–28 did not take place after Paul had come to Phrygia *viâ* Cæsarea and Antioch, and so had arrived in the vicinity of Ephesus, but occupies a great part of the intervening time between the first visit of Paul in Ephesus (xviii. 19–21) and his return thither (xix. 1). After this episode, and before resuming the narrative of the journey, interrupted in xviii. 23 (xix. 1, διελθών = xviii. 23, διερχόμενος), and before giving an account of Paul's settlement in Ephesus, Luke turns back to an earlier point in the narrative (xix. 1*a*), and explains how it happened that Paul had not carried out his purpose to visit Jerusalem on this journey. According to the marginal reading of Thomas of Heraclea, from which D differs only in the matter of the weaker ὑποστρέφειν, instead of ὑπόστρεφε, xix. 1 reads: θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Πάυλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα· "ὑπόστρεφε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν." Cf. above, p. 26, line 30 f.; further, Ephrem, in Harris, *Four Lectures*, p. 48; marginal reading of the Bible of Rosas, and Ado (Quentin, p. 7), which describes the Journey of Acts xviii. 18–xix. 1 as follows: "Et inde (from Corinth) navigavit in Syriam et venit Ephesum et inde Cæsaream et (therefore not to Jerusalem) Antiochiam et Galatiam regionem et Frigiam. Hinc, cum vellet ire Hierosolimam, dixit ei spiritus sanctus, ut reverteretur in Asiam; et cum peragrasset superiores partes, Ephesum venit." The *hinc* at the beginning of the second sentence, which is due to the misunderstanding explained above, is evidently an addition of Ado's, just as the *et inde*, which often occurs. Ado naturally had also the stopping-place *Trogyllium*, xx. 15.

9. (Pp. 15, 18.) On Acts xx. 3 see above in text and Harris, *Four Lectures*, 49. On xx. 4 f. see in part vol. i. 209, n. 2. The uncorrupted text of *a* has been transmitted by ℵB, the Coptic version, the Vulgate (and substantially by the Sahidic version): συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ Σώπατρος . . . καὶ Τιμόθεος, Ἀσιανοὶ δὲ Τυχικὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος. οὗτοι δὲ προελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τρωάδι. Inasmuch as ver. 3 pictures the moment in which Paul formed the resolution in Corinth to make the journey to Syria by way of Macedonia, instead of by the sea route, and since συνείπετο, not συνείποντο, is the reading established for *a*, it is stated at first only regarding Sopater that he accompanied Paul from Corinth on this journey. This agrees with the fact that, as far as we know, Sopater was the only one of those mentioned, aside from Timothy, who was present with Paul at the time of his sojourn in Corinth (Rom. xvi. 21; vol. i. 209, 213, 417, n. 22). Timothy may have gone on ahead of Paul and Sopater from Corinth to Macedonia and even as far as Troas, and the rest, among whom were two persons of Thessalonica, Aristarchus and Secundus, would have joined him *en route*, possibly in Thessalonica, so that Θεσσαλονικέων δέ is really in respect of them equivalent to saying "from Thessalonica onwards." The narrator himself does not join the company until they reach Philippi. All the persons named were fellow-travellers of Paul's, so that συνείπετο could be placed at the beginning of the sentence, and be connected zeugmatically with all of them. Only in this way can the present writer understand the prominent position which is assigned to Sopater, and the explanatory phrase, οὗτοι δὲ κτλ, designed to

prevent any misunderstanding. If this does not refer to all the persons named, besides Sopater, we cannot know which of these are to be distinguished from others. The β text in d and D is at all events mutilated in different ways, and in S^3 it is preserved in a not altogether unmixed condition. Instead of inserting, as Blass does, an unwarranted *προήρχοντο, συνείποντο αὐτῷ* might be inserted according to d (comitari [a mistake for comitati]eum) and S^3. The eye of the copyist of D wandered from *αὐτοῦ* to *ἀυτῷ*. It reads therefore: *μέλλοντος οὖν ἐξιέναι αὐτοῦ συνείποντο αὐτῷ μέχρι τῆς Ἀσίας Σώπατρος . . . καὶ Τιμόθεος, Ἐφέσιοι δὲ Τυχικὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος, οὗτοι προελθόντες ἔμενον αὐτὸν ἐν Τρωάδι.* This text also was not intended to be different from *α*. The insufferable Textus receptus was the first to conflate with the *α* text (AEHLP) the reading: *ἄχρι* (or *μέχρι*) *τῆς Ἀσίας*, which is genuine only in β. As Luke wished to give the particulars of what had taken place in Asia, namely, in Troas and Miletus, he brought the journey of Paul and his companions (according to β) for the time being only "as far as Asia," without wishing to say that it came to an end there (cf. Rom. v. 14). Again, since he wished to cover rapidly the journey as far as Troas, he did not take pains to avoid the expression which makes it appear as if the whole company remained together from Corinth to Troas, although he has to add the remark that they arrived in Troas, at least in part, before Paul. One can understand that Luke found it advantageous in revising to smooth down these inequalities; but not how one, who had *α* before him, might produce β from it.

10. (P. 18.) Acts xx. 12 reads, according to D, *ἀσπαζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἤγαλεν* (not *ἤγαγον*, as d has it) *τὸν νεανίσκον ζῶντα.* This *ἤγαγεν* occurs in three minuscules and apparently also in the Armenian version, which has retained to a large extent traces of the oldest Syriac version; cf. Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 76-92, according to which Paul leads the youth whom he has saved, and the latter does not let go his hand. In this case the greetings will apply not to Paul, or at least not to him alone, but especially to the "we" who departed before him. That these persons take leave before Paul does (*προελθόντες* according to *α*) is, however, also stated by β in *ὡς μέλλων αὐτὸς πεζεύειν*, in spite of the *κατελθόντες*, which he uses in its place. Of the β text here only fragments are extant. Perhaps such are embedded in the Peshito, where, instead of *οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν* in ver. 11, we read: "and then he went out, *to travel by land*," and ver. 13: "But we went aboard the ship and sailed as far as the neighbourhood (?) of Thesos (for Assos), because we were to take Paul on board there, for so he had appointed when he set out by land."

11. (P. 18.) In respect of Acts xv. 1-5 the present writer cannot admit as text β: (1) the addition after *Ἰουδαίας*, ver. 1, of *τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων*, and the omission of the corresponding words in ver. 5; for aside from the fact that no witness (DS^3 min. 8, 137) presents this text unmixed and complete, and that there exists no Latin witness for it (see also Iren. iii. 12. 14), it seems incredible that Luke should have taken this characteristic of the disturbers of the peace from its natural place in ver. 1 and placed it as an afterthought in ver. 5. (2) The unwonted expression in *α*, ver. 1, *περιτμηθῆτε τῷ ἔθει τῷ Μωϋσέως*, as well as the comparison in ver. 5 or xxi. 21, caused in DS^3 and the Sahidic version

the change καὶ τῷ ἐ. M. περιπατῆτε. But this is not characteristic of β. It is found verbatim, only with further additions, in *Didasc.* (syr. version), p. 102. 26, where in the main (on vv. 2, 5, 20, 29 see n. 12) not β, but α is presupposed. Moreover, the still further altered form in *Const. Ap.* vi. 12, which is based upon *Didasc.*, could not be introduced into the text by Blass in the face of his own chief witnesses. But the better accredited text of β also betrays itself as being an interpolation, in the singular τῷ ἔθει which is retained from α, and which does not construe with περιπατεῖν. Cf. on the contrary vi. 14, xxi. 21. (3) The addition in ver. 2, ἔλεγεν, γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος μένειν (*al.* αὐτούς, *al.* ἕκαστον) οὕτως καθὼς ἐπίστευσαν διισχυριζόμενος, has a much wider currency in β and in such witnesses as represent β largely in other respects also. Against its originality stand the facts: (*a*) that not a single earlier witness has the corresponding construction which Blass is obliged to create in order to use; (*b*) that the language is Paul's as hardly anywhere else in the Acts (1 Cor. vii. 17, 20, 24, 40). On the other hand, it must be admitted that διισχυρίζεσθαι occurs in the N.T. only in Luke xxii. 59; Acts xii. 15. (4) The following, ver. 2, οἱ δὲ ἐληλυθότες ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ παρήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς (αὐ. D, τότε S^3) τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ καί τισιν ἄλλοις ἀναβαίνειν πρός . . . ὅπως κριθῶσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν, in β in itself might be genuine. In α also, only the newly arrived strangers could be the subject of ἔταξαν, since if it were otherwise another subject (perhaps the Church) would have had to be named. β would conform to the correct text in Gal. ii. 5 without οἷς οὐδέ, and, *e.g.*, the correct interpretation put forward by Jerome, according to which Paul's journey to Jerusalem signifies a temporary yielding to the Jews. It is quite comprehensible also that Luke in α should have softened the harsh expression. But all is again made doubtful by the fact that the corresponding words in ver. 5, οἱ δὲ παραγγείλαντες αὐτοῖς ἀναβαίνειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, are incompatible with the characterisation of the people as Pharisees (see above, under 1), which is genuine there, and which is retained by D.

12. (Pp. 19, 20.) Of the variants indicated above on p. 19 by *A*, *B*, *C*, *A* and *B* are to be found in D. (I.) For xv. 20 (where *C* could have no place); Iren. iii. 12. 14, now preserved also in Greek in a scholion (on xv. 20) of the Athos MS. (ed. von der Goltz, S. 41, see vol. i. 396, n. 3). According to the Bible text of this MS. (here without, but in xv. 29 and xxi. 25 with καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ) which, according to the statement of the copyist (S. 7 f.), is said to agree with the text used by Origen as the basis of his commentary, it could appear as if Origen also had had both the defect *A* and the addition *B*. Since, however, Origen neither here nor in the scholion on xv. 29 (S. 43), as so often elsewhere, is expressly mentioned, he may not be adduced either for *A* or for *B* and *C* in any passage whatsoever. Since, furthermore, the critical marks, which point to the scholion on xv. 20, refer only to *B*, not to *A*, Porphyry also, whom the scholiast adduces with an appeal to Eusebius as advocate of the text of Irenæus, may be made responsible only for *B*. The scholiast on xv. 20, where he omits καὶ τοῦ πν., and on xv. 29, where he has it, takes no notice whatever of *A* in the scholia on the two passages. Like Porphyry, also the Sahidic version and many Greek min. witness in xv. 20 only to *B* without *A*; on the contrary, Gigas witnesses to *A* without *B* in xv. 20. (II.) For xv. 29 we find *A*, *B*, and *C* united in

Irenæus (in Greek scholion in Goltz, S. 43; cf. S. 41) and D; only *A* and *B* in Cyprian, *Test.* iii. 119 (perhaps cited incompletely); only *A* and *C* in Tertullian, *Pud.* xii. (differing in the arrangement: *a fornicationibus* [d has this plural also, in *stupris*] *et sanguine*); only *A* in Ambrosiaster (see n. 5), Pacianus, and others, known to Jerome as the ordinary Latin text (Vall. vii. 478, "'ab idolothytis et sanguine et fornicatione' sive, ut in nonnullis exemplaribus scriptum est, 'et a suffocatis'"). The text of the Vulgate, which has no trace of *A*, *B*, *C* in xv. 20, xxi. 15, is uncertain. One can agree with the judgment of Wordsworth and White, who place *suffocato* without *et* in brackets as a gloss, only in the sense that the MSS., which offer *sanguine suffocato*, go back to older MSS., in which the text of the Vulgate in this decisive passage (not, however, in xv. 20, xxi. 25) had been conformed to the Occidental tradition by striking out *et suffocatis* (or—*to*) found in the text, and that later copyists had again introduced into the text the fourth portion, which meanwhile had also in the Occident obtained the ascendency, in the form *suffocato* as attribute to *sanguine*. Jerome himself, who had taken notice of the variants, is to be credited neither with the inconsequence, of which he would have made himself guilty in his treatment of xv. 21 and xv. 29, nor with the adoption of a reading like *sanguine suffocato*, which, to say the least, is very erroneous. For this last reading one may not appeal to Cyril of Jerusalem, for, according to the MSS. (ed. Reischl and Rupp, i. 120, ii. 286), he cites (*Catech.* iv. 28, xvii. 29) καὶ πνικτοῦ in the second passage with the variant καὶ πνικτῶν. Only *B*, xv. 29, is found in S^3, the Sahidic version, nine of the minuscules in Tischendorf, and the Latin Bibles pw, which Blass was the first to compare. In addition to these we are to take as evidence for *B* the letter of a Pelagian, *circa* 415 in Caspari, *Briefe Abhandlungen*, etc., 1890, S. 18, cap. 4; cf. p. 9 (see other material in *GK*, i. 367, A. 1, ii. 589, A. 6), probably also Theop. *ad Antol.* ii. 34, and the Latin Theophilus, i. 31, ii. 4; cf. *Forsch.* ii. 140 f., and quite certainly Aristides, *Apol.* xv. 5; cf. Seeberg, *Forsch.* v. 213, 397. From many others which cite the passage thus or similarly, *e.g.* Aphraates, ed. Wright, 498, Ephrem, *Com. in epist. Pauli*, pp. 9, 26, its likelihood is not to be established. It is very doubtful whether Marcion was acquainted at all with the passage (*GK*, ii. 462). Tertullian knew it (*contra Marc.* iv. 16, ed. Kroymann, p. 472), but, as *Pud.* xii. shows, not as an element of the Apostolic Decree. The oldest Christian writing in which it is found is the *Didache*; but in this the passage (i. 2) is widely separated from the place where it touches upon the Decree (vi. 3). So also in the *Didascalia* (Syr. p. 2. 8 = Lat. ed. Hauler, 2. 12), while the Decree, according to the ordinary text, does not follow until much later (Syr. 104. 23; Lat. 45. 1). (III.) For xxi. 25 the defective reading *A* is to be found only in D and the Gigas. It cannot be concluded (so also again Wordsworth-White, ii. 139), from Tert. *Apol.* ix., that he had in this earlier writing, in distinction from the later, *de Pud.* xii., a text with καὶ πνικτῶν. In *Apol.* ix. he cites no text at all, but mentions the Christian custom of abstaining from every use of the blood of animals, in consequence of which they do not use the flesh of animals which have been strangled, or which have died (*qui propterea suffocatis quoque et morticinis abstinemus*). If this custom was so general in Africa also, as Tertullian here represents it to have been, this presupposes that the unmutilated Decree

was known and operative there. As far as Tertullian himself is concerned, there exists between *Apol.* ix. and *Pud.* xii. only this difference: that in the former instance he assumes the interpretation of the "blood" in the Decree as the blood of animals, to be the natural and only one; and merely draws the conclusion that it would be wholly impossible for the Christians to drink human blood; and that, on the contrary, in *Pud.* xii., without excluding the other interpretation, he prefers to make the word refer to human blood and more particularly to the shedding of blood in murder (*homicidium*). Moreover, a more detailed treatment of the history and the original meaning of the Decree cannot be given in this place; cf., however, § 62, n. 10. New literature on the subject: Böckenhoff, *Das Apostol Speisegesetz*, 1903, and the very venturesome writing of Gotthold Resch (son of A. Resch), *Das Aposteldekret nach seiner ausserkanonischen Textgestalt*, 1905.

13. (P. 20.) Tertullian, *Pud.* xii., translates εἰδωλοθύτων accurately by *sacrificiis*, but interprets it as *idololatria*. The Latin Bible in Cyprian has already the translation *ab idololatriis*. What is to be understood by φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα can be seen from 1 Cor. viii.–x. It refers merely to an indirect participation in idol worship, a dangerous approach to idolatry. The command is φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας, 1 Cor. x. 14, not τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν as in 1 Cor. vi. 18, where the reference is to πορνεία. Only for the purpose of sharpening the conscience is it said (*Didache*, vi. 3; cf. Col. iii. 5) that even the partaking of sacrificial meat, or participation in festivities and banquets whose background is one of idol worship, is in itself idolatry.

14. (P. 20.) In the *Didascalia*, Syriac ed., p. 104. 23, the conclusion reads: "And ye shall abstain from necessary (things), from sacrifices, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from unchastity. And from these (things) guard your souls, and ye will (shall) do good (=εὖ πράξετε), and ye will be sound in health" (ἔρρωσθε). The reading πράξατε (CDHL, *Didasc.*, Latin ed. *bene agite*) or πράξητε (E) expresses the same conception; but the future πράξετε might also, as in the Decalogue, be taken as an imperative, and *bene* (Irenæus, Pacian) or *recte* (Tertullian) *agetis* was not intended to mean anything else. The ἔρρωσθε is wanting in Irenæus and Tertullian, which is hardly accidental, inasmuch as Irenæus at least gives in other instances the writing in complete form. D, which contains it, must have here also a mixed text. Cf. also Clem. Al. *Pæd.* ii. 56, without ἔρρωσθε, S^1: "be strong *in the Lord*."

15. (P. 21.) *Didache*, i. 2: πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαι σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει. Cod. D xv. 20, where the Gentile Christians are spoken of in the third person; but καὶ ὅσα μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι (written γεινεσθαι), ἑτέροις μὴ ποιεῖτε (d *faciatis*, Irenæus *faciant*), and *per contra* xv. 29, where the address would be possible because of what follows, D has θέλετε ἑαυτοῖς . . . ποιεῖν; d, Irenæus (Lat. text), Cyprian, *vultis fieri vobis . . . faciatis* or *feceritis*; Iren. (Greek text) (v. d. Goltz, S. 41), here as in xv. 20, καὶ ὅσα ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι, ἄλλοις μὴ ποιεῖν. The singular ἑτέρῳ, xv. 29 (D, d, Cyprian; pseudo-Aug. *Sermo 265*, ed. Bass. xvi. 1367; the Pelagian letter [see n. 12] *alii* and *nullo alii*), which other Greek and Latin writers felt to be unsuitable alongside of ἑαυτοῖς, *vobis*, and ποιεῖτε, is also an echo of the form ἄλλῳ in the *Didache*.

16. (P. 22.) Blass in Luke i. 26 gives, instead of the definite statement

of time, *ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χαιρῷ*, only according to Latin witnesses. Why does he not, therefore, give the same formula in Acts v. 1 according to E, and in Acts iii. 1 according to D—*ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις*? The first formula is, however, a solemn introduction of the pericopes in the Greek as in the Latin lectionaries; see, *e.g.*, Scholz, *N.T.* ii. 455 ff.; *Liber Comicus*, ed. Morin, pp. 7, 13, 15, etc. It is found also countless times in the *Ev. Hiersol.* in the half-Greek form קירוסא (=*καιρῷ*) וביתה, in most cases standing outside the construction, and even where the statements of time contained and retained in the text itself make it superfluous (Matt. iv. 1, 17, xxiii. 1; John vii. 1, 33, ed. Lagarde, p. 282. 1, 19, 302. 18, 370. 15, 371. 21), but also amalgamated with the text, where it contains no determination of time (John viii. 1, p. 372. 7; in pure Syriac, Matt. xv. 21, p. 292. 25, "at this time came Jesus"). In other passages, as Matt. iii. 1, p. 281. 10, 19, the formula arising out of the system of pericopes displaces that contained in the text. Acts iii. 1, v. 1 were the beginnings of Church pericopes (Scrivener, *Introd.*[4] i. 80 and the marginal readings of Cod. 104 in Tischendorf on Acts iii. 1). Although the later Greek system had Luke i. 24–38 for Annunciation-day (Scrivener, p. 88; *Ev. Hiersol*, ed. Lagarde, pp. 273, 329), i. 26 is, however, the natural beginning. The fact that already Iren. iii. 10. 2, or, at least, his Latin translator, had in i. 26 the liturgical formula, may be of weight for the history of lectionaries, but cannot make the source of the reading doubtful. Cod. D, however, which does not here follow the Latins, stands in other passages under the influence of a pericope-system; cf. Scrivener, *Introd.* p. li. Blass (with D Ss) has not only placed the words *διὰ τὸ εἶναι κτλ.*, taken from Luke ii. 4, after ver. 5, but also by adopting *αὐτούς* for *αὐτόν* has burdened Luke himself, in spite of Luke i. 36, with the fable of the Davidic descent of Mary, which arose in the second century. The only direct witness for this is the Lat. Palat. (ed. Tischendorf, p. 245, *quod essent de domo*, etc.). Since, however, this is the ordinary position of the sentences, according to which up to this point Mary has not been mentioned at all, *essent* is accordingly an evident mistake for *esset*. The Syrians, however, who read here "since both of them were of the house of David," depend upon Tatian, who had allowed himself this insertion (*Forsch.* i. 88, 118, 265; cf. the apocryphal *3te Korintherbrief*, ed. Vetter, S. 54, ver. 4; *GK*, ii. 561; in addition, Ephrem, *Comm. in ep. Paul*, p. 260; *ThLb*, 1893, S. 471; 1895, S. 19); also a Netherland Harmony of the Middle Ages, which offers the same statement in Luke i. 27 (*Academy*, 1894, March 24). This interpolation brought about the transposition of the sentences; since it, however, can be considered an improvement of the style, and since it is to be found in D without the interpolation, Tatian may have found the transposition already present in his Luke.

17. (P. 24.) It it beyond dispute, that in the genealogical scheme of Luke iii. 23 ff., D has introduced the names from Matt. i. 10–16; cf. compilations such as are given in *Cod. Fuld.*, ed. Ranke, p. 33. D has a large harmonising interpolation in Luke v. 14, taken from Mark i. 45, a liturgical gloss at the beginning of a pericope, Luke xvi. 19, see Tischendorf, *ad loc.*, and also on xvi. 1. D alone has after Luke vi. 4 the following: *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡρέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· "ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας, τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ, εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου."* This is followed, vi. 6, by the following recasting of the text: *καὶ*

εἰσελθόντος αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν σαββάτῳ, ἐν ᾗ ἦν ἄνθρωπος κτλ. On the other hand, ver. 5 does not follow until after ver. 10. That all of these changes are arbitrary, appears (1) from the fact that the disappearance from the whole tradition except D of the clever anecdote, at which no Gentile Christian could have taken offence, would otherwise be incomprehensible. (2) It should not be disputed that the teaching in ver. 5 is deduced neither from this anecdote nor from the following Sabbath story, vv. 6–10, but only from the incident related in vv. 1–4. This same closing sentence of the incident is found Matt. xii. 8; Mark ii. 28, and, according to all witnesses except D, also in Luke vi. 5. (3) The anecdote betrays by τῷ σαββάτῳ, which is intolerable after τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ,—since, according to vi. 1, this day is a Sabbath,—that the second statement of time originally belonged to the anecdote; the first statement, however, was added to help in fitting it into the present connection. (4) The awkward position, also, which σαββάτῳ has been given by D in ver. 6, betrays the interpolator. Since two other long interpolations in D, namely, John vii. 53–viii. 11 and Mark xvi. 9–20 (these at least in substance, see vol. ii. 471 f., and below, § 69, n. 3) were taken from Papias, it is probable that this apocryphal Sabbath story was taken from the same source. It can, of course, be historically true: Jesus can have said, that he acts well who, like the priests in the temple (Matt. xii. 5, cf. John vii. 19–23), breaks the letter of the commandment concerning the Sabbath in the consciousness that he is fulfilling a higher duty. The obligatoriness of the law, when rightly understood, he did not by this saying dispute.

18. (P. 24.) Whereas the additions discussed in n. 17 are peculiar to D, it shares with many Latin and partly also Syrian texts a large number of changes of words and inversions which are no more to be understood as actual improvements—perhaps from the author correcting his first edition—than as belonging to the original form from which the *a* text could have arisen. Examples: according to *a*, i. 63, all are astonished that the dumb Zacharias in spite of the general protest gives the child the same name, John, which Elisabeth had given it. It appeared much more astonishing that suddenly he could speak again. Therefore *β* transfers καὶ ἐθαύμασαν πάντες to a position after ἐλύθη ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ. In *β* this is followed by "his mouth, however, was opened"; then first comes the statement, "he spoke, praising God." By what means, however, before he opened his mouth and spoke, could the people have known that his tongue was loosed? It was a necessary improvement of this laughable "improvement," when Ss, and, in view of this one witness, Blass also, transposed the astonishment to a position after the speaking. But how, then, is the much stronger witnessed reading of D abg[1] to be explained? Concerning the commonplace change of xii. 38 (which Marcion found in existence, but which D and most MSS. offer mixed with the genuine text), see *GK*, i. 682 f., ii. 476. In view of the fact that, as a rule, the mother herself is not able at once to attend to her newborn child, the Lat. Palat. (c) has written in ii. 7 the plurals *obvolverunt . . . collocaverunt*. The noticeable brevity of the introductory formula in *a*, xxiii. 42 f., and the form of address with the bare Ἰησοῦ, not found elsewhere in the N.T. (cf., however, Mark i. 24, x. 47; Luke viii. 28 [also here omitted from D], xvii. 13, xviii. 38 [omitted in AE, etc.]), must have stimulated copyists to corrections. But the great multiplicity of the variants, several of

which may be very early, is evidence against all of them. Especially the τῷ ἐπιπλήσσοντι along with αὐτῷ in D characterises itself by its very superfluousness as a gloss to αὐτῷ. A preacher, who contrasted the two malefactors with each other, might have so designated the remorseful one in view of ἐπιτιμῶν, ver. 40; and to a man of this kind all variants of D in this passage are to be credited, *e.g.* ἔλευσις (also xxi. 7 D), θάρσει (also viii. 48 inserted by others). The expression of Luke, in part peculiar but also varied in manifold ways according to the object and the sources used, incited to changes in order to make his Gospel agree partly with the other Gospels and partly with the common usage. In this respect D, and its satellites especially, have gone to great lengths. The inconsistency of β proves that the variants which have arisen in this way have not been brought about by a systematic working over either of β into α, or of α into β, but by sporadic changes in β. The word πλησθῆναι (the verb 13 times in Luke, 9 times in Acts, only 3 times elsewhere), used to designate the passing of a period of time, i. 23, 57, ii. 6, 21, 22 (with another meaning not found in N.T.), is retained 3 times in D, however, ii. 6 τελεσθῆναι (cf. Rev. xx. 3–5), ii. 21 συντελεσθῆναι (cf. Luke iv. 2; Acts xxi. 27). D has replaced καλεῖν ὄνομα, i. 13, 31, ii. 21 (Matt. i. 21–25) only in ii. 21 by the preferable ὀνομάζειν ὄν (cf. Acts xix. 13; Eph. i. 21), and, on the other hand, has replaced the latter in vi. 13 by καλεῖν, used more commonly in the choice of the apostles, and in vii. 14 by ἐπονομάζειν, which is more suited in giving a person a surname. For ἐπιστάτης, which is used only by Luke, D has in v. 5 διδάσκαλε, vii. 24 κύριε, *per contra* in viii, 45 (one min. omits), ix. 33 (the min. 157, which otherwise agrees with D, and Marcion has διδάσκαλε), ix. 49 (many διδάσκαλε), and xvii. 13 has retained it. For ἦχος (only Luke iv. 37; Acts ii. 2, also κατηχεῖν, in the Gospels only Luke i. 4; Acts xviii. 25, xxi. 21, 24) D has iv. 37 ἀκοή, as Matt. and Mark everywhere, Luke never in this meaning. For αἶνος, xviii. 43 (cf. αἰνεῖν 4 times in Luke, 3 times in Acts, only twice elsewhere in N.T.), D has the common δόξα; for ἄτοπον, xxiii. 41 (elsewhere only Acts xxv. 5, xxviii. 6; entirely different 2 Thess. iii. 2), the trivial πονηρόν.

19. (P. 24.) The present writer mentions as genuine texts which D and its satellites have preserved: (1) iii. 22: υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. So D and a large number of Latin witnesses. Augustine, who throughout his work, *de Cons. Evv.*, uses the Vulgate as the basis of his discussion (Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala*, 1896), mentions (ii. 19. 31) only the older *Greek* MSS., which have the common text. In the Latin Bible, β was at all events predominating and original. The fact that the Syriac versions do not have this form is explained by their dependence upon Tatian, who naturally could use only *one* form of the words spoken by the heavenly voice, for which, however, he did not choose Luke iii. 22, but Matt. iii. 17 (*Forsch.* i. 124). If it is established that the *Gospel of the Ebionites* (*circa* 170) is a compilation from the canonical Gospels, and has made especial use of Luke,—also in the account of the baptism (ἐν εἴδει),—it cannot be well doubted, that of the three heavenly voices which this Gospel contains, the first is taken from Mark i. 11, the second from Luke iii. 22 (in the form β), and the third from Matt. iii. 17 (*GK*, ii. 726, 732 f.). It may further be considered as settled that Justin, *Dial.* lxxxviii. ciii., to whom

this text was evidently embarrassing, had read it in Luke (*GK*, i. 541). According to the creed of the Church, Jesus, on account of His wonderful entrance into human life, was already looked upon as the Son of God; further, as early as in Heb. i. 5, Ps. ii. 7 was interpreted as referring to this event, and this seems better to suit Luke i. 32, 35. The variation from Matt. and Mark must have also appeared objectionable, and finally an extreme emphasis was laid upon the baptism of Jesus by many heretics. In view of all these facts, therefore, the β text must have become more and more intolerable to the consciousness of the Church, and at the same time to those who, like Justin, in addition to the wonderful generation of the man Jesus, taught also a pretemporal generation of the Logos. The rise and wide circulation of β, on the basis of α, in the Church of the second century appears incomprehensible; on the other hand, the gradual supplanting of β by α seems almost unavoidable. It is inconceivable that one and the same Luke in the two editions of his work should have changed from one to the other of the mutually exclusive traditions. There is, however, no evidence against the fact that β originated with Luke himself. If Ps. ii. 7 could have been connected with the resurrection in Acts xiii. 32–34, and in Heb. i. 5 f. with the incarnation, so also could it have been connected with the baptism. Luke iii. 22 β is just as consistent with Luke i. 35 as Acts ii. 36 with Luke ii. 11, iv. 18, Acts x. 36, 38, or as Rom. i. 4 with Rom. i. 3, viii. 3. God begat Jesus as His Son, since He was born; and again in the figurative meaning of the Psalm passage made Him His Chosen Christ, since He furnished Him in the baptism with the spirit of His office (Luke xxiii. 35; John i. 34 according to ℵ Ss Sc *et al*). (2) From fear that they might be utilised by the Marcionites, the words, ix. 54, "even as Elijah did," and ver. 55, "ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," were struck out, the former by some (Sc, of the Latin MSS. e vg), the latter by others (AC), both by still others (ℵBL Ss). These facts prove that an antinomistic text produced by Marcion has not here found the most extensive circulation in the Catholic Church (D, most Latin MSS. S^1 S^3, Chrysost. etc.), but that Marcion found this, and that Luke had written it (*GK*, ii. 468). (3) The history of the text of xxii. 17–20 is very involved. I. The α text is found with some variants in ℵABCL, etc., and accordingly in Tischendorf as in the Text. receptus. II. The present writer considers as belonging to β the text of the two most important old Latin MSS. b e (k lacks this passage). In this text ver. 16 is immediately followed by ver. 19*a*, καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον—τὸ σῶμά μου, then comes vv. 17, 18 as in Tischendorf. There is lacking, therefore, vv. 19*b*–20 (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον—τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον). How Marcion's text is related to this text has not yet been determined with entire certainty. At all events he has nothing of vv. 16, 18, 19*b* (on this point *GK*, ii. 490, is not fully exact); further, he has the cup after the bread, *i.e.* immediately after 19*a*, and only one cup. He agrees, therefore, in decisive points with β against α. The sentence about the cup contains, however, the word διαθήκη. It was accordingly formed, not as in β=ver. 17 of α, but probably after 1 Cor. xi. 25, as to a certain extent also in α, ver. 20. In another way Ss and Sc in this passage (concerning S^1=Peshito at the present writing there is nothing certain to be said) show that β is their basis which they have interpolated in various ways from the parallels. At the same time one must

consider that they are influenced by Tatian, who, as may easily be conceived, had in his harmony a mixed text from the different accounts of the Gospels, probably also from 1 Cor. xi. (*Forsch.* i. 204 ; *GK*, ii. 551 ff.). That the Syriac versions have attempted many times to improve this passage is shown by the fact that *γέννημα* is rendered by three different words in Sc Ss S^1. Sc Ss agree with *β* in that they have the order vv. 16, 19, 17, 18, 21, and also only one cup. However, ver. 19 f. reads in these texts : "And he took bread, and gave thanks over it, and brake it, and gave it to them, and said : This is My body, which (Ss+is given) for you ; this do in remembrance of Me. And (Ss+after they had eaten) He took a cup, and gave thanks over it, and said : Take this, divide it among yourselves (Ss+this is My blood of the new covenant). I say to you that from henceforth I will not drink of the fruit of the vine (Ss of this fruit) until the Kingdom of God comes" (ver. 21 follows). It is evident to everyone that all that Ss has additional to Sc is interpolation ; no Syrian who had 1 Cor. xi. and the other Gospels, or the *Diatessaron* (cf. Aphraates, p. 221), in his Bible, could take offence at it. Therefore, if Sc offers the relatively or absolutely original Syriac text of the "separate" Gospels, then this differs from *β* only by the acceptance of ver. 19*b*. This addition does not come, however, from a Greek text of Luke, but, since *διδόμενον* is lacking, from 1 Cor. xi. 24. III. D and four old Latin MSS. have vv. 16–19*a* (as far as *τὸ σῶμά μου*) in the order of *α*, but without xv. 19*b*–20. This text, which is here called *γ*, can neither in itself nor in relation to II. be original. For (1) the ancient character of the Latin witnesses for *β* (b e) in comparison with the Latin witnesses for *γ* (a ff^2 i l), as also the essential agreement of the former with the oldest Syriac text (see above), proves that *β* is the more original form in the Latin Bible, from which at a later time *γ* developed. This change is explained if we presuppose on the part of the author of the *γ* text a regard for the *α* text, which also in the Occident gradually gained the ascendency. This *arrangement* (of the account of the Supper) was adopted more easily, since thereby a seemingly suitable *parallelismus membrorum* between vv. 15–16 and 17–18 would be secured. On the other hand, the *wording* of the old Occidental, and at the same time Syriac text *β* itself was retained even in details, such as the omission of the second *καί*, ver. 17. (2) Consequently *γ* cannot be original, since in this text the one cup, which *β* and *γ* have, is placed before the bread. This, however, contradicts all tradition, both of the N.T. (1 Cor. xi. 24 f., cf. x. 3 f.; Matt. xxvi. 26 f.; Mark xiv. 22 f.; also Marcion and Tatian, *GK*, ii. 490, 509 ; *Forsch.* i. 204) and of the liturgical usage. Against this one cannot adduce as evidence to the contrary the mention of the cup before the bread, 1 Cor. x. 16 f., or even before the table, *i.e.* before the entire meal, ver. 21 ; for it is inconceivable that Paul should contradict himself in so brief a passage. The *Didache* also recognises the order, food and drink (*Didache*, x. 3, cf. 1 Cor. x. 3 f.), while the prayers (*Didache*, ix. 2 f.) at first over the cup, then over the bread, do not belong to the Eucharist in the narrower meaning, but to the introductory Agape (*Forsch.* iii. 293 ff.). There remains accordingly only the question whether *α* or *β* was written by Luke. For *β* there are decisive : (1) the age of its attestation, (2) that the origin of *β* from *α* is just as easily understood as the origin of *α* from *β* is inconceivable. No Christian of earlier or later times could take offence at the words in vv. 19*b*, 20, known

in part from Matt. and Mark and in part from 1 Cor. xi. On the other hand, everyone must take offence at the fact that the cup of Luke is not likened to the blood, and was not in any way characterised in its sacramental significance. Inasmuch as the Gospel of Luke in earlier times was held to be the Gospel of Paul (vol. ii. 385, n. 7), nothing was more natural than to add to his meagre text from 1 Cor. xi. Since, however, according to a very effective Canon of the text criticism of the early Church, anything that had been handed down in the tradition, and was suited to the taste of the Church, might not be relinquished (cf. Eusebius in Mai, *Nova p. bibl.* iv. 1. 255), the original account of the cup, in no way characterised as a sacrament, was transferred to a position before the account of the institution of the sacrament, *i.e.* immediately following ver. 16, after it had been displaced by an interpolation from its original position. Along with the eating of the passover, ver. 15 f., stood now as seemingly suitable a drinking of the cup, which belonged just as little as the former to the sacrament, but as well as that constituted an act preparatory to the institution of the sacrament. (3) That α grew out of β in such an artificial way, is betrayed also by the fact that τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον, ver. 20, does not in its content suit τὸ ποτήριον nor in its wording τῷ αἵματι as apposition. Neither a solecism so bad, and in no way necessary, is to be credited to a Luke, nor the impossible thought that the cup which Jesus hands to the disciples was poured out or shed in their behalf. The genuineness of β appears from all these facts to the present writer to be without doubt. The peculiarity of the account of Luke, which, to be sure, is noticeable, is due to the purpose of this Gospel, cf. § 60. The present writer must content himself with these examples out of the textual history of Luke's Gospel, and add only the assertion, that also in other important passages it must first be determined what is the original of the group of *Western* and *Eastern* witnesses, designated by β, before one can decide anything as to what is the original. The present writer is of the opinion that D has preserved also xxii. 43 f., xxiv. 51, which were written Luke ; on the other hand, the false additions, xxiii. 38, 53 ; omissions, xxiii. 34 ; false changes, xi. 53 f.

§ 60. PREFACE, PLAN, AND PURPOSE OF LUKE'S HISTORICAL WORK.

Unlike Matthew and Mark, the third Gospel has no title given to it by the author, in which respect it resembles the Fourth Gospel and Acts. Nor is there evidence to show that Luke, whom we may assume to be the author, ever provided either of his two books with a common title, or each of them with individual titles, which were subsequently lost (n. 1). In fact, such a title was quite unnecessary, if Luke did not design his work for circulation among the reading public through the ordinary

channels, and if he did not intend it to be read in the services of the Church, as John did Revelation, but wrote it primarily for the use of an individual. That this was the case is proved by the dedication prefixed to the work. In this Luke is the only one of the historical authors of the N.T. to follow a custom much in vogue among the Greek and Roman writers of that time. Although in classic usage the dedication frequently was only a polite expression of personal regard or of servile appeal, having no intimate connection with the contents and purpose of the writing, there are numerous cases where the address shows that the writer dedicated his work to a friend and patron because he had suggested its composition, or because, from his interest in the subject of the work or in the person of the author, the latter hoped to secure a wider circulation of his work, or because such a person seemed to him appropriately to represent the class of readers whom he desired his book to reach (n. 2).

In general, this characterises the dedication of Luke's work to Theophilus, as is clear from the specific statement of the author's purpose with which the dedication concludes. The address, *κράτιστε Θεόφιλε*, not only shows that Theophilus was a man of high position (n. 3), but also proves that, at the time, he was not a member of the Christian Church; since there is no instance in the Christian literature of the first two centuries where a Christian uses a secular title in addressing another Christian, to say nothing of a title of this character, which may be said to correspond in a general way to "Your Excellency" (n. 3). Theophilus is a Gentile interested in Christianity. The word *κατηχήθης* cannot be interpreted to mean that he was a "catechumen" in the technical sense, *i.e.* a person under instruction by the Church preparatory to baptism. For, in the first place, we do not find this technical meaning of *κατηχεῖν*, *κατηχεῖσθαι* in use until a later time, and, in particular,

it is not to be found in this sense elsewhere in Luke's writings. In the second place, the use of the aorist would indicate that Theophilus had previously received this instruction, and had been already baptized. This, however, is not only out of harmony with the title by which Luke addresses him, as already indicated, but even more so with the statement of the result which Luke hoped to accomplish in the case of Theophilus by his historical account. The work is designed to give Theophilus his first real knowledge, fundamental insight, and conviction regarding the "trustworthiness of the words concerning which he had heard" (ver. 4, n. 4). Assuming as self-evident that the λόγοι, about the trustworthiness of which the author is here speaking, were words, discourses, or teachings relating to the πράγματα which Luke was about to set forth in their historical order, it is perfectly clear that one who had been instructed by the Church and baptized into its membership would not need to be convinced of the trustworthiness of these λόγοι. Moreover, from Luke's language it is certain that the information which Theophilus had received about the facts of Christianity and the Christian doctrines based upon these facts, had not afforded a certainty which satisfied his critical understanding (n. 4). On the other hand, the fact that Luke's book is dedicated to him, and the tone of the dedication, prove that it was not mere curiosity that led Theophilus to enter into relation with the Christians and with Luke, but that he was favourably inclined toward the Christian faith, only all his doubts had not yet been overcome. The fact that Luke dedicated a second book to him may be taken as proof that the first had met a kindly reception, while from the absence of the polite form of address in Acts i. 1 we are possibly to conclude that in the meantime he had ceased to be the man of distinction, and had become a brother. One of the Greek preachers (above, p. 6, n. 5) fittingly compares Theophilus with the pro-

consul Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii. 6–12). In view of his social position, it is very natural to suppose that Luke may have written for him primarily, as he says (*σοὶ γράψαι*). But Theophilus' position was also a guarantee that when the work had accomplished its immediate end it would find a wider circulation.

If such was Luke's purpose, it follows at once that vv. 1–2 are not designed to give the reasons which led him to the decision to write this work. In the first place, the contents of vv. 1–2 are not at all suited to express such a purpose (n. 5). Moreover, it is self-evident that the only adequate and generally intelligent reason for literary work of any sort is always and only the purpose which the author believes can be accomplished in this way, and only in this way. Therefore, vv. 1–2 must have been written solely in order to justify Luke's undertaking by citing the case of others who had undertaken similar work before him, whose historical position gave them no more right to do so than he possessed, and whose information was no greater than his own. The structure of the sentence (*ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν . . . ἔδοξε κἀμοί*) shows at once that Luke places himself on quite the same level with these earlier writers, in order to show that his undertaking is not unheard of or presumptuous. If, as Origen thought (n. 6), criticism of his predecessors were implied in *ἐπεχείρησαν*, then he chose the means least adapted to accomplish this end. Writing of this kind is here simply described as a difficult task, both in the case of the "many" and in his own case. It is possible that he means at the same time that one or another of the many, or all of them, had failed to accomplish their purpose. Nevertheless, the "I also" (ver. 3) shows that all which he says of his predecessors is equally applicable to himself. On the other hand, all that he says of his own work, in vv. 3–4, except *ἔδοξε κἀμοὶ γράψαι*, namely, the dedication to Theophilus, what he hoped to accomplish with him, the preparatory investiga-

tions which he made, and the method of his exposition, refers exclusively to Luke. Since all these are things not touched upon in the characterisation of the older writers and their work, we may assume that Luke means to imply that these features of his own work are not to be found in these earlier writers. While it is not expressly stated what it was that was lacking in the earlier writings, the fact that Luke does not recommend to Theophilus any one of them, proves that no one of them was adapted to Luke's particular purpose.

"Many," says Luke, "have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us." In contrast to Theophilus, who is still outside the Church, Luke here, as in ver. 2, associates himself not only with the earlier writers, but also with the entire group of those occupying the same position and seeking the same ends, to which both he and these writers belonged. This is the Christian Church, and, in particular, the Christian Church of Luke's own time as distinguished from the eye-witnesses of the gospel history (ver. 2 ; cf. John i. 14), many of whom were perhaps no longer living. Taking πληροφορεῖν in the only sense in which it occurs with an impersonal object (n. 6), it may mean either that the things in question have been accomplished, *i.e.* reached their consummation, in the Christian Church of Luke's time, or τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν πράγματα,—instead of which τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς, or τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, or τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα could have been used equally well,—may be used to distinguish the facts in question from all other historical facts, and the facts thus carefully limited would then be said to have been to a certain extent accomplished in the writer's lifetime. The latter interpretation is favoured not only by the position of ἐν ἡμῖν after πεπληροφορημένων, but also by the fact that, according to the other construction, the indication of the subject of the proposed historical work would be very obscurely designated. Accordingly, the sentence may be

taken to mean that many have undertaken to set forth the distinctively Christian facts, in other words the history of Christianity, and that Luke intends to make a similar attempt, since *πράγματα* is certainly to be supplied as the object of *παρέδοσαν* in ver. 2, and of *παρηκολουθηκότι πᾶσιν* and *γράψαι*, ver. 3.

The norm by which the earlier writers and Luke also were guided, and, consequently, the principal source upon which they depended, was the reports of those who from the beginning had been eye-witnesses (of these *πράγματα*), and ministers of the word (n. 7). It follows at once that the writers with whom Luke here compares himself were not *αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου* from the beginning, but became such later. Such a contrast as this, which is left unexpressed elsewhere also (1 John i. 1–4, iv. 14; John i. 14; 1 Pet. v. 1; 2 Pet. i. 16), is necessary in order to explain the *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*, since the trustworthiness of a witness and the value of his testimony is by no means conditioned upon his having had a personal connection with the details of the history from the beginning. The centurion at the cross, a member of the Sanhedrin like Nicodemus, Lazarus in Bethany, a travelling companion of Paul's, were the really classic witnesses for the portions of the history in which they took part. But those from whom the tradition was received, the persons to whom the Christian Church owed its knowledge of the facts of Christian history and the faith which was based upon these facts, were of a different class. Although no one of them could have experienced every detail which Luke designs to set forth, taken together they may be considered witnesses of the whole series of events in question, and recipients of a call which made it their duty to communicate their knowledge of these facts to others.

As to the second phrase, the *ministry* of the *word*, *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* clearly means "from the beginning of the Christian preaching after the resurrection of Jesus," and

possibly Acts i. 22, x. 37, John xv. 37, cf. vi. 64, xvi. 4, indicate that this is the meaning of the same phrase in relation to the *eye-witnesses*. It is to be observed, in the first place, that Luke has chosen an expression to describe the call of the original witnesses which cannot be limited to the apostles, but which, leaving the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς out of account, includes all who had taken part in the διακονία τοῦ λόγου (Acts vi. 4, xiii. 5, xx. 24, xxvi. 16; 1 Cor. iii. 5, iv. 1; Col. i. 7, 25; 1 Tim. i. 12, v. 17; 2 Tim. ii. 15, iv. 2, 5). Even if this circle is limited by the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς to those who had been engaged in this work ever since the first years of the gospel preaching, if not from the Day of Pentecost, it is not confined to the apostles, but includes persons like Philip (Acts viii. 4 ff.), the brothers of Jesus (Acts i. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5, xv. 7), and other ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί (Acts xxi. 16). In the second place, this is true also of the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται. Even where the latter expression is limited to the apostles, it is not possible to make it refer with equal literalness to the same point of time for all; since Matthew, for example, became a companion of Jesus much later than did Peter and John. Moreover, since the apostles were chosen still later, on this assumption important parts of the gospel history would be excluded from the realm covered by the testimony of eye-witnesses. Of all the gospel writers, Luke in particular could not have regarded either the choosing of the apostles or the baptism of John as the beginning of Christian history, from which point of time the Church had received an account based upon the testimony of eye-witnesses; for both in i. 3 and in the carrying out of his plan he places the beginning of the history which he is about to set forth at a point very far back. Account must be taken also of the contents of Luke i. 5–ii. 52. What was the length of Mary's life, who is not mentioned in the N.T. after the events recorded in Acts i. 14, and who is not referred to at all outside the historical books, except in Gal. iv. 4, and

here not by name, we do not know. The brothers of Jesus also were "ministers of the word," and the fact that they retained a critical attitude towards Jesus until the last makes them none the less eye-witnesses of the history of His early life (vol. i. 104 f.).

Reverting now to the question as to the way in which this entire circle of the original witnesses of the history of Christianity transmitted the facts to the growing Church (*παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν*), we infer, more from the context of the prologue than from the language used in it (n. 8), that it must have been by oral narratives. For, in the *first* place, it was the chief business of the "ministers of the word" not to write books, but to proclaim the unwritten gospel (§ 48). In the *second* place, *παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν* can refer to the composition of one or more Gospels only in case all the eye-witnesses and the ministers of the word edited a single Gospel together, or each one of them prepared a separate Gospel. But both suppositions are equally absurd. The only thing in which all of these witnesses could have had part was the oral transmission of the facts, and that in a great variety of ways. In the *third* place, the work of the writers with whom Luke classifies himself could not be called an *ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν* if they had possessed the facts, which they designed to set forth before them, in several writings prepared by the original witnesses, *i.e.* in the form of written narrative (*διηγήσεις*); for such narratives must have had some plan, and the work of these writers would necessarily have consisted in some sort of a rearrangement of the plan and exposition of the material found in these books. The expression in ver. 1 means that Luke's numerous predecessors collected and themselves arranged for the first time into a connected and continuous narrative, facts which up to that time had been testified to and narrated in detail only as occasion demanded. In the *fourth* place, if, in ver. 2, Luke was thinking of written

records of the original witnesses, it would not have been sufficient justification of his undertaking to call attention to the example of many before him who, without being eye-witnesses, had undertaken work similar to his own. On the contrary, it would have been necessary for him to show that the writings of the original witnesses did not render superfluous those of others writing in the second generation and dependent upon the original witnesses, and to indicate how this was so. The presupposition which lies behind this entire justification of his undertaking seems to be that the original witnesses of the history of Christianity were the ones originally called to be its historians, but that they did not undertake this task; so that now it was necessary for others, who were apparently much less suited to its accomplishment, to venture upon this work. It is clear, therefore, that Luke *knew nothing of a Gospel written by one of the apostles and personal disciples of Jesus.*

With regard to the numerous gospel writings, however, of which he did have some knowledge, there is at least *one* with which we have already become acquainted that exactly suits his description, namely, the Gospel of Mark. This was written by a man who was not among the original eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, but who became both in the later course of the history of Christianity. He was dependent, consequently, upon the testimony of these original witnesses, especially upon that of Peter, for the most important part of the gospel history. Their narratives were the norm to which Mark conformed, and, at the same time, the principal source from which he drew. We say principal source, because Luke does not say more of his predecessors—if we have correctly interpreted him to mean that the "many" actually became eye-witnesses during the course of the history which it was their task to set forth, so that they were not dependent upon the tradition of those who were eye-witnesses from

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the beginning for everything they wrote. The reference of Luke's description to the Gospel of Mark is not excluded by the fact that Mark is dependent in many places upon the Aramaic Matthew, since Luke did not necessarily know that this relation existed. Moreover, an Aramaic book, so long as it remained untranslated into Greek, was outside of the range of the knowledge of a Greek like Luke, even if he had heard of its existence; while it was entirely outside Theophilus' range of vision. Nor can the applicability of the description to Mark be denied, because the subjects with which these histories deal are described as *πεπληροφορημένα*. For, in the first place, Luke could speak of them from the point of view of his own time without implying that they were known to his predecessors in the same completed form in which they were known to him. In the second place, Luke does not say that his predecessors set forth the entire history of Christianity, but that they undertook to construct a narrative dealing with it. When we recall, on the one hand, that Mark's work was never completed, and, on the other hand, that it was probably designed to reach down to and include the history of the apostolic preaching (vol. ii. 479), it would seem that Mark was just the kind of a work that Luke had in mind when he wrote the description in i. 1–2.

Inasmuch as a Mark and many others, whose names we do not know, had undertaken to write concerning the history of Christianity, Luke also, overcoming the doubts betrayed in his preface, decided on the basis of careful investigation, which went back to the beginning, to set forth for Theophilus' benefit in order and in writing all the facts in question, having in view the purpose which has already been discussed (n. 9). The language Luke uses does not give the impression that he made the investigations upon which his narrative is based after his decision to write, nor that these investigations were

carried on as the plan was developed. It would seem rather that, for other reasons, and because of his own interest in the facts, he had already investigated all the facts in question carefully from the beginning, and that now he had decided to set them forth because of the opportunity to do Theophilus a service which the latter had probably requested. Inasmuch as Luke implies at the outset in ver. 2 that he, like the other gospel writers, did not belong to the company of those who had been eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning, but was able to give an account of the earlier events only from the oral traditions of those who were such, it follows that his investigations must have been inquiries into these oral traditions, and that these inquiries were made of persons who handed these traditions down. This does not necessarily imply that it was possible for Luke to inquire of the original witnesses themselves concerning all the details, for it will be observed that the "we," which is used twice at the beginning (vv. 1, 2), identifies Luke not only with the writers with whom he compares himself, but likewise with the Christian Church, which owed to these original witnesses the knowledge of its origin and early history. It is possible, therefore, that Luke received the tradition from the original witnesses indirectly. If, however, the investigations to which Luke refers were as comprehensive and as careful as he assures us they were, he must have made every effort to secure the testimony of the most trustworthy and oldest possessors of the tradition in proportion as he was able to consult such persons. If the author was a member of the Church in Antioch as early as the year 40 (above, p. 2), and if he is identical with the narrator in the "we" sections of Acts, and with the Luke of the Pauline letters, he had abundant opportunity to secure information directly from prominent first-hand witnesses of the Christian tradition. Although he does not say in so many

words that he made use of the writings of his predecessors, he does not deny it. So far as the Gospel is concerned, the *καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν* means that he made the testimony of these original witnesses alone his authority in matters pertaining to the history of the Christian tradition. But this does not preclude the possibility of his having appreciated and used the work of earlier writers, who used practically the same sources as himself, but who in special points drew from sources no longer at Luke's command, or which had never been accessible to him. A man of the literary training which the style of the dedication shows the author to have possessed, could not have been indifferent to writings, known to him, which dealt with the same topics as his own (cf. § 61), even if his own investigations among the sources of the oral tradition, the particular purpose for which he wrote, and the corresponding arrangement of his book made him independent of his predecessors.

Since his preparatory studies took him back to the beginning of the history which he was to set forth (*ἄνωθεν*), this was also the natural point at which to begin his account. Comparison of Luke i. 5–iv. 15 with Mark i. 1–15 will show what is meant. This was one of the means by which a man like Theophilus might be impressed with the trustworthiness of the history of Christianity. A further means is suggested by *καθεξῆς*. For inasmuch as the facts in question were historical, it is self-evident that the order in which they were to be set forth must in a general way correspond to the order in which they took place. But we do not know definitely how far Luke, notwithstanding the carefulness of his investigations, was in a position to give the exact chronology. Moreover, by the use of this expression he does not mean to say that chronological accuracy is the main point in his narrative, but that he intends to give a logically connected historical account in which

what precedes prepares for and explains what follows, in contrast to the disconnected narratives to which Theophilus had been heretofore accustomed.

There remains to be discussed the question as to how much ground Luke intended his account to cover—in other words, to what work and to what sort of a work the dedication refers. The fact that the Gospel of Luke was early united with the other Gospels, which were generally considered a unit even after the codex form of manuscript came into use (*GK*, i. 61 ff.), with the consequent separation of Luke from Acts, is not sufficient reason for denying, as is frequently done, that these two books belonged together, being parts of one work, and that both are covered by the prologue (n. 10). The prologue itself shows that the work which it introduces is not to be limited to the Gospel. If Luke meant the prologue to cover only the history of Jesus up to the time of His ascension, the statement of the theme, namely, *τὰ πεπληροθορημένα ἐν ἡμῖν πράγματα*, is inexplicable. Why did not Luke use some such expression as that in Acts i. 1, or such an expression as John used in his testimony regarding Mark (vol. ii. 453, n. 14), or *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* so frequently employed by himself (vol. ii. 377, n. 2), which would serve as a general description of writings covering the gospel history and likewise of his own? If he had a general conception of the history of Christianity, and if he thought of this history as reaching a definite consummation in his own time, he must have intended in the nature of the case to set it forth in its completeness. Just as he planned to begin at the very beginning (*ἄνωθεν*), so he must have purposed to carry the narrative down to its conclusion. This historical period was, however, by no means concluded with the promise of the Spirit and the command to convert all peoples (Luke xxiv. 44–49); and even if a Christian had regarded these events as the practical conclusion of the *τὰ ἐν ἡμῖν πράγματα*, there is no

conceivable reason why it should be expressly stated that they were completed, when no more was meant than that they had happened. Furthermore, we found it suggested in ver. 2 that Luke, like some of his predecessors, *e.g.* Mark, became an eye-witness and a minister of the word during the course of events which he was attempting to set forth. Since, however, both according to his own testimony and that of the tradition, he was not one of the personal disciples of Jesus, he must have included among the events to be set forth those that took place in the apostolic age, in which other eye-witnesses and ministers of the word were added to those who had been such from the beginning. We should expect also that in the course of the work the writer would at least indicate the point where he passes to the account of events in which he himself took part.

If the third Gospel were all we had from Luke's hand, we should certainly infer from the prologue that only the first part of his work is preserved to us. But we have also Acts, which is ascribed to Luke quite as unanimously as is the Gospel. Acts is likewise dedicated to Theophilus, and is, moreover, represented to be the second part of a larger work, the first part of which set forth the deeds and teachings of Jesus. And as if this were not sufficient to establish the connection between the two, the deeds and teachings of Jesus set forth in the first book are declared to be the beginning of a work continued after His departure (Acts i. 1 ; n. 10). This is the authenticated interpretation of the πεπληροφορημένων in Luke i. 1. If all that Jesus did and taught before His ascension was a beginning which required to be continued and completed, the Gospel was not planned without reference to Acts, and the two together constitute a single work, the introduction to which is Luke i. 1–4. So in Acts we find confirmation of the preliminary reference in ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. The "we" of Acts xi. 27 f. (above, p. 4, n. 3), xvi.

10–17, xx. 5 (or xx. 6)–xxi. 18, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16 corresponds to the "I" of the prologue and of Acts i. 1. The author permits us to recognise him as an eye-witness of events which he describes in his history. At the beginning of each book, where, as the author, he contrasts himself to Theophilus, he unconsciously uses "I." Where he appears as an actor in the narrative he does not use this designation, nor does he employ his name, which possibly could have been taken to refer to some person other than the author, but uses "we," thus choosing the middle course between the two tendencies of ancient historians in setting forth events in which the narrator had part. These manifested themselves, on the one hand, in the effort to secure objectivity in the narrative, which seemed to be sacrificed when the personality of the author was introduced; and, on the other hand, in the desire to make it clear that the things recorded were not mere hearsay, but based on the author's own experience (n. 11). According to xi. 27 f., the author was not one of the prophets who came from Jerusalem to Antioch in the year 40 (see Part XI.), but was a member of the Church in Antioch; and, since he clearly was not a Jew, he must have been one of the Hellenists converted before Paul's or even Barnabas' arrival in Antioch, through the influence of persons from Cyprus and Cyrene who had fled originally from Jerusalem (Acts xi. 20 f.). Since the narrative preceding Acts xvi. 10, where the "we" is introduced for the second time, is of a very summary character, it is impossible to determine exactly the moment when Luke joined Paul. He is the fourth member of Paul's party when, with Silas and Timothy, the latter reached Troas on the second missionary journey, and he was with them during the journey to Macedonia, and during their stay in Philippi (n. 12). Inasmuch as the "we" does not appear again until the passage in which Paul is represented as setting out on a journey

from Philippi, about the time of the Passover in the year 58 (xx. 5; n. 13), it appears that Luke was in Philippi during the five or six years intervening, after which he accompanied Paul to Jerusalem (xx. 7, 13–15, xxi. 1–18). According to the prologue, his interest in the tradition was not entirely new when this was written; and if he began to feel this interest as early as this journey to Jerusalem, he could not have failed to make use of the opportunity to satisfy it which was afforded him by intercourse with early disciples (Acts xxi. 16), with James (xxi. 18), and with others who had been eye-witnesses from the beginning. Since he accompanied Paul on his journey to Rome in the autumn of the year 60 (xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16), it is probable that he remained in Palestine, in the vicinity of Cæsarea, during the whole of the two years and a quarter during which Paul was compelled to remain in that city. If Luke is the author, we have information concerning him for a considerable time longer. He was with Paul during both the first and second Roman imprisonments (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11). He seems to have remained in Rome from his arrival in the spring of the year 61 until after the year 66.

The statement of the prologue about the ministry of the word likewise receives confirmation in the N.T. Not only does Paul call Luke one of his fellow-workers (Philem. 24), but the author of Acts describes himself in xvi. 10, 13, 17 as being engaged with Paul, Silas, and Timothy in preaching the gospel in Philippi. If he remained here for a number of years (see above), it is not unlikely that he performed the work of an evangelist in addition to his regular medical calling, and it is possible that the ancient tradition which makes Luke the brother referred to in 2 Cor. viii. 18 may have a basis in fact (above, p. 6, n. 6).

If from what has been said it follows that Acts is an

integral part of the historical work introduced by Luke i. 1–4, this does not in any sense imply that the work which Luke planned to write reached its intended conclusion with Acts xxviii. 31. It is certainly a significant point in the history of Christianity which is reached at the close of the second book. After having overcome difficulties which seemed to multiply themselves, Paul has at last reached Rome, which for so many years has been the longed-for goal of his plans (Acts xix. 21, xxiii. 11, xxv. 11, 21, 25, xxvii. 24, xxviii. 14–16; cf. Rom. i. 10–15, xv. 22–29), and although under arrest the apostle is able to preach the gospel without hindrance in the capital of the empire. But not a single detail of his preaching during these two years is recorded; much less is said about it even than about his three weeks' preaching in Thessalonica, xvii. 1–9. The reader, whose attention has been kept fixed upon this goal since xix. 21, is bitterly disappointed, not only because of the meagreness of the sketch in Acts xxviii. 30 f., but particularly because nothing is said about the outcome of Paul's trial, which has been in view ever since xxv. 10 f., xxvii. 24. A more awkward conclusion of the work could scarcely be imagined. This is not explained by the assumption, which was made in early times, but is incapable of being proved, that Luke wrote or concluded his book immediately after the close of the two years (above, p. 7 f., n. 7). The fact that he writes *διετίαν ὅλην* proves that he knew what event brought to an end the condition described, which had lasted for two years. Furthermore, the fact that he uses the imperfect tense in describing Paul's situation and activity, instead of saying that both continued for two years and lasted up to the time when he wrote, shows clearly that the change in Paul's condition, with which the author was familiar, put an end also to his abiding in his own hired house, and to the preaching which he had carried on unhindered during

this residence (vol. ii. 58 f.). Consequently, at the very earliest, Luke could not have written these lines before Philippians was written, *i.e.* before the summer of 63 (vol. i. 539 ff.). But why does not Luke tell us what it was which brought the two years' residence to an end, and what the situation was at the time when he wrote? In order to explain this difficulty, it has been supposed that Theophilus had been for some time in Rome with Luke and Paul, and hence was thoroughly informed about the facts of which Luke here says nothing, although he indicates that he was acquainted with them. In that case xxviii. 30 f. is superfluous, and the form of the sentence is as unnatural as it could well be. In fact, a very common custom (n. 10) made the end of the work a most fitting place in which to explain to Theophilus in a second address why the author thought it appropriate to break off at this point and to conclude his work in so peculiar a manner (cf. 2 Tim. i. 18). All that is strange entirely disappears, however, if Luke, having reached an important turning-point in the history of Christianity, appropriately brought to a close the *second* book of his work, at the same time intending to continue or to complete it in a *third* book. It will be remembered that at the close of the Gospel, after the account of the resurrection, there is added a short sketch of what happened up to the time of Jesus' ascension, and of what took place immediately thereafter (Luke xxiv. 44–53; n. 14), and then the author begins the second book by going back again to the time between the resurrection and the end of the period during which the disciples waited for "the promise of the Father," in order to set forth these events in greater detail (Acts i. 1–26), telling us here for the first time how the period of waiting was brought to a close (Acts ii. 1–47). In the same way, in Acts xxviii. 30, 31, he adds to the narrative, which up to this point has been very detailed, a short sketch of the situation which

followed the events last narrated, intending to take up the account at this point in his third book. The only inappropriateness in the comparison is the fact that Paul does not take the place in Acts which both in reality and according to the testimony of Acts i. 1 Jesus has in the Gospel.

The title *πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων* is not Luke's, but is, notwithstanding, of very ancient date, as is evidenced by the fact that it is the only title which we have in the tradition (n. 15). Moreover, it reproduces correctly the impression which every reader gets from Acts of the author's purpose. Beginning with Acts i. 1, it is his purpose to set forth the continuation, through the apostles and the apostolic Church, of the work and teaching begun by Jesus. From chap. xiii. onwards, however, Acts is simply a history of missionary work among the Gentiles under the leadership of Paul. The little which is said of the other apostles and of the mother Church is incidental, and is found only in connections where Paul and the missionary work among the Gentiles come into contact with Jerusalem (Acts xv. 21). Nothing is said of the missionary preaching of the earlier apostles and the brothers of Jesus (Acts xii. 17; Gal. ii. 9; 1 Cor. ix. 5; 2 Pet. i. 16). It is unnecessary to prove that this silence on Luke's part is not due to lack of appreciation of those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning. Rather does Luke exhibit the character of a genuine historian when he gives a continuous treatment of the history of missionary work among the Gentiles in chaps. xiii.–xxviii., proving that he did not feel it necessary, in view of the *καθεξῆς* of Luke i. 3, to write a chronicle or a journal of the nature of an historical calendar. But this one-sided development of a single thread of the narrative is incomprehensible unless it was Luke's intention in a third book to go back and take up again the history of the original apostles.

A third book is demanded also by the prologue. If

Luke intended to set forth the history of Christianity to the point of development which it had reached up to his time (above, pp. 45, 53), this plan is by no means carried out, if the work is complete in the two books before us. Wise remarks have been made about the beautiful contrast between the message of the angels in the Temple in Jerusalem and in Mary's chamber in Nazareth (Luke i. 11, 28) and the unhindered preaching of the gospel in the capital of the world (xxviii. 31). But the gospel had been preached in Rome and a large Church organised there long before Paul's arrival. Furthermore, the meagre sketch in Acts xxviii. 30 f. is no fitting parallel to the exalted poetical narratives of Luke i. 5–56, and, what is even more to the point, the close of Acts does not conclude even the history of Paul or of the missionary work among the Gentiles, to say nothing of the history of Christianity. The author who wrote Luke xxiv. 47 and Acts i. 8, and the Luke who was with the imprisoned apostle when he wrote 2 Tim. iv. 7, 17, could not have regarded the Christian preaching as practically at an end before Paul so regarded it. Moreover, anyone giving such a repeated and full account as Luke gives of Jesus' prophecy concerning the judgment of Jerusalem (Luke xxi. 32; cf. xix. 41–44, xxi. 20–24, xxiii. 28–31) could not well, before the year 70, have thought of the history of Christianity as having reached its conclusion even temporarily.

But if the events recorded in 2 Tim., the death of Peter and Paul, and the fall of Jerusalem, had already taken place (§ 62), the writer had abundant material for a third book. And that he actually intended to add a τρίτος λόγος when he began the second book, or at least when he revised it after it was completed, he himself indicates in Acts i. 1; since it is not conceivable that one who could write the finished sentences which we have in Luke i. 1–4 should have made the mistake of writing

τὸν μὲν πρῶτον for the more correct τὸν μὲν πρότερον λόγον in Acts i. 1, if he intended to say that the Gospel was the first of two books only and not one of a number of books (n. 16). For, in this passage, he is not following an older source in which there were Hebraisms, and the style of which was otherwise inferior, but is freely expressing his own thoughts at the beginning of a book. It is painful to reflect what we have lost, either because of Luke's failure to write this third book, or, what is less probable, because of its disappearance immediately after it was written. This opened the way for the petty fabricators of the second century, who were fond of treating the material which Luke had reserved for his third book. In all the apocryphal literature dealing with the history of the apostles which is preserved to us, we notice dependence upon Luke's second book and imitation of his style, but there is not a single page of it even remotely comparable to one of the chapters of our Acts (n. 17).

Even before the particular material which Luke worked over, the sources which he employed, and the trustworthiness of his accounts, are investigated, it is possible to affirm that he kept in view throughout his work the purposes expressed and suggested in his dedication. He does not, like Matthew, write an apology on behalf of Christ and His Church in order to meet objections of a national character. Nor does he, like Mark, present, from a single point of view, narratives which have been impressed upon his memory by frequent hearing and repetition. His design is rather, as a Greek historian, to set forth the history of Christianity from its beginnings to the completion which it had reached in his own time, and he aims to do this in such a way that his exposition, based upon thorough investigation and presenting the whole development of Christianity connectedly, shall impress, with a sense of the trustworthiness of the Christian traditions, a cultured Gentile who has heard

much about the facts which are current in the Christian Church and held to be the basis of its faith, who has become interested in this history, and whose relations to individual Christians, like the author, are friendly.

One of the first things which impresses us when we compare Luke with the other Gospels is the effort to show how one thing develops out of another. If the *περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης* (Luke i. 4) means anything, Theophilus must already have heard something about John, the forerunner of Jesus, possibly no more than what is said about him in Mark i. 2–8 or Matt. iii. 1–12. Luke gives an account of the messages which indicated the future significance of the Baptist even before his birth, of the hopes awakened by his birth, of his hermit life (i. 80), and of his call to be a prophet (iii. 2; cf. Jer. i. 4). The unusual character of the circumstances of John's birth helped to render faith in the greater miracle of Jesus' birth easier, not only for Jesus' own mother (i. 36 f.), but also for the reader of Luke's Gospel. The kinship and friendly relation between the two families, and the mingling of their hopes in connection with the children, make more comprehensible the subsequent relations between John and Jesus. If, as was undoubtedly the case, Theophilus had heard that the Christ whom the Christians followed was called Jesus of Nazareth, and if, as was probable, he had heard also that He was born in Bethlehem, it was natural for Luke to explain to him the combination of circumstances by which it came about that the parents of Jesus, who lived in Nazareth, journeyed to Bethlehem shortly before His birth (ii. 1–5, i. 26 f.). In keeping with the brief account of the development of the child John into the type of man that he afterwards became (i. 80), is the story concerning the twelve-year-old Jesus, which, in its setting (ii. 40, 51–52), is meant to serve as a clear proof of the extremely happy but entirely natural and thoroughly human development of the child Jesus.

While the effort to treat the material "pragmatically" generally involves the retention of the proper chronological order, it is nevertheless evident from the outset that this order is not observed at the expense of this desired "pragmatism." In i. 80 the history of John's life is told up to the point where it is taken up again in iii. 2, while ii. 1 goes back to a much earlier date, a few months later than the events recorded in i. 57–79. The history of the Baptist's public work is developed in iii. 19, 20 to its conclusion, which must have been at least several months after its beginning (iii. 2). But in iii. 21, when he takes up again the history of the man Jesus, he begins with an event which took place long before the arrest of the Baptist, and gives Jesus' genealogical descent at this point instead of in connection with i. 27. The contrast between the divine sonship of Jesus revealed from heaven and His supposed and outwardly valid descent from Joseph (iii. 22, 23), is of much more importance in the mind of the author than the mere mechanical arrangement of the material in its chronological order. No specific mention is made of the fact that John was in prison when Jesus began His work in Galilee, described from iv. 14 onwards, and when John sent two of his disciples to ask the now famous question (vii. 19; cf. *per contra* Matt. iv. 12, xi. 2; Mark i. 14). Nor can the reader infer this from the order of events in iii. 18–23. Even if he could, it is a question whether this would enable him to understand the author's meaning in all the narratives that follow iii. 23. What is true of Luke iii. 21, which goes back to a point of time prior to iii. 20, and of the account of the temptation (iv. 1–13), which precedes the arrest of the Baptist, as is shown by its immediate connection with the account of the baptism and is confirmed by all the other traditions, can very well be true also of more than one of the narratives following iv. 13. The history of John is evidently

concluded with iii. 20. Not even his execution is narrated later, though knowledge of it is assumed in ix. 7–9.

It is apparent, not only in the account of John but everywhere, how little Luke intended to reproduce all the events in their exact chronological order. In the account of Jesus' work in Galilee he begins after a general description (iv. 14, 15), by relating His visit to His native village, although he does not conceal from the reader that Jesus had already done many remarkable works in Capernaum (iv. 23). After this account of the visit to Nazareth there follow several chronologically connected incidents describing Jesus' work in Capernaum, the city of Galilee most honoured by Jesus with His works (iv. 31–42; cf. iv. 23, vii. 1, x. 15). Finally, he shows how the other cities of Palestine were at the same time not neglected (iv. 43 f.). The logical arrangement of the material which here takes the place of the chronological order is not due to dogmatic considerations, as in the case of Matthew, but arises from Luke's historical method. If we accept the reading *τῆς Ἰουδαίας* in iv. 44, which is the better attested reading, and which is to be considered genuine also, because its character is such that it could not well have been invented (n. 18), there is no doubt that Luke intends his first description of Jesus' work in Galilee to be concluded at iv. 43 with Jesus' explanation that the nature of His calling made it necessary for Him to preach also to the other cities, *i.e.* to all the cities of the people and land to which He was sent. Although this statement makes it quite impossible to limit Jesus' work to Galilee, in the general statement that follows (iv. 44), which may apply to many of the separate narratives which follow, Luke goes on to say that Jesus, true to His word, did not limit Himself to Capernaum, or Nazareth, or even Galilee, but preached in the synagogues of Judea, *i.e.* throughout the whole of the Holy Land

(n. 18). The general description of iv. 14 f. is not, therefore, repeated in ver. 43 f., but there is substituted for it a description of a very different and much more comprehensive character, which may even be contrasted to iv. 14 f. Consequently the reader, having only Luke's account, is at a loss to know in what part of Palestine to look for the places which the author sometimes groups together in a summary fashion (viii. 1, 4, ix. 6, x. 1), sometimes mentions separately, but without names or any other indication of their geographical location (v. 12, vii. 11, 37, x. 38, xiii. 10), especially since he sometimes mentions all the villages of Judea together (v. 17). If it were not known from other sources where Nain was situated (vii. 11), one might be led by Luke's account to seek it in Judea. On the other hand, the village mentioned in x. 38, the name of which is given in John xi. 1, 18, together with the fact that it was situated near Jerusalem, so far as Luke's account is concerned, could have been in Galilee. There are occasional statements which throw light upon the situation of separate localities (viii. 27, cf. ver. 26, ix. 51, 52, 56, xiii. 22). But these are of no great importance, since by far the greater part of the narratives follow each other without any indication as to time order (v. 1, 12, 17, viii. 4, 19, 22, ix. 1, 7, xi. 1, 14, etc.). It is seldom even remarked that an event recorded after another occurred in this order (v. 27, viii. 1, ix. 28, x. 1). The use of such expressions as "on one of the days" (v. 17, viii. 22, xx. 1), which does not occur in the other Gospels, and the rarity of definite indications as to time relations (vi. 1, vii. 1, 11, ix. 28, 37, x. 21, xiii. 1, 31), show that Luke's investigations had not enabled him to obtain an exact idea of the order in which the gospel events took place, and also that he was conscious of this fact.

Although Luke shows an interest, not to be observed in the other Gospels, in supplying the history of Jesus'

life with chronological notices (i. 36, ii. 21, 22, 42, iii. 23), and in connecting it chronologically with facts of universal and national history (i. 5, ii. 1 f., iii. 1 f.; Acts xi. 28, xviii. 2, 12), he does not assume a knowledge of the details of the chronology of Jesus' public ministry which it was beyond his power to obtain. This is evidenced even in connection with the last days in Jerusalem, both by the absence of connection between single events in the section, the setting of which is marked by the general descriptions of xix. 47 f. and xxi. 37 f., and by the use in xx. 1 of the same ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν which occurs earlier. What seems to be the account of a journey from Galilee to Jerusalem in ix. 51–xix. 46 is, therefore, to be regarded as only apparently such. It may be that the scattered notices of this journey in Luke, while not giving the order of events with entire correctness, are for the most part accurate (n. 19). But it was not the intention of the author to be understood as giving such a chronology. For, in the *first* place, there is no decernible relation among these scattered notices. There is nothing here which resembles a list of stations, as in the accounts of the journeys in Acts (xiii.–xxviii.). No mention is made even of the journey through Perea (Matt. xix. 1; Mark x. 1). In the *second* place, in this section of the book there is the same lack of connection between the single narratives which occurs earlier (*e.g.* xi. 1, 14, 29, xii. 13, 22, 54, xiii. 6, 10, xiv. 1, xv. 1, xvi. 1, xvii. 1, 20, xviii. 1, 9, 15, 18), so that the reader cannot tell when and where the separate events took place. If *we* know that what is narrated in Luke x. 38–42 took place in a village near Jerusalem, our information is not derived from Luke, and it would be a misunderstanding of his account to infer from it that this unnamed village (Bethany) was on the way from Galilee to Jerusalem, and farther removed from the city than the places indicated in xiii. 22, xvii. 11, xviii. 31, 35. In the *third* place, it is apparent that the first notice regarding the journey to

Jerusalem (ix. 51), which is given with a special solemnity, was not intended to mark an important transition in the narrative. There is a close connection with what precedes. This is, however, so throughout. While these scattered notices of movements from place to place have no connection and are too few to enable us to form any clear conception of the journey to Jerusalem, there is everywhere evident a connection between the contents of the single narratives quite independent of the chronological relations. In the *fourth* place, even where places are clearly indicated, as in ix. 51, xiii. 22, xvii. 11, it is evident that this is done in order to make clear events immediately connected with them, and is not designed to furnish the outlines of a journey. The fact that in the history of the Passion and in most parts of Acts the chronological order is more apparent and more strictly adhered to, is due, in the first place, to the more exact knowledge which the writer had regarding these parts of the history from the tradition and his own recollection. In the second place, while it was quite possible to record single deeds, discourses, and conversations which took place during Jesus' Galilean tours, without knowing the order in which they took place, this could not be done in the history of the Passion and Resurrection, or in an account of the extension of missionary work from Antioch to Rome. The narrative in Acts does not, however, resemble a chronicle. Acts ix. 1 refers back to viii. 3, and what is recorded in ix. 1–17 can have taken place before the events recorded in viii. 5–40. In xi. 19 the narrative is taken up where it had been left off in viii. 1–4, and what is recorded in xi. 22 may have occurred before chap. x. The episode of chap. xii. belongs before the point in the narrative where it is recorded, and apparently the same is true of xi. 27 (Part XI.). Attention has already been called to the order of xviii. 23 and xix. 1 (above, p. 30, n. 8). If Luke designed his proposed third book to continue to its completion the history of the

apostles (above, p. 53 f.), it would have been necessary for him to take up the narrative again at Acts xii. 17. Just such a fact as this, and Luke's carefulness about his chronological statements in the Gospel, show how conscious he was that his task was that of a historian.

Another means which Luke uses to impress Theophilus with the trustworthiness of Christian historical tradition is the frequent connection of this history with the events of political history. No N.T. writer except Luke mentions a Roman emperor by name. He mentions Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius (Luke ii. 1, iii. 1; Acts xi. 28, xviii. 2), and when he says that the famine prophesied in the Church in Antioch took place under Claudius (Acts xi. 28), he implies that the prophecy was made in the time of Caligula, Claudius' predecessor (Part XI.). The decrees of Augustus (Luke ii. 1) and of Claudius (Acts xviii. 2) affect the history of Christianity. This is not something existing only in the realm of pious fancy. It connects itself chronologically with a definite year in the reign of Tiberius (Luke iii. 1). This impression of the thoroughly real character of Christianity is strengthened by the mention of all the rulers throughout the region which was the scene of the gospel history (Luke iii. 1–2), and which after the fall of Jerusalem was ruled by Agrippa II. (Schürer, i. 594 [Eng. trans. I. ii. 201]). The reader must have known that Quirinius was the governor of Syria (Luke ii. 2) and Gallio the governor of Achaia (Acts xviii. 12), since their governorships are mentioned in order to fix dates, which is not true in the case of Sergius Paulus (xiii. 7). In general it will be noticed that the number of proper names in Luke is much larger than in the other Gospels, and that these names include not only those of persons in political life and of actors in the narrative, but also of numerous persons whose position is entirely subordinate (n. 20). This reveals the investigator who has taken great pains to inform himself regarding the details

of the history he records, and also the story-teller who strove to bring his characters out of the shadows of uncertain tradition into the clear light of reality.

The author's purpose fully to win over to Christianity a Gentile who was still outside the Church but favourably inclined to Christianity, shows itself in various ways. Such a purpose imposed upon the Christian historian a certain reserve. He could not use throughout the sonorous language of the Church, but was under the necessity of handling the material objectively, as it were, and retaining in his narrative a certain secular tone. Luke does, however, employ the language of the Church when frequently in his narrative he calls Jesus ὁ κύριος, a usage not to be found in Matthew and Mark (n. 21). But this simply shows that Luke was not one of the eye-witnesses of the gospel history who was in daily intercourse with Jesus, but that through their preaching he became one of the members of the Church which accepted Jesus as its Lord. On the other hand, he represents persons in personal intercourse with Jesus as addressing Him by His name, Ἰησοῦ (above, p. 37 f.), and in six instances he uses ἐπιστάτα, which does not occur in the other Gospels, and which is not an ecclesiastical word (v. 5, viii. 24, 45, ix. 33, 49, xvii. 13). This replaces the Hebrew *Rabbi*, which Luke statedly avoids, and is used as the equivalent of διδάσκαλε, which occurs very frequently, and κύριε, which is only sparingly used.

Luke's very meagre account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, which early led to the introduction of wholesale interpolations in Luke xxii. 16–20 (above, p. 39 f.), is to be explained only by the assumption that the narrative was intended for a non-Christian. The word spoken in connection with the distribution of the bread, "This is My body," could impress such a person only as a profound figure. The single word which, according to the genuine text of Luke, Jesus spoke as He distributed the cup,

contained no reference to His blood, and consequently suggested no mystery. Heathen slanders associated with the Christian teaching concerning the Lord's Supper are very ancient. Pliny, in his report to Trajan, speaks as if such slanders were common, but not confirmed by his judicial inquiries. Although we cannot prove that these slanders were current as early as the time when Luke was written, it may be assumed that this was the case, or rather it may be inferred from Luke's account. But even if this were not so, it is entirely conceivable that Luke should hesitate to unveil this deepest mystery of Christian worship before the eyes of one who was uninitiated, and that he should hesitate to make a remark about eating the body and drinking the blood of Jesus which might arouse the suspicion of one who was still outside the Church. In thus guarding the mystery Luke betrays his Greek character, and the fact that he is writing for Greeks. This shows itself also in very many other directions.

Without in any way eliminating the Israelitish character of the beginnings of the history of Christianity (n. 22), Luke emphasises strongly from the very first the *universal significance* of Jesus. That Jesus was born in the city of David was brought about by a decree of the emperor, who, however, had no thought of this result, so that it was really due to the overruling providence of God (ii. 1). Angels proclaim the glory of God, who through His Anointed One is to establish peace over the whole earth among men of good-will (ii. 14). Simeon, wholly under the dominance of thoroughly Jewish ideas and forms, prophesies for the child a saving and enlightening influence upon all peoples (ii. 31 f.). Only in Luke iii. 4–6 is the quotation of the prophecy of Isaiah, which is always associated with the Baptist, continued so as to include the verse in which the salvation announced by John is described as a salvation for all flesh (iii. 6, cf. John xvii. 2). The descent of the Son of David and Son of God is carried

back beyond Abraham to Adam and even to God Himself. The coming of Jesus marks not only the consummation of the history of Israel, but the consummation of the history of the race, and the divine sonship of men established in creation finds its consummation in the divine sonship of Jesus (iii. 23–38, cf. Acts xvii. 28, 31). The account in iv. 1–13, which is thus introduced, shows how Jesus as the second Adam overcame the temptation by which the first Adam fell. With manifest fondness he writes of the Gentile whose faith was great (vii. 2–10), and of the merciful and grateful Samaritans (x. 33, xvii. 16). Pilate is presented in a light which is in no way more favourable than that in which he is portrayed in the other Gospels (cf. xiii. 1, xxiii. 25; Acts ii. 23, iv. 27), but the thrice repeated witness of this Gentile to Jesus' innocence is much more strongly emphasised than in Matthew and Mark (xxiii. 4, 14, 15, 22; Acts iii. 13). Besides this we have the testimony of the Gentile centurion in xxiii. 47, which seems to be told here in a form more historically probable than in Matt. xxvii. 54; Mark xv. 39. In Acts viii. 5–xi. 18, Luke describes at length how the natural hesitation of the older apostles to turn to the Samaritans and then to the Gentiles was overcome by the providence of God, and in Acts xv. he shows how the freedom of the Gentile Christians from the law was championed by the Gentile missionaries and acknowledged by the original apostles and the mother Church. Jesus' command to preach the gospel to all peoples upon earth (Luke xxiv. 47; Acts i. 8, ix. 15, cf. ii. 39, iii. 25) is not here obscured by words which are open to misinterpretation and harsh in tone, as we find in Matt. x. 5, xv. 21–28; Mark vii. 24–30. Frequently *practical piety*, honesty, and charitableness are declared to be preparations for greater blessing among the Gentiles (Luke vii. 2–5; Acts x. 2–4, 35, xiii. 7) as well as among the Jews (Luke i. 6, ii. 25, 36 f., xix. 8, xxiii. 50, cf. Acts xvii. 11), and the *humane* dis-

position even of those who have no close relation to the gospel is recognised (Acts xix. 31, xxvii. 3, 43, xxviii. 2, 7). Sometimes also the official integrity of individuals is simply related without special attention being called to it (Acts xviii. 12–17, xix. 35–41, xxv. 1–26, 32, as distinguished from xxiv. 24–27).

On the other hand, Luke, in much stronger colours than any other evangelist, depicts Jesus as the *friend and Saviour of those most deeply sunk in sin and farthest astray*, and represents penitent humility as the way of salvation (Luke v. 8, 29–32, vii. 29, 34, 37–50, xv. 1–33, xviii. 9–14, xix. 7–10, xxiii. 39–43). A Greek who read the parables in chap. xv. would necessarily apply them to men like himself rather than to the Jews. While such a reader might be astonished, he would nevertheless be impressed by the fact that the great ascetic and mighty prophet John preached an almost trivial morality (iii. 10–14), and that Jesus, who was free from any gloomy asceticism (v. 33–39, vii. 34, xiii. 26), manifested deep sympathy with all human sufferings even when the sufferer was guilty (vii. 13, xiii. 15 f., xix. 41–44, xxiii. 28, cf. ver. 34), avoided all narrow and violent fanaticism (ix. 49 f., 54 f., xxii. 50 f.), and always in word and deed preached a *brotherly love* which transcended the ceremonial scruples of Judaism and went beyond the national bounds (vi. 6–11, 27–36, x. 25–37, xi. 41–46, xiii. 10–17, xiv. 1–6, xvii. 11–19, xix. 7–10). There are also instances where Jesus enjoins good manners and refinement in social intercourse (vii. 44–46, x. 5–11, xiv. 7–10, 12–14, xx. 46 f., cf. xii. 37, but also xvii. 7–10). The choice and arrangement of material suggests a writer of kindred spirit with the man who wrote Phil. iv. 8 (n. 23).

No single moral obligation is so richly and variously illustrated as that indicated by the words *poverty* and *wealth*. In addition to the account of the rich young man, the story of the widow with the mites, and several

sayings about benevolence which are to be found also in Matthew and Mark (Luke vi. 30–36, xii. 33, xviii. 18–30, xxi. 1–4), the instances recorded in vi. 24, xi. 41, xii. 13–21, xiv. 12–14, 16–24 (as regards this point not to be compared with Matt. xxii. 2–10), xvi. 1–31, xix. 2–10, are found only in Luke. Only in Luke xvi. 9, 11 is the Aramaic word *mamona*, which was current in Antioch (vol. i. 18), modified by the adjective unrighteous, and in xix. 8 an example is given to show by how great unrighteousness many riches are accumulated. Jesus refuses to have anything to do with the legal side of questions about property (xii. 13–15), in order that He may lay greater weight upon the moral use of earthly possessions, especially when these are great. Luke has portrayed for all time in a striking and incomparable manner that confidence in riches devoted solely to one's own service which is so foolish because of the uncertainty of human life (xii. 16–21); the complete absorption of the rich in luxurious living with their accompanying heartlessness towards the poor and sorely afflicted brother at their door (xvi. 19–31); the power of riches even over men of noble spirit and men who strive after eternal things (xviii. 18–30); a magic influence which can be broken only by the power of God. "Woe to the rich," he says, who find their satisfaction in this life, who give themselves up to the quiet enjoyment of life's comfort, and who are always sure of being treated with deference on every side (vi. 24–26). But through God's power it is possible even for these (xviii. 27, cf. iii. 8) not only to realise the fact that man's life does not consist in riches (xii. 15), and that possessions are only an unimportant good, bestowed for a short time and not really belonging to the possessor (xvi. 9–12), but also to be freed from the bondage of mammon (xvi. 13). The use of money for the benefit of one's neighbour is proof that a man possesses the state of mind which leads into the kingdom of God (xviii. 22, xvi. 9); it sanctifies also his

earthly life (xi. 41). This generosity is not one of the works of which the Pharisees boast (xviii. 12, cf. xi. 42, xvi. 14, xx. 47), but is found in the wealthy tax-gatherer (xix. 8) and the poverty-stricken widow (xxi. 1–4). Love to Jesus is manifested in the same way (viii. 3, cf. xxiii. 50–53). This very spirit was exercised on a large scale by the early Church (Acts ii. 44 f., iv. 32–37, vi. 1–6, ix. 36–39). It was also a bond of union between the Gentile Church and the mother Church (xi. 28–30, xii. 25, xxiv. 17). It is commended in the case of the Gentile Cornelius (x. 2–4, 31, 35, cf. Luke vii. 5). The love of money, of which a fearful example was not wanting in the early Church (Acts v. 1–11), had no influence on the first preachers of the gospel (viii. 20, xx. 31–34). Possessing no money, they were yet rich in God (Acts iii. 6, cf. Luke xii. 21), and observed the word of their Master, "To give is more blessed than to receive" (Acts xx. 25). Instead of scenting in this social morality which pervades both the books of Paul's disciple, Luke, a residuum of Ebonism (n. 24), it is more natural to assume that here also Luke has in mind the fact that his work is intended for Theophilus, a Gentile of high position, and also, according to trustworthy tradition the owner of a large house in Antioch (above, p. 5, n. 5), before the gate of which it is very possible that a Lazarus may sometimes have lingered.

It was also important in writing to men, of whom Luke chose Theophilus as a type, to point out that Christ and Christianity stood in *no hostile relation to the State.* In striking contrast to Jesus' recognition of the obligation to pay taxes (xx. 20–26), stand the false accusations of the Sanhedrin that Jesus refused to pay tribute and was rebellious against the authority of the State (xxiii. 2, 5, 14), which are related by no other evangelist with so much fulness as by Luke, to which also he alone refers at an earlier point in the narrative (xx. 20). But the falsity of

these particular charges is proved by the thrice repeated acknowledgment of His innocence by Pilate, an acknowledgment which is based upon the testimony of king Herod (xxiii. 4, 14–15, 22). It was only the weakness of this Roman official's character, whose attitude was sometimes that of violence against the Jews (xiii. 1) and sometimes that of false compliance with their will, which led him to give over to their fanaticism the Jesus who, by his own confession as well as by the confession of other Gentiles (xxiii. 47), was righteous, while he released a robber and murderer in His place (xxiii. 25). But even among the "transgressors with whom He was reckoned" (xxii. 37),—the criminals between whom He was crucified, —there was one to confess that Jesus was innocent of all offence against the civil law and to acknowledge His future kingship (xxiii. 39–43). Personal interests led the rulers of the Jews (Acts iv. 1–7, 13, v. 28) first to reprimand the apostles, then to imprison and scourge them. The first martyr's blood was shed through the testimony of a false witness and by a tumultuous proceeding which violated (John xviii. 31) existing laws (see Acts vi. 11–14, vii. 54–60). In order to win the favour of the Jews by posing as a protector of their religion, the bigoted Agrippa I., who shortly thereafter lost his life in an attempt to deify himself in heathen fashion, murdered James the son of Zebedee, while Peter escaped his hand only by a miracle (chap. xii.). On several occasions Paul was accused and unjustly treated on the ground that he taught doctrines hostile to the Roman government (xvi. 21–23, 35–39, xvii. 7–9, xviii. 13). Likewise his opposition to heathen idolatry (xix. 26 ff.) and his alleged hostility to Judaism and Jewish ceremonials (xxi. 28, xxiv. 1–9) often involved him in danger, and finally led to a long imprisonment. Repeatedly he saved himself from worse treatment by appeal to his Roman citizenship, and compelled the officials to apologise for their encroach-

ments upon the law (xvi. 37, 38), or to seek escape from the consequences of their action by perverting their official reports (xxii. 24–29, xxiii. 25–30). It was the unworthy dependence upon his Jewish wife and the Jewish people of the procurator Felix, who was as base as he was low born, and to whose infamous immorality and unrighteousness Luke calls attention (xxiv. 25 ; cf. Schürer, i. 571 f. [Eng. trans. I. ii. 174]), which led him unjustly to prolong Paul's case (xxiv. 24–26). On the other hand, where Paul had to do with honourable officials, who were of more distinguished birth and more noble culture, such as Gallio (xviii. 12–17) and Porcius Festus (xxv. 11–xxvi. 32), he was treated with impartiality and was protected against the fanaticism of the Jews. Several Asiarchs in Ephesus, representatives of the emperor cult, even showed him favour (xix. 31). While king Agrippa II., in pure irony, declares himself inclined to accept Christianity (xxvi. 28), the "intelligent" proconsul of Cyprus, who bore the same name as the apostle, really received a deep impression of the truth, although we cannot say how lasting this impression was (xiii. 7–12).

After all the cheering experiences, all the divine interpositions and deliverances of the second book, the reader would expect nothing else than to find in a third book the account of new victories for the good cause of the gospel in Rome and in the Roman empire. There is to be no escape from persecution (xiv. 22). As regards this point the prophecy at the beginning (Luke ii. 34) corresponds literally to the historical statement at the close (Acts xxviii. 22). Opposition is not to be confined to words. The blood of martyrs will also be shed, as it has been from the beginning, but the true minister of the word does not allow this to hinder his course or to dishearten him (xx. 24, xxi. 13), but with every new station reached he gains new courage (xxviii. 15). It has often been remarked that Acts is pervaded by a joyful spirit ; but this

is just as true of the Gospel (n. 25). This work also was suited to make a favourable impression upon an educated Greek whose keen interest in the gospel has been already awakened.

Although enough has been said to prove the symmetry of the plan and the unity of the entire work, as regards the latter point we have independent evidence from the agreement as to the manner in which the material is handled in Luke and in Acts. If Luke iii. 2 gives the impression that in Pilate's procuratorship Annas shared the high-priesthood with Caiaphas, and was the more influential of the two, the same is true of Acts iv. 6. The ἀπογραφή of Luke ii. 1–3 is referred to again in Acts v. 37 by the same name. The identity of the two is not affected by the fact that in the latter passage the taxing is described as the one famous taxing, and hence as the only one of its kind, whereas in Luke ii. 2 it is spoken of as if it were a first taxing; for the expression in Luke does not necessarily mean more than that such a taxing had never before taken place in Palestine. There was no occasion in Luke ii. 2 to mention the insurrection headed by Judas. But Luke shows that he was familiar with the then existing party of the Zealots, not only in Acts i. 13 but also in Luke vi. 15, and he is the only one of the gospel writers to designate them by their Greek name which is found in both books (n. 26). The story of how the tetrarch Herod took part in Jesus' trial, and especially of how he and Pilate were made friends through their common relation to Jesus, found only in Luke xxiii. 6–12, 15, prepares the way for Acts iv. 27, a passage which would be quite unintelligible without this preceding narrative. Other references in Acts to the gospel history agree entirely with the accounts in the Gospel (Acts iii. 13 f. = Luke xxiii. 16; Acts x. 41 = Luke xxiv. 41 f.). Although Luke does not in any way represent the work of Jesus as confined to Galilee (above, p. 64 and § 63), yet in both book she

emphasises the fact that the whole gospel movement had its beginning in Galilee, spreading thence over the whole of Judea, *i.e.* Palestine (Luke xxiii. 5; Acts x. 37; cf. Luke iv. 14, xxii. 59, xxiii. 49; Acts i. 11, ii. 7, xiii. 31). In the two lists of the apostles (Luke vi. 14–16; Acts i. 13) the names are not given in exactly the same order, but both agree, as against Matthew and Mark, in mentioning a *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου* (Judas [*the son*] of James), who does not appear at all in Matthew or Mark under this name (but cf. John xiv. 22). They also agree in placing this name after that of Simon, whom Luke alone calls a Zealot, using the Greek name of the party in both passages. Luke is the only evangelist who says explicitly that Jesus called the Twelve, apostles (vi. 13), but it is also Luke who teaches in various ways that Jesus did not intend the preaching of the gospel to be confined to those especially called to be preachers. As at the beginning we find the angels (i. 19, ii. 10) and the Baptist (iii. 18) preachers of the gospel, so the apostles are told not to forbid anyone to preach who is working in Jesus' name, even though he is not of their own number (ix. 49 f.). Jesus Himself commands others also to proclaim the kingdom of God (ix. 60), and sends before Him into all cities and places as heralds of His preaching "other seventy," who afterwards return rejoicing because of the success of their work (x. 1–20; n. 27). This may partially explain the fact that in Luke i. 2, where another would have used simply *οἱ ἀπόστολοι* even at the risk of inaccuracy, Luke chooses an expression which includes persons not apostles, and calls to mind those who did not become ministers of the word until well on in the course of the history which he is setting forth. All this is preparatory to the account of how, in fact, men who did not belong to the apostolic circle, and who had received no special commission to preach, opened the way for missionary work, becoming the forerunners of the apostles just as the Seventy were

of the Lord (Acts viii. 5–40, xi. 19–21, cf. vi. 5, xxi. 8). It is also preparatory to the account of the rise of a new apostolate coexistent with that of the Twelve, whose number was kept intact (Acts i. 15–26), by which the gospel was rapidly carried beyond the limits within which the Twelve were confined by their immediate calling (Acts ix. 3–30, xiii. 2 ff., xiv. 4, 14).

Luke's work shows great variety in regard to *language* and *style*; but these are not differences as between the two books, of which the work consists, but are to be observed just as much in the Gospel as in Acts. Since these differences are probably to be explained, partly from the character of the language in the sources used, partly from the different character of the subjects treated, they may be appropriately discussed in connection with the investigations which follow (§§ 61, 62). It hardly needs to be proved in detail that, notwithstanding the differences of style which exist between separate parts of the work, there is a large number of peculiar words and phrases to be found throughout both books, so that from the point of view of the language also the unity of the work is demonstrated (n. 28).

Against all the discussions of the purpose of Acts, which take into consideration only the second book of Luke's work,—assuming that a somewhat external connection exists between it and the first book,—stand first of all the prologue, when this is correctly interpreted, and likewise many of the considerations, some of them old, others new, which have been adduced above. In particular, there is no longer any necessity of disproving in detail the hypothesis of the school of Baur, by which it is assumed that the writer of Acts set out with the intention of harmonising the unreconciled and irreconcilable differences in the apostolic Church, by perverting facts in his narrative and intentionally adding fictitious elements (n. 29). One could wish, however, that those who admit

that this hypothesis cannot be accepted in its entirety would purge out the remnants of the old leaven that remain. Whatever details in the premises of this interpretation may require refutation will be discussed in §§ 62, 63. On the other hand, points in which the hypothesis is correct are explained by the purpose which the author actually claimed to have had in view throughout the entire work. A polemical writing produced in the midst of a heated contest and under great stress like Galatians, naturally employs language different from that used in an historical work designed to set forth the same facts perhaps twenty years later. If Luke had introduced into his account of the great struggle for the independence of the Gentile Church, and for its freedom from the law, the excited moods of those who actually participated in the struggle, he would simply have betrayed his unfitness to be an historian of Christianity. In a work intended for a man like Theophilus, who was still outside the Church, this would have been particularly unwise, and calculated to defeat the very end for which the work was intended. There are occasions when Luke does not conceal the fact that good Christians could differ with Paul (Acts xv. 37–39), and reserves his own judgment as to who was the more to blame. But with regard to the burning question of the age, Luke reports more clearly than is done in any of the Pauline letters, how the opponents of the apostle, whose Pharasaic origin Luke alone records (Acts xv. 5), were severely and clearly rebuked by all the authorities of the Church (Acts xv. 10, 19, 24). Luke understands better than does the Roman who declared this to be his purpose (Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 1), the meaning of *tradere sine ira et studio.*

1. (P. 41.) Zeller (*Die AG nach Inhalt und Ursprung krit. unters.*, 1854, S. 460, 516) declares it to be practically beyond question that "the greeting" of this entire work, which consists of two parts, contained "the name of the author," *i.e.* of the alleged author, "Luke." But he says nothing further of the form and contents of this title. Blass (*Acta ap.*, ed. maj., 1895, p. 2)

proposes as the title of Acts, Λουκᾶ Ἀντιοχέως πρὸς Θεόφιλον λόγος β′, and for the Gospel a similar title only with λόγος α′. But is it conceivable that Luke should have given a work dealing with so great a subject such a meaningless title as this, which deserved to be lost? On the other hand, if he actually chose a better one, why has it not been preserved, like the titles of Matt., Mark, and Rev.? In antiquity the title was not such an essential and unalterable part of a book as in later times, especially since the invention of printing. The fact that the *titulus* or *index* was attached to the outside of the closed roll (Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, S. 66) rendered its fate all the more precarious. Our ignorance as to what title Josephus gave or meant to give his *Bellum jud.* is not due to the loss of the original title. Josephus himself quotes the work under different titles in *Ant.* i. 11. 4, xiii. 3. 3, 5. 9, 10. 6; *Vita*, 74, as do also the ancient writers and the MSS. of Josephus' work (cf. Niese, ed. maj. vi. præf. § 1 and p. 3). We are familiar with the correspondence between Augustine and Jerome concerning the title of the *Vir. Ill.*, which was still unsettled ten or twelve years after the appearance of the work (Jerome, *Ep.* lxvii. 2, cxii. 3; Vall. i. 403, 738). Least of all was a formal title necessary in the case of a writing which was designed and given out by the author as a private document, with no expectation that it would have wider circulation. The writing of another Antiochian, which in this respect was similar to Luke's work, was given in the tradition the meaningless title Θεοφίλου πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον α′ β′ γ′.

2. (P. 42.) Cf. the present writer's lecture, "Der Geschichtschreiber und sein Stoff im NT.," *ZfKW*, 1888, S. 581–596, especially S. 590 f. Josephus wrote his *Antiquities* at the instigation of his fellow historians, one of whom was Epaphroditus (*Ant.* i. procem. 1, mentioned in the third person), to whom the completed work is dedicated in the closing words of the Appendix (*Vita*, 76, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε), as are also the two books, *c. Apion*, i. 1, ii. 1. At the close of the latter work, ii. 41, the writing is declared to be intended also for those who, like Epaphroditus, desire to ascertain the truth concerning Judaism. Cf. the dedication and prefaces of Irenæus, especially i. præf. § 2–3, iii. præf. § 1; Melito in Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26. 13; Artemidor. *Interpretation of dreams* [Ὀνειροκριτικά], iv., with reference to the books i.–iii., dedicated to a certain Cassius Maximus who is called κράτιστος.

3. (P. 42.) Κράτιστος is used as a title of the governor of Palestine (Acts xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25), of the proconsuls of the large provinces (*C. I. Gr.* Nos. 1072, 1073; Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, Inscr. of the Odeum, Nos. 3, 4; Dioscorides, *Mat. Med.* i. procem. ed. Sprengel, p. 4) and other high officials (*Berl. ägypt. Urk.*, Bd. i. 373, ii. 373 in the index under δικαιοδότης, διοικητής, ἔπαρχος, ἐπιστράτηγος ἐπίτροπος, and above, p. 6, n. 5), but it is also used to designate other men of distinction (cf. n. 2). Josephus uses interchangeably, in addressing Epaphroditus, κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν (*Vita*, 76; *c. Apion*, i. 1), τιμιώτατέ μοι, ii. 1 (cf. *Ant.* xx. 1. 2), and simply Ἐπαφρόδιτε, ii. 41. In Christian literature we find in *Epist. ad Diognetum*, κράτιστε Διόγνητε addressed to a pagan, according to the older view the teacher of Marcus Aurelius; and in the dialogue of Methodius, *de Resurr.* 33, 54 (Bonwetsch, pp. 122, 166) we have κράτιστε Θεόφιλε addressed to the judge of a debate. In addressing one another, the early Christians used either the simple name as in 1 Tim. vi. 20; Iren. *Ep. ad Florinum* in Eus. *H. E.* v. 20, or employed

distinctively Christian attributives, such as *ἀδελφέ* (Philem. 20), *γνήσιε σύζυγε* (Phil. iv. 3) *Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ* (Melito in Eus. *H. E.* iv. 26. 13), *ἀγαπητέ* (Iren. i. præf. § 2, and in the prefaces of all the books that follow), *ἀγαπητέ μου ἀδελφὲ Θεόφιλε* (Hippol. *de Antichr.* i.). By the beginning of the third century, secular titles, such as *κύριε* and the like, had come into use also among Christians; Alex. Hieros. in Eus. *H. E.* vi. 11. 6; pseudo-Petr. *ad Jac.*, greeting and conclusion; Afric. *ad Orig.* (Delarue, i. 10), although in the reply (p. 12) Origen uses the Christian form of address.

4. (P. 43.) Since Luke construes *κατηχεῖσθαι* (Acts xxi. 21, 24) and *ἦχος* (Luke iv. 37) with *περί τινος*, there is no reason for construing i. 4 in any other way than: *τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῶν λόγων περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης*, nor for understanding the verb otherwise than to mean a report, rumour, which one has heard; cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* xxx. The word in itself does not mean formal instruction, but the hearing or telling of something which the hearer has not previously known (cf. Jos. *Vita*, 65). Thus in Acts xviii. 25 the word does not, as in Gal. vi. 6; 1 Cor. xiv. 19 (cf. Rom. ii. 18), mean catechetical instruction, since, at that time, Apollos had not received the baptism of the Church, nor had he as yet come into any contact with the organised Church, but indicates only the fact that he had become acquainted with Christianity in a general way. On the other hand, his introduction by Aquila into the knowledge of Christianity as held by the Church, is called an *ἀκριβέστερον ἐκτίθεσθαι*, Acts xviii. 26. The relation which the communication of Luke to Theophilus bore to the latter's previous knowledge is the same. The latter use of the word to mean the instruction which had conversion in view, and was preparatory to baptism, which is found in *2 Clem.* xvii. 1; *Acta Theclæ*, xxxix., may have been suggested by passages like Luke i. 4; Acts xviii. 25. Eus. *Eclogæ Proph.* (ed. Gaisford, p. 3) construes Luke i. 4 in this sense, which is as yet foreign to the N.T.

5. (P. 44.) Lagarde (*Psalterium Hieronymi*, 1874, p. 165) felt the statement of Luke's reasons for writing in Luke i. 1 to be so awkward that he made this the main reason for his hypothesis, that Luke is here imitating the preface of the physician Dioscorides (*circa*, 40 to 70 A.D.) to his work *περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς*, in which he attempts to show that, notwithstanding the numerous writers, ancient and modern, on the same subject, his own work is not superfluous, because the work of the former was not complete, while the latter drew largely from mere hearsay, not from their own experience (ed. Sprengel, i. 1 f.). It is, of course, possible that Luke had read this work by a contemporary and a member of the same profession. But the resemblance between the two dedications is slight. Words like *αὐτοψία*, *ἀκριβής*, and their derivatives are not so distinctive in character as to prove familiarity on Luke's part with Dioscorides in particular. It is, however, true that, throughout his entire work, Luke's language does show the most striking resemblance to that of the medical writers from Hippocrates to Galen, as has been conclusively shown by Hobart (see n. 28 and § 62, n. 5). This is noticeably true in the prologue. Hippocrates and Galen use, like Luke, the thoroughly medical word *ἐπιχειρεῖν* (found in the N.T. only in Luke i. 1; Acts ix. 29, xix. 13) with *γράφειν*, and Galen construes it with *ἀνελεῖν* exactly as in Acts ix. 29 (Hobart, 87, 210). This verb occurs 21 times in Luke, and elsewhere in the N.T. only thrice (not including the

use of the derivative *ἀναίρεσις* in Acts viii. 1). Hobart (87–90, 229, 250 f.) cites from Galen not less than 11 instances of *αὐτόπτης γενόμενος, γίνεσθαι, γενέσθαι*, 2 instances of *ἀκριβῶς παρακολουθεῖν*, and numerous instances of *διήγησις*, both from medical essays and historical works. One of Galen's dedications (ed. Kühn, xiv. 210, *τοῦτόν σοι τὸν περὶ τῆς θηριακῆς λόγον ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσας ἅπαντα, ἄριστε Πίσων, στουδαίως ἐποίησα*), Hobart (251) compares to the prologue of Luke (cf. also Acts i. 1). For the structure of the sentence, cf. Jos. *Bell.* i. procem. 1, *ἐπειδὴ . . . ἀναγράφουσιν . . . προυθέμην ἐγὼ . . . ἀφηγήσασθαι*; § 6 *ἐπειδήπερ καὶ Ἰουδαίων πολλοὶ κτλ.*, but especially Acts xv. 24 f. *ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσαμεν . . . ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν*. Christians of a later period very often imitated the Prologue of Luke; *e.g.* Athanasius in his 39th Easter Epistle (see *Epist. fest.* 39 in the writer's edition, *Grundrisse*, S. 87. 9 ff.), to a certain extent also Palladius, *Hist. Lausiaca* (Texts and Studies), ed. Butler, p. 9. 1, 10; Epiphan. *Mon.*, ed. Dressel, p. 45, in the life of Andrea.

6. (Pp. 44, 45.) Origen, in *Hom.* i. *in Luc.* (Delarue, iii. 933, cf. the Greek text *GK*, ii. 627), followed by Eus. *H. E.* iii. 24. 15 and Athan. *Epist. fest.* 39, in misinterpreting *ἐπεχείρησαν*, understands *πεπληροφορημένων* as a stronger form of *πεπιστευμένων*, but neither of them explains adequately the transference of the word from its association with the person of Luke (*πεπληροφόρητο καὶ οὐδὲν ἐδίσταξε*) to the things of which he was convinced. This, moreover, cannot be explained. With *πιστεύεσθαι, παραδίδοσθαι, ἐπιτρέπεσθαι*, and similar words only the reverse transfer of the passive construction occurs, namely, *from the thing* which is entrusted, delivered, committed, *to the person* to whom something is entrusted, committed, or permitted, who is charged with something, etc. (*e.g.* Rom. vi. 17; vol. i. 374, n. 8). Even more impossible is the interpretation first advocated by Lessing (ed. Maltzahn, xi. 2. 135), which he endeavoured to support by the assumption of a Hebraism. According to this view, Luke would have called the facts of the gospel history "*Things* which have been fulfilled," because in them O.T. prophecies were fulfilled, instead of saying that the *prophecies* had been fulfilled by these facts. With reference to this interpretation it may be remarked: (1) Luke does not use Hebraisms in the prologue. (2) When speaking of the fulfilment of prophecy he uses regularly the usual *πληροῦν* (i. 20, iv. 21, xxiv. 44; Acts i. 16, iii. 18, xiii. 27), occasionally *τελεῖν* (xviii. 31, xxii. 37; Acts xiii. 29), once *πλησθῆναι* (Luke xxi. 22). (3) The thought that the O.T. prophecy is fulfilled in the gospel history is not at all fundamental in Luke. (4) Leaving out of account the illogical substitution of the facts fulfilling the prophecies for the prophecies being fulfilled, it would be difficult for any reader to understand the expression standing at the beginning of the book, where as yet no mention has been made of prophetic prediction, while to a Gentile like Theophilus it would be entirely unintelligible. If it is impossible to construe the verb *πληροφορεῖν* with a personal object (or *πληροφορεῖσθαι* with a personal subject, Rom. iv. 21, xiv. 5; Col. iv. 12; Eccles. viii. 11; *Berl. ägypt. Urk.* No. 665, whence the word *πληροφορία*), the only other construction possible is *πληροφορεῖν* with an impersonal object, the same as in 2 Tim. iv. 5 (=Acts xii. 25, xiv. 26); 2 Tim. iv. 17 (=Col. i. 25; Rom. xv. 19); also Herm. *Mand.* ix. 2. It is to be taken as a rhetorical synonym for *πληροῦν* (Luke vii. 1, "after he had finished speaking"; Acts xiii. 25,

xix. 21; 2 Cor. x. 6; Rev. iii. 2). Luke is fond of such formations, *e.g.* τελεσφορεῖν, Luke viii. 14; τροποφορεῖν, Acts xiii. 18; εὐφορεῖν, Luke xii. 16 (used only by Luke); καρποφορεῖν, Luke viii. 15. Used in this connection, πληροφορεῖν, like πληροῦν, always means "to carry through to the end," "to bring to an end," not as Wuttig affirms (*Das joh. Ev. und seine Abfassungszeit*, 1897, S. 60), "to make complete" in the sense of "to supplement." Wuttig introduces a manifest change in the sense when he substitutes (S. 61) the meaning "to complete by the addition of a supplement"; for, while the object of πληροῦν or πληροφορεῖν may be the things incomplete without this act or transaction (service, vocation, life, discourse, preaching of the gospel, and the like), it can never be these things, words, acts, etc., which are added to those already existent in order to make them complete. Wuttig's desire in this way to derive the idea that the traditions which Luke and the πολλοί worked over into literary form were "added as a supplement to complete" the facts which had already been earlier reduced to literary form in the Fourth Gospel, is impossible of fulfilment; for it could never be said of past *events* which are here spoken of as the object of literary work on the part of many, and indirectly of Luke, that they were added as a supplement to the already existing Gospel of the eye-witnesses or of one eye-witness; but only of the *oral accounts* concerning these events by the eye-witnesses and the *written records* made by their disciples. But Luke says nothing about an existing written Gospel of the eye-witnesses, nor of its completion by oral accounts of the same witnesses and by the writings of the πολλοί.

7. (P. 46.) The adverbial ἀπ' ἀρχῆς must be taken with the γενόμενοι which concludes the characterisation of the original witnesses. It is likewise impossible to construe the phrase with αὐτόπται alone and not also with ὑπηρέται.

8. (P. 48.) There is nothing in the words παραδιδόναι and παράδοσις themselves which determines whether the communication is in oral or written form. It is the function of history to transmit facts to posterity (cf. Polyb. ii. 35. 5, εἰς μνήμην ἄγειν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις). Concerning the historian Jos. remarks (*c. Apion*, i. 10), δεῖ τὸν ἄλλοις παράδοσιν πράξεων ἀληθινῶν ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτὸν ἐπίστασθαι ταῦτα πρότερον ἀκριβῶς, ἢ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς γεγονόσιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότων πυνθανόμενον; cf. Eus. *H. E.* ii. 25. 2; Dioskor. *Mat. Med.* in the prefaces to books ii. iii. iv.; in Book v. he uses instead ἀποδιδόναι. Hence παραδιδόναι (Acts vi. 14) as well as διδόναι (John i. 17, vii. 19) can be used of the giving of the law by Moses, who is regarded as the author of the written Law (Luke xx. 28; John v. 45–47; Rom. x. 5). To what has been said above (p. 48) in the light of the context of the prologue the following remarks may be added: (1) In Jewish usage there is a contrast between the written law and παραδιδόναι, παράδοσις, teachings and regulations transmitted orally (Matt. xv. 2, 3, 6; Mark vii. 3–13; Gal. i. 14; Col. ii. 8, 22). Such tradition is "heard" (Matt. v. 21; John xii. 34). (2) Moreover, where the word is used of apostolic teaching and advice, this is always oral (1 Cor. xi. 2, 23, xv. 3; Rom. vi. 17; 2 Thess. iii. 6; vol. ii. 372 f., 384), where it is not expressly added that this is given in written form (2 Thess. ii. 15). (3) Quite apart from the dogmatic contrast between Holy Scripture and the less thoroughly authenticated tradition, the

idea suggested by παραδιδόναι is always so entirely that of an oral communication, that Clement, *e.g.* in *Eclog. Proph.* 27, could write: οὐκ ἔγραφον δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μήτε ἀπασχολεῖν βουλόμενοι τὴν διδασκαλικὴν τῆς παραδόσεως φροντίδα τῇ περὶ τὸ γράφειν ἄλλῃ φροντίδι, μηδὲ μὴν κτλ.

9. (P. 50.) The mistaken interpretation of παρηκολουθηκότι πᾶσιν by early writers (above, p. 6 f.), which made Luke a disciple in companionship with all the apostles, requires no refutation. Equally impossible is the interpretation which makes Luke an active witness of all the events which he is about to set forth, although this is linguistically possible, when πράγμασι is supplied with the correct addition (cf. Jos. *c. Apion*, ii. 10, see n. 8; or what Philo, *de Decal.* xviii., says about the false witness, that he speaks ὡς παρηκολουθηκὼς ἅπασιν). This would make Luke an eye-witness from the beginning, which he emphatically declares not to have been the case. Further, παρακολουθεῖν means to pursue and follow with the critical and apprehending intelligence (Epict. *Diss.* i. 5. 5, vi. 12, 18, ix. 4, xxvi. 13 and 14), also with the purpose of historical investigation and exposition (Polyb. i. 13. 7, iii. 32. 2). This is the only meaning which suits ἀκριβῶς. By μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν, Josephus, *c. Apion*, i. 23, means an intelligent study of the O.T. Scriptures. If, when Luke expressed his purpose with reference to Theophilus, his plan had included the investigations as well as the statement of the results, he would have written παρακολουθήσαντι or -σαντα; cf. Acts xv. 25.

10. (Pp. 53, 54, 58.) Of the Fathers, Augustine in particular (*Cons. Evv.* iv. 8. 9) claims that the prologue has reference to both of Luke's books. Among the arguments urged against this position the most incomprehensible is that Acts would not then begin with another address to Theophilus, which was necessary in order to co-ordinate the beginnings of the two books. This is practically the position of Overbeck, Introduction to the revision of de Wette's *Komm. zur AG*, p. xxi A. (1) Acts i. 1 does not contain a second prologue, much less an independent prologue, but simply a reference to the first part of the author's work, which serves to connect the second book with the first. (2) It is indeed the rule at the beginning of the successive books of a large work to insert a short reference to the dedication of the first book, or a new prologue, without the prologue of the first book thereby ceasing to be the introduction to the entire work. Examples from the years between 60 and 200 are Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*, libri i.–v.; Jos. *c. Apion*, i. and ii.; Artemidor. *Interpretation of Dreams* [Ὀνειροκριτικά], i.–iii., dedicated to a different person than are iv.-v.; Iren. i.–v. Very frequently an address is also found at the conclusion of separate books or of the entire work, Diosc. v. p. 828; Jos. *c. Apion*, ii. 41; Artemid. i. 82, iii. 66, iv. 84; Iren. i. 31. 3, iv. 14. 4; cf. also the present writer's "Studien zu Justin," *ZfKG*, viii. 45 f. (3) Luke does not say, Luke i. 1, that he has set forth the gospel history, ἐν ἑτέρῳ (βιβλίῳ, συγγράμματι, or perhaps λόγῳ) or ἐν ἑτέροις, but he calls the Gospel ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, to which Acts is added as ὁ δεύτερος λόγος. Cf. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, S. 28: "A large work is composed of a number of λόγοι." Of course, it is possible that each one of a number of independent writings might be called a λόγος, but such independent writings could not be enumerated and called "the first book" and the "second book." Whether or not, when he wrote Luke i. 1–4, Luke knew that the working out of his plan

would require a work of several parts, certainly when he wrote Acts i. 1 he was aware that his plan had been only partially carried out, and therefore at this point he added what followed as a second part of a larger work. He betrays this same consciousness where he gives as the subject of the first book, *περὶ πάντων ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν.* This a fourth proof (4) of the scope of the prologue. On the basis simply of single passages, like Acts ix. 4, or in view of the tendency to consider all gospel preaching as the gospel of Christ and the word of the Lord (vol. ii. 377), it would be wrong to interpret this phrase to mean that Jesus was the actual subject of all that the Apostles did and suffered and taught. On the other hand, the use of *ἤρξατο* in Acts is not to be considered entirely purposeless, especially in this passage where Luke is speaking thoughtfully in his capacity as an author. All that Jesus did and said, as set forth in the Gospel, is only the beginning of a wider activity (cf. Heb. ii. 3). This *ἤρξατο* stands in contrast to the *πεπληροφορημένα πράγματα* of Luke i. 1, which is intended to cover the subject of all Luke's literary work. In this way the proofs derived from Acts i. 1 connect themselves naturally with those derived from the preface to the Gospel (above, p. 53 f.).

11. (P. 55.) Xenophon in the *Anabasis*, like Cæsar in the *Gallic War* and Matthew in his Gospel, always speaks of himself in the third person (*Anab.* i. 8. 15, ii. 5. 40, iii. 1. 4, 10, 47. The only paragraph in which a "we" occurs, vii. 8. 25, is regarded as spurious). In the *Memorabilia*, on the other hand, the author's "I" occurs from the beginning (i. 1. 1, 3. 1, 4. 2). But in the account of a dialogue in which he took part, 1. 3, 8–13, he uses *Ξενοφῶν.* Thucydides uses his name from the outset, employing the personal pronoun; so always in speaking of himself in the capacity of a narrator and of the source of his knowledge of the events which he records (i. 20. 1, 22. 1, ii. 48. 3, v. 26. 4). But when referring to himself as a general, he uses consistently the third person, only indicating the identity of the general with the author of the book at the first introduction of the name (iv. 104. 4). Polybius is familiar with the two forms, but does not maintain the distinction strictly. Besides "I" he frequently uses an equivalent "we" (i. 1. 1, 3 f., ii. 40. 5, iii. 5. 8, 48. 12); sometimes he uses "I" when speaking of himself as one of the actors (xxxix. 16); also remarks about his intentional change of "Polybius" to "I" or "we" (xxxvii. 1 f.). In the preface of the *Jewish War*, § 1, Josephus says, "I, Josephus, the son of Matthias, a priest of Jerusalem." And universally, in speaking of himself as an author, he uses "I" or "we" (*Bell.* v. 4. 1, 5. 4, 5. 7, vii. 11. 5; *Ant.* i. prœm.; x. 11. 7, xii. 5. 2, xvi. 7. 1). But in the same work, when speaking of himself as an actor in the history, he introduces himself impersonally as "Josephus," first in ii. 20. 4, and regularly from that point onward. It is only in the autobiography that he employs "I" throughout without adding the name. On the other hand, Porphyrius in the *Vita Plotini* writes, cc. iv.–vi., *ἐγὼ Πορφύριος, ἐνοῦ Πορφυρίου, προσῆλθον ὁ Π.* For the imitations of Luke's "we" see n. 17.

12. (P. 55.) In Acts xvi. 17, according to recension *β* also in xvi. 10, "we" is found where Paul is expressly excepted; therefore the "we" includes Silas, who has been with Paul since xv. 40, and Timothy, introduced into the narrative in xvi. 1–3. That the unnamed person designated by "I" and included in the "we" cannot be identified with Silas or Timothy, who

are mentioned by name, is self-evident. That it was not Silas is clear from the following combinations: "Paul and us" (xvi. 17), "Paul" (xvi. 18), "Paul and Silas" (xvi. 19). In both recensions (above, p. 31, n. 9) Timothy is excluded by xx. 4–6. He is one of those who on the journey to Troas preceded Paul and those associated with him who are included in the "we."

13. (P. 56.) Concerning the text of Acts xx. 3 ff., see above, p. 31, n. 9, and vol. i. 209 f. According to this passage, the companions of Paul's journey mentioned, with the exception of Sopatros who accompanied him from Corinth, and the writer of the narrative who found him at Philippi, went on ahead from Macedonia to Troas before the Passover. But too much is not to be inferred from the absence of the "we." In narratives where Paul alone, or Paul and Silas, are represented as actors or sufferers (xvi. 18–40), the "we" is omitted without the absence of the narrator or of Timothy being thereby implied. According to xxi. 18, the narrator was in the party that met James; but in what follows there is no occasion to use the "we" again. The same is true of xx. 16–38, where the account concerns only Paul's decision and a transaction between himself and the Ephesian elders. "We" might have been used in xx. 36 (ἡμῖν instead of αὐτοῖς), although it is possible, but not definitely proved by the recurrence of the "we" in xxi. 1, that part of Paul's company—among them the narrator—remained on shipboard while Paul and his other companions went on shore. Since the elders accompanied Paul to the ship (in a boat), and certainly went on board (xx. 38), those of the company who remained on the ship could have participated in the leave-taking of the elders (xxi. 1). Irenæus' statement in iii. 14. 1 (*GK*, ii. 54, A. 2), according to which Luke accompanied the apostle from Antioch, apparently immediately after the separation between Paul and Barnabas, is not absolutely precluded by the absence of "we" in the very sketchy narrative of xv. 40–xvi. 8. But Luke may have followed Paul from Antioch to Troas as Agathopus did Ignatius (Ign. *Philadel.* xi.; *Smyrn.* x.; cf. the present writer's work on *Ignatius*, 263 f.).

14. (P. 58.) Quite independently of the question concerning the correctness of the text in Luke xxiv. 51, and of the harmonistic difficulties suggested by a comparison of Luke xxiv. 44–53 and Acts i. 1–14, it is shown by Acts i. 2 that the author is conscious of having already given an account of the ἀνάληψις in Luke xxiv. 51.

15. (P. 59.) Concerning the title πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων see above, p. 3, n. 1. Even in the Coptic and Syriac versions the Greek word is adopted into the text, although in the latter version a Syriac equivalent is also used (*GK*, i. 377 f.; for other variants, ii. 52, A. 2). The use of πρᾶξις in a legal sense as a translation of *Actio* = "suit, proceedings of a court, synod," etc., is out of the question, also the use of *actum*, *acta*, which when used by the Greeks is left untranslated (Just. *Apol.* i. 35, 48; *Acta Theclæ*, xxxviii.). It can mean only historical facts as in Polybius (cf. Raphelii *Annot. in N.T.*, ed. Hemsterhuis, 1747, ii. 2). The present writer is not familiar with any other ancient historical work in the title of which the word is used. The titles of the apocryphal πράξεις Παύλου, Πέτρου κτλ. are imitations of the canonical Acts (see n. 17). On the other hand, one is easily reminded of the late Hebrew מעשה (Mishnah, Meg. iv. 8; Chag. ii. 1; also in the title of the

Aramaic Book of Tobit, ed. Neubauer, 1878, pp. 3, 17). Dependence upon this usage would argue for the very early date of the title of Acts.

16. (P. 61.) Josephus writes at the beginning of the second and last book *contra Apion*, διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ προτέρου βιβλίου κτλ. Philo says in *Quod omn. probus*, liber i., speaking of a companion work now lost, ὁ μὲν πρότερος λόγος ἦν ἡμῖν, ὦ Θεόδοτε, περὶ τοῦ κτλ. Also *Vita Mos.* ii. 1, which is correct, since as yet a third book was not in view. This is supplementary (iii. 1, τρίτον δὲ προσαποδοτέον). The genuine Euthalius (Zacagni, 410) writes in the same way of Luke: δύο βίβλους συνεγράψατο, μίαν μὲν καὶ προτέραν τὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, δευτέραν δὲ τάυτην κτλ. So Origen regularly in quotations from 1 Cor., 1 Tim., etc., *in Matt.* tom. xiv. 22, xv. 27, xvii. 29. The careless use of πρῶτος for πρότερος is not once to be found in Luke's writings, where he could have been dependent on his sources. Acts xii. 10 "a first watch and a second watch" is not a case in point, nor is the adverbial πρῶτον in Luke xiv. 28, 31. Bunsen's *Anal. Antenic.* i. 130 f., calls attention to the use of πρῶτον, Acts i. 1, as distinguished from πρότερον.

17. (P. 61.) The not ungifted author of the *Acts of John* and the *Acts of Peter*, whom we now know to have been a member of one branch of the Valentinian School, introduces himself in the former work by a "we," as Luke does in Acts, making himself a witness of the history of John which he fabricates. He also uses occasionally an "I," and once at least the name Leucius Charinus; cf. the present writer's *Acta Jo.* lxviii., lxx., xcvii.; *GK*, ii. 860. In his *Acts of Peter* the same author clearly imitates and borrows from Acts (*GK*, ii. 854 f.). It is not likely that the author meant to identify himself with the Lucius in Acts xiii. 1, still less with Luke. Equally improbable is the conjecture of James (*Apocr. Anecd.* ii. p. xi), that the author of the Muratorian fragment regarded the stories of Leucius as a work of Luke, implying by the use of *semote*, line 37, that this work was a non-canonical, unpublished writing by the author of the canonical Acts. The Catholic author of the *Acts of Paul*, and, as we now know, of the *Acts of Theclæ*, which are a part of it, has followed Acts even more closely than has Leucius. The much later biographer of the Apostle John, Prochorus, took his name from Acts vi. 5, and derived much of his material from this source (*Acta Jo.* liv.).

18. (P. 64.) In Luke iv. 44 the reading τῆς Ἰουδαίας is very strongly attested both as to age and currency by ℵBCLQ (fifth century) R (sixth century), Ss S^3, copt. and a large number of cursives, so that it is not to be compared with the τῆς Ἰουδαίας in i. 26, for which there is only one witness (ℵ*). Furthermore, the entire context after iv. 14 suggests no objection to Γαλιλαίας, whereas Ἰουδαίας would necessarily have raised questions. Moreover, the variants τῶν Ἰουδαίων (cf. vii. 3), τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις (the Jewish population of Galilee in contrast to numerous persons in this country who were not Jews) and αὐτῶν (according to iv. 15), which have only a single MS. in their support, prove that there stood here originally a reading which created difficulty, namely, τῆς Ἰουδαίας. Unfortunately Marcion's text has not come down to us (*GK*, ii. 478). But, according to a statement of an anonymous Syrian writer, Marcion made his Christ appear first between Jerusalem and Jericho (*Mus. Brit. Add.* 17215, fol. 30; cf. *Academy*, 1893, October 21); and although it has not yet been possible to bring this statement into agreement with that of Tertullian (*ThLb*, 1896, col. 19), it argues in favour of the

assumption that Marcion, who constructed the beginning of his Gospel in the most arbitrary fashion out of Luke iii. 1, iv. 31–35 (or 39 ?), iv. 16–43 (or 44 ?), found 'Ιουδαίας in this passage. If Luke wrote the word, he certainly did not employ it in the narrower sense, implying complete exclusion of Galilee (v. 17, xxiv. 8), but in the broader sense according to which it includes Galilee, as in i. 5, vi. 17, xxiii. 5; Acts x. 37 (cf. vol. i. 186). This is in keeping with the context; for after the mention of Galilee in general (iv. 14) and of Nazareth (iv. 16–30), and of the "Galilean city, Capernaum" (iv. 31–42), in particular, ταῖς ἑτέραις πόλεσιν (iv. 43), without any modifying words, means all the other cities in Jesus' sphere of labour, exclusive of those already mentioned. Among these not the least important was Jerusalem (ii. 38, xiii. 33 f.), but all the other Jewish cities of the Holy Land are included (cf. Matt. x. 23). It is, therefore, possible that in v. 12 a city in South Palestine is meant, as Tatian assumed,—possibly influenced by the original text of Luke iv. 44 (*Forsch.* i. 251 f.; *GK*, ii. 545), just as in x. 38 a village near Jerusalem is meant, although it is not expressly said that this is the location.

19. (P. 66.) In ix. 18–x. 42 we seem to have a series of events closely connected in time and place. The temporal connection is directly indicated in ix. 28, 37, x. 1, 21, also to some extent in x. 17, and possible in x. 25 by καὶ ἰδού. The way is prepared for the journey to Jerusalem, ix. 51, by ix. 22, 31. Evidently in ix. 57 the same πορεύεσθαι is referred to as in ix. 56. This seems also to be the case in x. 1, 38. If it could be assumed that Luke knew Cæsarea Philippi to be the scene of what is narrated in ix. 18–27 (Mark viii. 27–38), and that he knew the location of the village referred to in x. 38 (John xi. 1, 18), and its name, Bethany, we would have here a journey from the extreme northern part of Palestine to Jerusalem, and it would be natural to assume that the material of the parable in x. 30 ff. was suggested by Jesus' journey through Jericho to Bethany and Jerusalem. But Luke does not make such combinations. He mentions neither Cæsarea nor Bethany; he would not have mentioned the fact that the city in ix. 52 was Samaritan if it were not necessary for understanding what took place. This is true also of the statement that Jerusalem was the goal of His journey, as is shown by a comparison of ix. 51 with ix. 53. There must have been an interval of a considerable number of days between x. 1–16 and x. 17, and nothing is said of Jesus' progress. The ἀνέστη, x. 25, seems to presuppose that Jesus was surrounded by a crowd of seated listeners (Mark iii. 34), although immediately before Jesus is represented as being alone with His disciples (Luke x. 23). Throughout the book there is no external connection between events. On the other hand, the logical connection is very clear—particularly between ix. 49 f. and ix. 54–56. Everything from ix. 22 onward is designed to show how the disciples—even those of them who were most trusted—needed to be brought, contrary to their natural inclinations, to the state of mind necessary for witnessing the sufferings and death of their Master. The conclusion of this train of thought is reached at x. 24, and at this point we have the beginning of a new series of events which likewise are related logically, not locally or in respect of time. If in x. 38 we are in the vicinity of Jerusalem, the supposed account of the journey to Jerusalem can go no farther. In xiii. 1, Jesus is certainly not in Jerusalem, and it is not until

xiii. 22–35 that we find Him on His way hither, and then He seems to be at a considerable distance away, in the domain of Herod Antipas (xiii. 31–33), *i.e.* either in Galilee or Perea. An examination of xiii. 33–35 shows that Jerusalem is mentioned in xiii. 22, not in order to begin or to continue the account of a journey, but in order to make intelligible a word of Jesus' spoken at this particular time (xiii. 31). In xiv. 1–xvii. 10 the references to time and place are vague, as is also the reference to a journey in xiv. 25. Again, in xvii. 11 the place is mentioned only in order to make clear the passage xvii. 12–19. It is not until xviii. 31, 35, xix. 1, 11, 28, 41, 45 that we have a continuous development of the course of events. Nevertheless, it is possible that we have here scattered statements concerning a journey to Jerusalem, or, as we may say in view of ix. 51, the last journey from Galilee to Jerusalem. Since quarters were refused Jesus in a Samaritan city (ix. 52), we may infer that the village in ix. 56 was Jewish, and assume that Jesus gave up his intention to go to Jerusalem through Samaria, taking instead the route through Perea (Mark x. 1; Matt. xix. 1; vol. ii. 589, n. 4). With this xvii. 11 may be connected. That the reference in this passage is not to a journey through the midst of Samaria and Galilee is self-evident, because, in this case, it would necessarily be a journey from Judea to the northern boundary of Galilee, because of the order in which the countries are mentioned, and because the readings *διὰ μέσης* or *διὰ τῆς*, by which this meaning is expressed, are practically unsupported. Probably the most original reading is *μέσον*, without a preposition (D, cf. viii. 7, x. 3). This was replaced by *ἀναμέσον* (Ferrar group), which was not a bad conjecture, by *διὰ μέσου* (AX, etc.), which, on the other hand, was worse, and by *διὰ μέσον* (ℵBL), which is very bad. Jesus travelled along the border between Samaria and Galilee naturally from west to east with the intention in the neighbourhood of Scythopolis of crossing the Jordan into Perea, and thence to journey to Jerusalem. So it happened that in one of the border villages nine Jewish and one Samaritan leper met Jesus. Here could have followed what is recorded in xiii. 22–35, if these events occurred in Perea (see above), although Luke records them at an earlier point in the narrative. In xviii. 31, 35, xix. 11, 28, 41–45 we follow Jesus through Jericho to the Temple in Jerusalem without again being carried back in time or place.

20. (P. 68.) Of the proper names that are found in Matt. or Mark only Archelaus (Matt. ii. 22), Bartimæus (Mark x. 46), and the names of Jesus' brothers are lacking in Luke. On the other hand, omitting the genealogy and O.T. names, the following are peculiar to Luke: Zacharias and Elisabeth, with very explicit statements about them, i. 5, cf. 36; Augustus and Quirinius, ii. 1, 2; Simeon and Anna, with explicit statements regarding them, ii. 25, 36; Tiberius and Lysanius, iii. 1; Annas, iii. 2, Acts iv. 6 (also John xviii. 13); Simon the Pharisee, vii. 40; Joanna and Chuza, viii. 3, cf. xxiv. 10; Susanna, viii. 3; Mary and Martha, x. 39 (also John xi.); Zacchæus, xix. 1; Cleopas, xxiv. 18. A proper name is found even in one of the parables (xvi. 20). It will also be observed that in Acts a number of persons are mentioned who play only a subordinate rôle in the narrative, or none at all, and who, if we may judge from analogy, would not have been mentioned in Matt. or Mark; *e.g.* in iv. 6, v. 1, vi. 5 (altogether seven persons, only two of whom are mentioned again); ix. 10, 11, 33, 36, x. 1, 32 (Peter's host);

xi. 28, cf. xxi. 10, xii. 12, 13 (the maid); xii. 20, xiii. 1 (three unknown persons with very explicit statements about them, still more in text β, see above, p. 28 f., n. 6); xiii. 6-8, xvii. 6, xviii. 7, 8, 17, xix. 9, 14, 22, 24, 29, 33, xx. 4, 9, xxi. 16, xxiv. 1, 24, xxvii. 1, xxviii. 7.

21. (P. 69.) In some of the passages of Luke's narrative, where he calls Jesus *ὁ κύριος*, the text is uncertain as regards this particular point. The present writer regards the following passages as genuine: vii. 13 (not vii. 31); x. 1, xi. 39, xii. 42, xiii. 15, xvii. 5, 6, xviii. 6, xix. 8, xxii. 31, 61 (twice); (xxiv. 3 ?); altogether twelve or thirteen times. In John it is found only four times (iv. 1, vi. 23, xi. 2, xx. 20). But in the only passage really comparable with it (John iv. 1), possibly *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* is the correct reading. In xx. 20 the author speaks from the point of view of the disciples. In vi. 23, xi. 2 we have the evangelist's own words, which have no connection with the narrative. This usage is not found in Matt. or Mark. On Mark xvi. 19 see vol. ii. 476. With reference to the reticence of Luke in the account of the Last Supper, cf. the present writer's essay: *Brod und Wein im Abendmahl*, 1892, S. 148.

22. (P. 70.) The Israelitish tone is strongly marked in chs. i.–ii. (i. 6, 32 f., 54 f., 68–79, ii. 4, 11, 21–24, 25, 31 f., 37 f., 41 f.). The man Jesus, however, is represented as loving His people (xiii. 16, xix. 9), and as, therefore, very deeply pained both by their sins and misfortune (x. 31 ff., xiii. 34, xvii. 18, xix. 41–44, xxiii. 28–31). He acknowledges not only the prophetic and doctrinal significance of the O.T. (iv. 4–12, 17–21, x. 25–28, xiii. 28, xvi. 16, 29–31, xviii. 19 f., xx. 37, 41–44, xxii. 37, xxiv. 27, 44–46), but also the inviolability of the law (xvi. 17). He Himself was submissive to the law to which as a child He was made subject (ii. 21–24), and remained loyal to the religious customs (iv. 16, 31, xxii. 7–16) under which He was brought up (ii. 41 f.). He made no objection even to the painfully literal fulfilment of the law by the Pharisees, so long as they kept also the fundamental moral law (xi. 42, cf. v. 34 ff.). In relation to the Sabbath He takes the same liberal-conservative attitude as in the other Gospels (vi. 1–11, xiii. 10–17, xiv. 1–6); see vol. ii. 585 ff. His disciples also live according to the law (xxiii. 56). His Church retains its connection with the Temple, and is full of zeal for the law (xxiv. 53; Acts ii. 46, v. 12, 42, xxi. 20). The significance of Israel is not destroyed by the rejection of the Messiah and of the apostolic preaching. The times of the Gentiles shall pass away (Luke xxi. 24). The nation which it was Jesus' first mission to redeem (i. 54–68–79, ii. 34–38, xxiv. 21; Acts ii. 39, iii. 25) shall finally acknowledge and enthrone Him (xiii. 35, xxii. 30; Acts iii. 20 f.). No man can know, nor is any man privileged to know, the time (Acts i. 6 f.). But the fact is certain.

23. (P. 72.) Cf. E. Curtius, *SBAW*, 1893, S. 928 f., on Phil. iv. 8, and similar statements of Paul. Cf. also what Herder says (*Vom Erlöser der Menschen*, 1796, S. 218): "He (Luke) might be called the evangelist of *Philanthropy*, if this word had not been desecrated. Such a Gospel is in keeping with the character of a man who had made numerous journeys among the Greeks and Romans with Paul, and who dedicated his writings to a Theophilus."

24. (P. 74.) With regard to the alleged Ebionitic doctrine of the meritorious, or God-pleasing character of voluntary poverty, see vol. i. 147 f.

There is no reason why anyone should have been misled, as has repeatedly been the case, by Origen's scholastic play on words (*Princ.* iv. 22; *c. Cels.* ii. 1; cf. Eus. *H. E.* iii. 27. 6) into the very remarkable opinion that the Ebionites were so called because of the poverty of their thought, or that they called themselves by this name because of their extreme poverty (Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 17).

25. (P. 77.) No other Gospel emphasises so strongly the joy, the pleasure, the enthusiastic admiration occasioned by Jesus: ii. 10, 20, 47, 52, iv. 22, v. 26, vii. 16, 35, ix. 43, xi. 27, xiii. 17, xvii. 15, xviii. 43, xix. 37 ff., 48, xxi. 38, xxiii. 8, xxiv. 52, cf. i. 14, 46 ff., 68, ii. 29 ff., x. 17 ff., xv. 7, 10, 23, 32. Only a few of these passages have parallels in the other Gospels.

26. (P. 77.) Instead of *ζηλωτής*, Luke vi. 15, Acts i. 13, Matt. x. 4, and Mark iii. 18, we find the Hebrew term. Josephus speaks of them as a party in the account which he gives of their origin, but mentions no name (*Bell.* ii. 8. 1; *Ant.* xviii. 1. 1 and 6); elsewhere he calls them *ζηλωταί* (*Bell.* iv. 5. 1, 6. 1). For the *ἡ ἀπογραφή* and *ἀπογράφεσθαι* of Luke, Jos. uses various terms: *ἀποτιμᾶν*, *ἀποτιμᾶσθαι*, *ἀποδίδοσθαι*, *αἱ ἀποτιμήσεις*, also *αἱ ἀπογραφαι*, *Ant.* xvii. 13. 5, xviii. 1. 1, 2. 1, *Bell.* vii. 8. 1, but never *ἡ ἀπογραφή*.

27. (P. 78.) The number 70 or (according to *BD*, Tatian, ancient Syriac and Latin versions, see *Forsch.* i. 148) 72 disciples in x. 1 has no more connection with the 70 Gentile nations and their languages and angels, as the Jews recorded them (Schürer, ii. 343, iii. 198 [Eng. trans. II. i. 344, iii. 64]), than it does with the 70 members of the Sanhedrin or the 70 translators of the O.T. or any other number 70. The 70 were not sent to the Gentiles, and there is nothing to indicate that Luke meant it to be taken in this symbolical sense. Luke and Theophilus were not Jews, and could not have expressed or understood such a thought simply by the use of the number 70. On the other hand, the contrast between the 70 and the 12 (Luke ix. 1) is clearly expressed, and, as shown above (p. 78), the way was prepared by ix. 49 f., 60 (cf. also viii. 39), for the transfer of the preaching office to those who were not apostles. According to an ancient tradition, accepted as true by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 25), and probably derived from the *Gospel of Philip*, it was Philip who was addressed in Luke ix. 60; and since the person here spoken to must be one who was not an apostle, the evangelist Philip must be meant (cf. *Forsch.* vi. 26. 158 f.).

28. (P. 79.) Concerning the linguistic unity of Luke's work, cf. Zeller, S. 415–425, 442–446, 498 ff.; Lekebusch, *Komposition und Entstehung der AG*, 1854, S. 37–81; Klostermann, *Vind. Lucanæ seu de itinerii in libro actorum asservati auctore*, 1866, pp. 46–63; Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, a proof from internal evidence that the Gospel according to St. Luke and the Acts of the Apostles were written by the same person, and that the writer was a medical man, Dublin, 1882; Vogel, *Zur Characteristik des Lucas nach Sprache und Stil, eine philologische Laienstudie*, 2te Aufl. 1899. For details see above, pp. 28 f., nn. 6, 7; 37 f., n. 18; 82 f., nn. 4–6; below, § 61, nn. 10–12, 26; § 62, n. 5.

29. (P. 79.) M. Schneckenburger (*Über den Zweck der AG*, 1841) made the first important investigation in the direction indicated by the title. He takes no account of the prologue, which he thinks belongs only to the Gospel,

nor of the dedication to Theophilus, but argues from Acts xviii.–xxviii. that the purpose of the entire second book, which he thinks was written in Rome by Luke the disciple of Paul after the death of the apostle and before the fall of Jerusalem, is to give an apologetic portrayal of the apostolic labours of Paul in answer to all the accusations and misinterpretations of the Judaisers which come to light in the Pauline letters. The principal means by which this is accomplished is the constant contrast between Paul and Peter. He defends the consistency of this irenic tendency of Luke with his trustworthiness and familiarity with the facts against the criticism, which was even then being made by Schrader and Baur, that in many instances the history was deliberately falsified by Luke. Starting with the hypothesis of Schneckenburger, who had only half worked it out, but at the same time developing principles that he himself had already laid down, Baur (*Paulus*[2], i. 7–16; *Christentum und Kirche der 3 ersten Jahrh.*[2] S. 50, 125 ff., and in many other passages) showed that Acts was a partisan work, dating from about the middle of the second century. It is attributed with some hesitancy to Luke, the disciple of Paul, who, as a representative of the modified Paulinism of his time, recasts in this work the entire history of the Apostolic Church in the most arbitrary manner, in order to bring about an adjustment with Jewish Christianity, which it is alleged was still powerful at that time, and in order to effect a catholic union. This view was so thoroughly worked out by E. Zeller (*Die AG nach Inhalt und Ursprung krit. unters.* 1854), who dated the work between 110 and 130 (S. 466–481), that Baur felt that this could be called simply "the critical view," in contrast to which any view which differed from it essentially was "uncritical." A similar point of view is represented by Overbeck (in the introduction of his revision of de Wette's *Komm. zur AG*, 1870). However, according to Overbeck, Luke's purpose was not conciliatory in the Tübingen sense, *i.e.* in the sense that it is designed primarily for Jewish Christians, but it is apologetic from the point of view of Gentile Christianity, which had become estranged from genuine Paulinism, and which was practically dominant in the Church in Trajan's time (98–117). Besides the emphasis laid upon a "national anti-Judaism," Overbeck calls special attention to a "secondary, political aim," namely, to show that Christianity is in harmony with the Roman government. From this it follows that Acts "could not well have been directed to any one save to Gentiles outside the Church" (p. xxxiii). More recently J. Weiss (*Über die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der AG*, 1897), in opposition to one-sided efforts to determine the sources of Acts, and with full recognition of Overbeck's services, has made an investigation with the following result: "Acts is an apology for Christianity to the Gentiles against the charges of the Jews; it shows how Judaism was supplanted by Christianity in its world mission." In order to obtain what is correct in the views of Overbeck and Weiss, namely, the fact that Acts was designed for Gentile readers, it is not necessary to have recourse to highly questionable interpretations and forced inferences. It follows as a matter of course from the prologue and the dedication of the work to the Gentile, Theophilus (above, pp. 61–80). Of works in opposition to the "tendenz criticism" special mention may be made of those by E. Lekebusch (*Komposition und Entstehung der AG*, 1854); A. Klostermann (*Vindiciæ Lucanæ*, 1866); C. Schmidt (*Die AG unter dem*

Hauptgesichtspunkt ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit, i., 1882, unfinished). Still worth reading is HOFMANN'S unpretending essay, "Das Geschichtswerk des Lucas," *Vermischte Aufs.*, 1878, S. 153–176).

§ 61. THE SOURCES USED BY LUKE.

From the language of the dedication we might infer that Luke derived all the material which he used, either from his own recollection of what he had experienced, or from the oral reports of older Christians, especially of the disciples of Jesus. But it is hardly probable that one who was conscious that his task was that of an investigator and an historian, as Luke shows himself to have been, would have confined himself to these sources, and have made no use whatever of the large body of literature dealing with his subject, of which he himself speaks. We should expect, further, that he would have used documents where it was possible for him to obtain them; and since it was part of his purpose to connect the history of Christianity with the history of the outside world, it would not be surprising if he consulted some of the accounts of contemporary history.

Taking up this last point, it has been thought possible to prove that Luke took numerous facts from the works of JOSEPHUS, also that he modelled his style after this writer (n. 1). The latter is *a priori* improbable. A Greek who could write such a periodic sentence as Luke i. 1–4 would not have copied a Jew, who, by his own confession, talked more or less of a jargon all his life, and who was not able to publish his Greek writings without the help of men who were masters of this language (n. 2). Dependence of Luke upon Josephus is also improbable from chronological reasons. The work on the *Jewish War* appeared in its Greek form shortly before the year 79 (Schürer, i. 79 [Eng. trans. I. i. 83]); the *Antiquities*, in 93 or 94; the *Vita*, either at the same time as an appendix to the *Antiquities*, or, according

to others, not until after 100; and the books *contra Apion*, later than 94. Since the question here does not in any way concern the use of the *Jewish War* alone, but quite as much, and even more, the use of the later works of Josephus, Luke's writings, if dependent upon Josephus, would have to be dated at the very earliest in the year 100. Against this, however, is, *first*, the unanimous tradition which, up to the present time, has not been successfully controverted, that the author of the Gospel and Acts was Luke, the friend of Paul, and the eye-witness in the "we" passages of Acts. If he was a member of the Antiochian Church in the year 40, though he may have been not more than twenty years of age at the time, it is very improbable that he should have elaborated as late as the year 100 this great work, which certainly does not give the impression of being the effort of an aged man, using the recent writings of his younger contemporary, Josephus (born 37 A.D.). It is also unlikely that he would have entertained at this late date the purpose of further continuing the work (above, p. 56 ff.). In the *second* place, quite aside from the confirmation which the tradition regarding the author receives from Luke's writings themselves, strong proof is to be found in them that they could not well have been written later than 80 (§ 62). This makes the use even of the earliest writings of Josephus improbable, while employment of his later works is entirely out of the question; and, if striking resemblances should be found to exist between the two writings, it must have been Josephus who used Luke's work, which appeared some ten or twenty years before the publication of the *Antiquities*, and not the reverse.

Dependence of the Christian upon the Jewish historian would most naturally betray itself in statements regarding political conditions. But the very opposite is what we actually find. Both Luke (ii. 1–3; Acts v. 37) and

Josephus know of a "taxing" carried out in Palestine at the beginning of our era, which was the first and, for a long time, the only one of its kind, and to which was due the bloody insurrection of Judas the Galilean (n. 3). But here the resemblance ends. Luke refers the taxing to a decree of Augustus, in which it was commanded that the whole world—naturally the world under the Roman dominion—should be taxed. In the *Jewish War* and the passages of the *Antiquities* where the matter is treated in detail, Josephus speaks only of an order which covered the territory of Archelaus, which did not include even the whole of Palestine (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 1, 2. 1; *Bell.* vii. 8. 1; cf. ii. 8. 1, 17. 8). In one passage only, where the matter is mentioned incidentally (*Ant.* xvii. 13. 5), it is made to cover Syria. This, however, is connected with an idea which first appears in the *Antiquities.* In the *Jewish War*, Quirinius nowhere appears as the governor of Syria, but is a high official, who, after the deposition of Archelaus, was sent thither with the extraordinary commission to organise the territory of Archelaus, which was now taken directly under Roman control. On the other hand, in the passages where Quirinius is mentioned in the *Antiquities*, the very inaccurate, or rather simply erroneous, claim is twice made, that the territory of Archelaus was at this time added to the province of Syria (xvii. 13. 5, xviii. 1. 1). But neither in this passage nor anywhere else does Josephus call Quirinius the governor of Syria. The reader of the *Jewish War* would never guess that he had at any time occupied this position, nor could it be inferred from the unclear hints of the *Antiquities*, We have, therefore, a second statement of Luke's which is independent of Josephus, namely, that the taxing took place while Quirinius was governor of Syria. On this point the Antiochian, Luke, is better informed than Josephus, since, as a matter of fact, P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who was

consul in the year 12 B.C., was governor of Syria from autumn of the year 4 (B.C.) to the year 1 (B.C.). According to an inscription, the genuineness of which was long questioned, but which was proved to be correct by a discovery of the year 1880, a certain Q. Æmilius Secundus, by order of the royal governor of Syria, Quirinius, had a census taken in the Syrian city, Apamea (n. 4).

A third point in which Luke proves himself to be independent of Josephus, and where he shows a knowledge of the facts which is certainly closer to the historical truth than Josephus', is the chronology. The latter writer, whose information for the four decades between the death of Herod (4 B.C.) and his own birth (37 A.D.) is extremely meagre (Schürer, i. 84 f. [Eng. trans. I. i. 88 f.]), dates both the taxing by Quirinius and the insurrection of Judas in the year after the deposition of Archelaus (6–7 A.D.). But it is inconceivable that Judas, who was a native of Gamala, in Gaulanitis, and who was called the "Galilean"—not because Galilee was his home, but because it was the scene of the insurrection which he led (Acts v. 37; Jos. *Bell.* ii. 8. 1, 17. 8, *Ant.* xviii. 1. 6)—should have raised the banner of revolt in a year when there was no political change of any kind in Galilee. That Josephus is in error is very clear from the fact that, in addition to this insurrection, he tells of still another revolt led by one Judas in Galilee, which took place in the year of Herod's death (4 B.C., *Bell.* ii. 4. 1; *Ant.* xvii. 10. 5), and which is really identical with the one already mentioned. His error is further shown by the fact that, without any explanation, he repeats again in the year 6–7 (A.D.) the short high-priesthood of Joazar, who sought to quiet this disturbance, and who held office in the year 4 B.C. (cf. on the one hand, *Ant.* xviii. 6. 4, 9. 1, 13. 1; *Bell.* ii. 1. 2; on the other, *Ant.* xviii. 1. 1, 2. 1). This tendency of Josephus to repeat events is quite surpassed by the modern historians, who, in order

to save Josephus from inaccuracy, assume still a second Syrian governorship of Quirinius covering the year 6–7, in addition to the historically attested governorship of the year (*circa* 4–1 B.C.); although as a matter of fact Josephus does not anywhere say that Quirinius was ever governor of Syria. The insurrection of Judas, the rise of the party of the Zealots (Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 15, v. 37), the deposition of the high priest Joazar, who had been installed in office a few months before, and the taxing under the direction of Quirinius, took place in the first year after Herod's death (March 4–3 B.C.). Josephus, who places these events in the year 6–7 A.D., although he reproduces them in part in the year 4–3 B.C., has made a mistake of a decade, and, in other respects as well, displays a serious lack of critical judgment. Even if Luke was mistaken, it is certain that he does not copy his errors from Josephus, and his chronology is independent of the Jewish writer. The reader, who knows from Luke i. 36 that Jesus' birth took place a few months after that of the Baptist, cannot very well assume that the events recorded in Luke ii. 1–39 took place later than the reign of Herod I., mentioned in i. 5 (n. 5), especially since no conflicting dates are mentioned in ii. 1, and while it is not until iii. 1 that we find a new and thoroughly detailed chronological notice. This unavoidable impression is fully confirmed by Matt. ii. 1–22, from which we know that, according to the tradition of Palestinian Christians in 60–70, Jesus was born shortly before the death of Herod I. When, therefore, Luke makes the birth of Jesus contemporaneous with the taxing which took place during the Syrian governorship of Quirinius (ii. 2), it does not mean that, in unconscious contradiction to the Christian tradition, he places the birth of Jesus shortly after, instead of shortly before, the death of Herod, but that he dates the governorship of Quirinius, together with the taxing which took place under his direction and the insurrection of

Judas, shortly before, instead of shortly after, Herod's death, thus making a mistake of at least several months—possibly of from one to two years. For it is certain, not only from Josephus, but also from coins, that the governor of Syria, during the last year of Herod's reign and after his death—from the autumn of 6 B.C. at the latest until the summer of 4 B.C.—was Varus, not Quirinius (Schürer, i. 322 f. [Eng. trans. I. i. 351]). In view of the result of the discussion of this one example, which at the same time gives us an insight into the characteristics of the two historians, detailed discussion of the other accounts of Luke and Josephus which have been compared may be omitted. There is not a single historical notice of Luke, whether correct, inaccurate, or questionable, which can be explained on the supposition that he had read Josephus. On the other hand, in many instances he shows an acquaintance with contemporary events and with more or less distinguished persons outside the Church which can be shown to be quite independent of Josephus. The slaughter of the Galileans in the temple as they were offering sacrifices (Luke xiii. 1); the estrangement between Pilate and Antipas, and their reconciliation (Luke xxiii. 12); the names of the distinguished priests, Alexander and (if the correct reading be not Jonathan, cf. Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4. 3) John (Acts iv. 6); the imposing figure of Gamaliel (Acts v. 34, xxii. 3), mentioned by Josephus only as the father of the younger Gamaliel (*Bell.* iv. 3. 9; *Vita*, 38, 60); the Samaritan Simon (Acts viii. 9); the officers of Herod, Chuza (Luke viii. 3) and Blastus (Acts xii. 20, cf. also xiii. 1); the chiliarch, Claudius Lysias (Acts xxiii. 26); the centurions, Cornelius and Julius (Acts x. 1, xxvii. 1); and the orator, Tertullus (xxiv. 1)—all these statements and names could not have been taken by Luke from Josephus. In the instances where their accounts cover the same ground, we find traces of independent and variant traditions (n. 6). In the case

of the *Antiquities* and *Vita*, which, according to all indications, are considerably later than Luke's work, it is more natural to suppose that Josephus is dependent upon Luke than that the reverse relation holds; and it does not seem to the present writer entirely creditable to those who feel that the agreements between Josephus and Luke call for explanation, that they have not seriously considered this possibility. This is not the place in which to discuss the question at length (n. 7). It is sufficient to have shown that Luke could not have followed Josephus as an authority in historical matters, nor have copied the Greek style of this writer.

At first glance, the genealogy (Luke iii. 23–38), the communication of the apostles and elders in Jerusalem (Acts xv. 23–29), and the letter of Lysias (xxiii. 26–30) give the impression of being reproduced from *original documents*. If the second of these was a communication actually sent from Jerusalem, delivered in Antioch with the solemnity which Luke describes, and communicated also to other Churches (xvi. 4), it is impossible to suppose that so important a document was immediately lost. If Luke was a member of the Antiochian Church at the time when the communication was delivered there (above, p. 2), he probably heard it read, but this is no evidence at all against the possibility of his having had a copy of it when he wrote his history. The style is not that of Luke, and the secular tone of the introductory and concluding formulæ is against the assumption that the author composed the document, either from his imagination, or from indistinct recollections (n. 8). This could more easily have been the case with the letter in xxiii. 26–30, but it cannot be proved. In the proceedings before Felix (xxiv. 1–23) and Festus (xxv. 1–12) the report of Lysias would almost certainly have been read, and, if written in Latin, translated into Greek. The situation in which Paul found himself in Cæsarea

(xxiv. 23), and the friendly relations which always existed between him and the military officers to whose charge he was committed (xxvii. 3, xxviii. 16, 30 f.; Phil. i. 13), make it quite conceivable that he and his friends may have secured a copy of this report, which, though brief, was of fundamental importance in his trial. Against the assumption that the language of the report is entirely Luke's, which, according to methods of historical composition in antiquity, might very well be possible, is, first of all, the fact that, although there is no stylistic necessity for it, Luke makes the chiliarch, who has not been mentioned by name up to this time (xxi. 31–xxiii. 22), and who afterwards is called simply Lysias (xxiv. 7, recension β; xxiv. 22), write his name Claudius Lysias. In the second place, Lysias' report shows marked variations from the facts as previously recorded. If the author of Acts was inventing this report, only partially true, he would have directed special attention to the effort of the chiliarch to obscure the law in the case, and to conceal his own mistake. The connection in which the genealogy is recorded, and its conclusion (iii. 23–38), indicate that it is an expression of Luke's own peculiar thought (above, p. 70 f.); but this does not explain its independence not only of Matt. i., but also of the O.T., in so far as the latter could be used for a source. Since it was impossible for Luke himself personally to investigate the contents of vv. 24–31, and inasmuch as the tradition here presupposed could have been transmitted only in written form, he must have made use of an older record. We know that the relatives of Jesus and their descendants interested themselves in these matters (n. 9).

Since Luke was familiar with a number of *attempts to write the history of Christianity*, and since his characterisation of these efforts perfectly suits Mark's Gospel (above, p. 49), it is natural to suppose that he used this writing. He was acquainted with Mark and knew his

relation to Peter, who was a prominent eye-witness of the gospel events. He was in Rome in company with Mark about the year 62 (Col. iv. 10, 14), and possibly again in 66 (2 Tim. iv. 11), consequently at the time when Mark wrote his Gospel. A comparison of the two Gospels gives for the various portions a greatly varying picture. With reference to the order of single narratives, not much is to be concluded from Mark i. 1–13 = Luke iii. 1–iv. 13, since the order of these events—the preaching and baptism of John, the baptism and temptation of Jesus—is determined by their very nature. Moreover, Mark's account here is nothing more than a brief sketch. Leaving these passages out of account, therefore, the first notable parallel is that between Luke iv. 31–vi. 19 and Mark i. 21–iii. 19; Luke viii. 4–ix. 17 = Mark iv. 1–vi. 44 is a second; Luke ix. 18–50 = Mark viii. 27–ix. 40 is a third; Luke xviii. 15–43 = Mark x. 13–52 a fourth; and Luke xix. 29–xxiv. 8 = Mark xi. 1–xvi. 8 a fifth. In the case of these five series of passages the parallelism is by no means complete. Luke interrupts the first series with a narrative, v. 1–11, only remotely similar to Mark i. 16–20. In the second series Luke inserts a passage, viii. 19–21, which is found in Mark iii. 31–35, while Mark iv. 26–29, 30–32, and vi. 1–6 are omitted. There is nothing at all in Luke corresponding to the first passage, the second is found in Luke xiii. 18–19, closely connected with a narrative peculiar to him, while in place of the third we find a much fuller account in the early part of Luke's Gospel, iv. 16–30. In the fourth series, between xviii. 34 and 35, Luke omits the narrative found in Mark x. 35–45, giving only a meagre substitute for it in Luke xxii. 24–27. In the fifth series, the cursing of the fig-tree, Mark xi. 12–14, 20–25, the question about the greatest of the commandments, Mark xii. 28–34, and the anointing in Bethany, Mark xiv. 3–9, are not found in Luke. For the last, Luke vii. 36–50 is substituted; for the second, Luke x.

25–37; while in a measure Luke xiii. 6–9 takes the place of the first (cf. § 63); and for a single saying in this same passage, Mark xi. 23 (Matt. xxi. 21, xvii. 20), we find a similar saying in Luke xvii. 6. Since these equivalents for such material as Mark retains and Luke omits are all peculiar to Luke, it is clear that, although Luke consciously omitted some things found in Mark, he endeavoured to find substitutes for the omissions. On the other hand, in the last series of parallels, Luke substitutes a number of brief accounts which are peculiar to himself (xix. 41–44 [xxi. 20–24], xxii. 35–38, xxiii. 6–12, 39–43). In all five series, however, Mark's order is, without exception, retained throughout. This of itself is sufficient to render necessary some explanation of the dependence of one of the Gospels upon the other—particularly since, in many instances, the order followed is not a reproduction of the real succession of events. This lack of chronological order does not escape the attention of the careful reader of Mark (vol. ii. 499 f.), and Luke betrays a clear consciousness of it. There is evidence that Luke made an effort to fix more definitely the time of events, as, *e.g.*, when he gives a more definite date to a Sabbath which Mark leaves undetermined—following the Jewish calendar (Luke vi. 1)—and distinguishes it expressly from another Sabbath (vi. 6), whereas the ordinary reader might infer from Mark iii. 1 (cf. Matt. xii. 9) that the transactions which Luke assigns to two different Sabbaths happened on the same day; cf. also other occasional instances where he gives the time more accurately (*e.g.* vi. 1, 6, vii. 11). In many instances, however, he either did not do this at all or did it ineffectively, as is proved by the use of formulæ such as are found in v. 12, 17, viii. 4, 22, ix. 18, xx. 1. These occur in the sections parallel to Mark, as well as in other parts of Luke's Gospel (v. 1, x. 38, xi. 1, 29, xiii. 10, xiv. 1; cf. above, p. 66). When, however, notwithstanding this formal disavowal of all attempt to

give an exact chronology where this is not attainable, he nevertheless follows in these five series exactly the same order as Mark, the coincidence can be explained as due neither to a stereotyped oral tradition, nor to accident.

But if one of these Gospels is dependent upon the other, Mark must be considered the earlier of the two. Leaving out of account the tradition, according to which Mark wrote before Luke (vol. ii. 392 ff.), and the proofs which we have from Luke's own work that it was written later than 70 (§ 62), this conclusion follows from a comparison of the details of the parallels. Combinations of words, such as *κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, which are found in Mark i. 4 following *καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ*, in Luke iii. 3 before *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ λόγων Ἡσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου*, do not originate independently of each other. Luke appears here, however, as the stylist smoothing down the awkward expressions which Mark uses in making his citations (n. 10). In fact this is everywhere the case. It is not to be assumed that Luke undertook to remove all the Hebraisms which he found in the accounts he used, and to produce an historical work uniform in style, modelled after the language of Polybius or the periods of his own preface. As regards style, Luke's work is as varied as it could well be. The narratives in Luke i.–ii. and the psalm-like discourses of these chapters read like sections out of the O.T.; while the style and language of the discourses of Paul on the Areopagus (Acts xvii. 22–31) and before the noble lords and ladies in Cæsarea (xxiv. 10–21, xxvi. 2–23) are more like those of the orator Tertullus (xxiv. 2–8), and of the procurator Festus (xxv. 14–21), than the discourses in Acts i.–x. Luke uses a few Hebraisms, not only in the narratives probably, or certainly, taken from older sources, but in connective phrases and summaries, which are of his own composition (n. 11). He shows a feeling for the special style

corresponding to the sacred character of his theme, and does not allow the spirit in which the eye-witnesses and ministers of the word were wont to speak from the beginning to be replaced by a secular tone. He does, nevertheless, soften somewhat the Semitic colouring, setting aside expressions unnecessarily harsh, and striving to make the narrative more lucid. Not only are the most marked Hebraisms and the Aramaic words of Mark removed, but also such characteristic expressions as Mark's εὐθύς (n. 12), also such peculiarities as are due to Mark's personal relations and the fact that his Gospel was designed for Roman readers (Mark xii. 42, xiv. 17, 51 f., xv. 21; see vol. ii. 487 f.; cf. Luke xxi. 2, xxii. 14, 53, xxiii. 26), and imperfections in the presentation due to Mark's very exact reproduction of the narratives of Peter (Mark i. 29 = Luke iv. 38; Mark iii. 26 = Luke vi. 14; Mark ix. 14 f. = Luke ix. 37 f.; Mark xiii. 1–3 = Luke xxi. 5). He avoids also other redundancies and awkwardnesses which occur in Mark (*e.g.* Mark i. 32 = Luke iv. 40), and in countless instances selects words which are more pleasing or more expressive (n. 13). Since some of these words and phrases are hapaxlegomena in the N.T., and inasmuch as others of them are used in the same way elsewhere in Luke's work, and only in Luke's work, they are to be considered as peculiarities of his style, and are not to be explained as derived from one of the sources which Luke and Mark may have used in common. This, like the other assumption that Mark had Luke before him, would compel us to assume that Mark intentionally and regularly replaced the better language of Luke, or of the common source, by more awkward expressions. But this is incredible. Consequently a comparison of the style of Mark and Luke shows that, in the five sections of his Gospel mentioned, Luke made use of Mark in preparing his own work.

While Luke recasts the style of Mark with consider-

able thoroughness, very little change is to be noted in the contents of such portions as he adopts, and which he does not replace in other parts of his work by similar and sometimes fuller narratives (above, p. 102). Only in *one* important point does Luke consciously vary his account from that of Mark. Mark i. 14, like Matt. iv. 12, connects the beginning of the Galilean ministry with the arrest of the Baptist, and associates it with the account of the temptation in such a way as to lead the reader readily to infer that the arrest of the Baptist follows immediately upon the temptation. Luke, however, varies this order of events. On the one hand, he, alone of the Synoptists, connects the beginning of the Galilean ministry of Jesus definitely and closely with His baptism (iv. 15, *ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματος*; cf. iii. 22, iv. 1), and describes the journey to Galilee, which introduces His ministry there, as a return (iv. 14, *ὑπέστρεψεν*; cf. iv. 1) from the journey which had taken Jesus to the place of His baptism and temptation. On the other hand, he wholly separates this journey from the arrest of the Baptist (above, p. 63 f.), a later incident which here he anticipates in the form of an episode in iii. 19–20. The journey to Galilee, which Luke places after the baptism and temptation, is not the same as the journey to Galilee, which in Mark follows the arrest of the Baptist. It must be assumed that the apparent succession of events in Mark is replaced in Luke by another, which is the result of the author's investigations, and which is adopted in view of *καθεξῆς* in i. 3. This conclusion is not affected by the fact that thereafter Luke introduces immediately and chiefly events, which Mark and Matthew place in Galilee after the arrest of the Baptist; since it is apparent that throughout his Gospel, in the sections following iv. 14–15, Luke consciously abandons the attempt to arrange the single narratives chronologically (above, p. 64). It is also

clear that, according to him, the work of Jesus between His baptism and temptation is by no means confined to Galilee (iv. 44, x. 38–42; above, p. 88 f., n. 18). It may be remarked here, that through his investigations Luke made marked advances on the form of such an historical work as Mark's Gospel in the direction of what we find in John. He is no mere imitator of written models which he has before him, nor is he satisfied simply to recast the style of his sources; he is rather an historian who handles his material critically. We may assume that, in addition to Mark, he made use of other attempts at a gospel history, working them over in the same way that he did this Gospel.

We have already seen from the prologue that Luke did not have access to any gospel writings that originated with an apostle or disciple of Jesus (above, p. 49); it is, therefore, equally improbable that he used Matthew; for the latter was never attributed to a disciple of an apostle, but was from the first assigned to the apostle Matthew (vol. ii. 177 ff.). This statement would be true of an "original apostolic document" or the "logia," if these books ever existed; since, if their existence be assumed, all the traditions denied with reference to Matthew must be transferred to them. One of these mythical books, from which the author of our Matthew is supposed to have drawn, must have passed as the work of the apostle Matthew, otherwise we are unable to understand why, from the very first and uniformly in the tradition, the Greek Matthew was ascribed to this apostle. Moreover, we have seen the correctness of the position, according to which Matthew is the translation of an Aramaic book, the contents of which were for a long time accessible only through oral interpretation to those who were unfamiliar with this language. The same would be true of the "logia." But it may be doubted whether Luke, who was a Greek, was able to read an Aramaic book. His

citations from the O.T. betray no knowledge whatever of the original text, or of a Targum. Not all of the four translations of Aramaic names which we find in Luke's work (Acts i. 19, iv. 36, ix. 36, xiii. 8) are beyond question, and if they were it is perfectly possible that Luke may have taken his translations from others, without himself possessing even a superficial knowledge of Aramaic. There are several Aramaic words with which, as a native of Antioch, he may always have been familiar, and others, together with several Hebrew *termini*, with which he became acquainted in the common life of the Church (n. 14). On the other hand, if, as is probable, the Greek Matthew was not written before the year 80 (vol. ii. 516 f.), it is unlikely, for chronological reasons, that Luke read it before writing his own Gospel (§ 62). This improbability is strengthened into impossibility by a comparison of the two Gospels. One who had read Matt. i.–ii.—especially in a work which purported to be that of an apostle—could not have written Luke i.–ii. in its present form, which is practically without resemblance to the narrative in Matthew (it is only necessary to compare Luke i. 31*b* and Matt. i. 21*a*), notwithstanding the fact that there is much that is common in the subject-matter. Moreover, the later writer would certainly have betrayed his attempt at correction or improvement, where he believed that the contents and form of Matt. i.–ii. could be improved. In particular, it would have been impossible for an historian of the character Luke shows himself to be, as compared with Mark, to pass by practically unnoticed material so important as that in Matt. ii.—really excluding it as he does by Luke ii. 39. It may after a fashion be possible in a Gospel harmony to reconcile the contents of the opening chapters of the two Gospels, including Luke iii. 23–38, but a synoptic presentation is out of the question. Not until Matt. iii. 1 = Luke iii. 1 is this possible, and then only here and there.

The proof derived from a comparison of the opening chapters of the Gospel and confirmed by the hints of Luke's prologue, that Luke did not use our Matthew as a source, is so strong, that the only question which can be seriously discussed is whether Luke and Matthew drew from common sources. We know that Luke made use of written sources, and the relation which has been proved to exist between Luke and Mark leads us to assume that, in addition to Mark, he used other similar documents. It is, however, *a priori* improbable that he used documents which earlier or later were employed in the composition of Matthew; since our investigation of Matthew gave no occasion for the assumption that this author made any use whatever of written sources (vol. ii. 581 f.). In the investigation of this question the five sections of Luke, which we saw were taken over by Luke from Mark with certain modifications, are to be excepted at the outset (above, p. 102 f.); since whatever agreements between Luke and Matthew appear in these passages, all go back to Mark, and are to be explained on the ground of the relation of Mark to Matthew (see vol. ii. 601 f.), and the connection which has been shown to exist between Luke and Mark (see above, p. 101 f.). In these five sections there is not a single sentence from which a direct relation between Luke and Matthew, or the relation of Luke to a source used in Matthew, can be proved (n. 15). In the second place, in the critical comparison of Matthew and Luke, the following passages peculiar to Luke are to be left out of consideration—passages to which there is a remote parallel are placed in parentheses: i. 1–3, ii. 10–15, 23–38 (iv. 16–30, v. 1–10), vii. 11–17, 36–50, viii. 1–3, ix. 51–56, 61–62, x. 1–20 (with the exception of a few sayings), x. 29–42 (xi. 1–4), xi. 5–8, 27–28, 37–41, xii. 13–21 (32–57), xiii. 1–17, 31–33, xiv. 1–16, 31 (with the exception of xiv. 11, 17, xv. 4–7), xvii. 7–22, xviii. 1–14, xix. 1–27, 41–44 (xxi. 20–24), xxiii. 5–12, 27–31,

39–43, xxiv. (1–11) 12–53. Comparatively little remains, and, with the exception of short disconnected sentences, this consists of only the following passages [parallels of Matthew in parentheses]: iii. 7–9, 17 (iii. 7–12), iv. 1–13 (iv. 1–11), vi. 20–49 (5–7), vii. 1–10 (viii. 5–10, 13), vii. 18–35 (xi. 2–19), ix. 57–60 (viii. 19–22), x. 13–15, 21–24 (xi. 20–27, xiii. 16–17), xi. 24–26, 29–36 (xii. 38–45, v. 15, vi. 22–23), xi. 42–52 (xxiii. 4–35), xii. 2–12 (x. 17–33), xii. 22–31 (vi. 25–33), xii. 41–48 (xxiv. 45–51), xii. 54–56 (xvi. 2–3 ?), xii. 57–59 (v. 25–26), xiii. 24–30 (vii. 13–14, 21–23, viii. 11–12), xiii. 34–35 (xxiii. 37–39), xvii. 23–37 (xxiv. 23–28, 37–42), xix. 12–28 (xxv. 14–30). In order accurately to compare these parallels, even more than in other critical investigations, it would be necessary to have a text of both Gospels, but especially of Luke, and this reliable even in smallest details, since nothing contributed so much to the degeneration of the Gospel text as the tendency to supplement and correct one Gospel from the parallels in the others, and in fact especially the text of Mark and Luke on the basis of Matthew. In the *Textus receptus* the Gospels are very much more alike than in any even moderately critically corrected text; and the difference would be even greater, if text criticism were more advanced than it is at present. Few narratives are to be found among the parallels cited, though, on the other hand, there are numerous sayings, which are generally reported with an historical setting. As regards the narrative sections, it is impossible to form an intelligent conception of a single written source from which, *e.g.*, the two differing narratives in Luke vii. 1–10 and Matt. viii. 5–10, 13 could both have been derived through a process of revision on the part of the authors. What Luke adds (vv. 3–5) has the marks of genuine tradition, and the effort to secure brevity, to be seen in some parts of Matthew (vol. ii. 583 f., 607) could not have brought it

about that in this passage the narrative should be of the character of an excerpt; since the account is enlarged by the insertion of a saying of Jesus, probably spoken on another occasion (Matt. viii. 11–12, cf. Luke xiii. 28–29). Even if Luke made use of an earlier account in this passage—as is perfectly possible—in the last analysis the divergence of his narrative from Matthew goes back to variations in the historical material, which appear whenever what has happened and been experienced is repeatedly related by different persons, even when there are eye-witnesses among the narrators. The accounts of the temptation are very similar in Matthew and Luke; but the differing order in which the second and third temptations are narrated is most naturally explained by the assumption that those who had heard Jesus give an account of them (n. 16) repeated what they heard from memory in different ways. It is inconceivable that Luke should have deliberately chosen the reversed order, if he had had before him Matt. iv. 1–11, or any other document having the order of Matthew's account; since the close of Luke's account, which leaves Jesus standing upon the pinnacle of the temple instead of upon a mountain in the wilderness, cannot be said to be an improvement on Matthew.

Some of the discourses and sayings common to Matthew and Luke show striking similarity, but others vary widely from each other in form, though having essentially the same content and showing the same progress of thought. The best example of the former is the denunciatory address of the Baptist (Luke iii. 7–9, cf. also x. 21–22, xiii. 34–35), of the latter, the Sermon on the Mount (vi. 20–49, cf. xiii. 24–40). Elements of the tradition similar to those which appear in Luke iii. 7–9, etc., could be easily preserved and strongly impressed upon the memory quite without the help of writing. On the other hand, when sayings like Luke iii. 7–9, Matt.

iii. 7–10 came to be written, it was necessary at least to intimate who the persons were whom John called a "generation of vipers." Here, however, the accounts of Matthew and Luke vary widely from each other. The Sermon on the Mount in Luke (vi. 20–49) cannot be regarded as an excerpt from Matthew (v.–vii.), nor can the latter be explained as a remodelling of the material in Luke. Even granting that Luke may have left out statements of great importance for the first evangelist, such as are found in Matt. v. 17–43, because they did not suit his purpose,—assuming, of course, that he found them in one of his sources, and granting that Matthew incorporated into his account of the Sermon on the Mount more passages belonging in a different historical connection than we are able at present to prove (vol. ii. 558 f.),—in those parts which are parallel we find differences in the language which cannot be explained as due to necessity for modification in style, or rearrangement of material. These differences are, however, natural, if the discourse was heard by numerous persons and variously reproduced in the oral tradition. It is more than likely that Luke found this and other discourses in one or more of the records of the "many" of whom he speaks (i. 1). In view of Luke's handling of Mark's Gospel, we are justified in assuming that the greater elegance of style, *e.g.* Luke vi. 47–49 = Matt. vii. 24–27, is due to him. But we are not able to go much beyond such assumptions in ascertaining what other sources, besides Mark, Luke used in his Gospel (n. 17).

Passages like Luke i.–ii., the poetical charm and true Israelitish spirit of which in the narrative portions and the inserted psalms is comparable only to the finest parts of the books of Samuel, could not have been written by a Greek like Luke. They must have originated in Palestine, where men and women of prophetic temperament and prophetic gifts were closely associated with the be-

ginnings and progress of Christianity (i. 41, 46–55, 67–71, ii. 25, 36 ; Acts ii. 17, xi. 27 f., xv. 32, xxi. 9 f.).

Luke twice points out (ii. 19, 51, cf. i. 66) that Mary kept in memory and pondered significant sayings associated with the childhood and youth of her son. This is said only of Mary, not of Joseph, though at this time he must have been still alive. In this way Luke indicates that the traditions in Luke i.–ii. were transmitted through her. Who first wrote them down and when they were written we do not know. Nor can any intelligent critic regard the other narrative sections peculiar to Luke as his own fabrications, or as legends which originated outside of Palestine in the second or third generation after Christ. Their striking originality, which could not have been invented, has impressed them upon the mind of the Christian world to an extent scarcely true of any other portion of the whole body of gospel literature. In the distinctively historical portions we find indications of locality (vii. 11, xvii. 11, xix. 1, xxiv. 13), names of persons (vii. 40, viii. 3, x. 38 f., xix. 2, xxiv. 18), and delineations of character difficult to invent (x. 40, xiii. 32, xix. 3 f.), also references to current events otherwise unknown (xiii. 1, 4, xxiii. 12), and a genuine Israelitish colouring (xi. 27, xiii. 11, 14, 16, xiv. 15, xix. 9, xxiii. 28–31, 42 f., xxiv. 21)—all of which is proof against the suspicion of later invention. The same is true of the parables and kindred sayings of Jesus (x. 30–37, xii. 16–21, xiii. 6–9, xiv. 16–24, xv. 1–xvi. 31, xviii. 1–14). When on one occasion Luke says, in flat contradiction to Mark x. 46, which he had before him, that Jesus healed a blind man as He drew near to Jericho (xviii. 35), not as He was leaving the city, it must be because he has before him still another account of the incident, from which he does not wish to vary ; and the more unimportant the detail the more likely is this to have been the case. The passage xix. 1–10 shows that he had at his disposal

independent traditions regarding the events of this particular day. Whether this information was derived from Zacchæus, or from a book, no one is able to say (n. 18). The two narratives concerning Herod Antipas peculiar to Luke (xiii. 31–33, xxiii. 6–12, 15)—the way for the second of which is prepared as early as in ix. 9 by an addition peculiar to Luke, which is also referred to again in Acts iv. 27—naturally recalls the fact that the wife of an official under this prince was one of those who accompanied Jesus (Luke viii. 3, cf. John iv. 46 ?), also that, according to Acts xiii. 1, a foster-brother, or youthful companion of the tetrarch, was one of the teachers of the Church in Antioch at the time when the narrator in Acts was a member of that congregation (according to xi. 27 f., above, p. 2). But the existence of such oral sources, upon which Luke could draw in making his investigations, does not preclude the possibility of his having used, in addition to Mark, one or more of the numerous written accounts which are mentioned in Luke i. 1. The fact that Luke modified materially the style of the documents which he used, as proved by his relation to Mark and by a comparison of his Gospel with Matthew (above, p. 104, and below, nn. 9–12), deprives us almost entirely of one favourite means of determining sources, namely, by comparison of language. Here and there we find narratives which more than others show genuine Jewish conception and modes of expression, or greater elegance of Greek style ; but on the whole the narratives are uniform. The differences for the most part are to be easily explained by the variety of the material and of the setting (above, p. 104, and below, n. 19).

With reference to most of the accounts in Acts, the author was in a different situation than he was in regard to the contents of his first book—provided our interpretation of the prologue be correct (above, p. 41 f.). In much of the history which he here records he had been

a participant, as he indicates by the introduction of a "we" in parts where this was the case (above, p. 54 f.). Among these "we" passages there are two long sections, xx. 5–xxi. 17 and xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16, which stand out as peculiar in character. While in xi. 27 (above, p. 4, n. 3), xvi. 10–17 the only practical purpose which the "we" seems to serve is to call attention to the presence of the narrator, without the narrative on this account assuming a character different from that of chaps. xiii.–xv., xviii.–xix., in the two passages (xx. 5–xxi. 17, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16) we have connected accounts of journeys which are totally distinct from all other parts of Acts, the contents of which admit of comparison. The journey from Antioch to Philippi, and thence to Thessalonica, and from Berœa by way of Athens to Corinth (xv. 40–xvi. 12, xvi. 40–xviii. 1) is so briefly sketched that for the most part we must conjecture the route selected, the places touched on the way, the length of the stops, and the time of the year (vol. i. § 13). Only when the author records what happened in the cities of Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth does the account become more detailed; practically nothing is said concerning the journey itself. Essentially the same is true in the case of the first missionary journey, Acts xiii.–xiv. Other journeys, *e.g.*, in Acts xi. 30–xii. 25, xviii. 18–xix. 1, xx. 1–4, are dismissed with a few words; but in xx. 5–xxi. 17 and xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16 we have practically a *daily record* of the journey with numerous exact statements as to the time of the year (xx. 6, 16, xxvii. 9, 12), the various stopping places on the way—even those where nothing of any special importance took place (xx. 13–15, xxi. 1–8, xxvii. 3–8, 16, xxviii. 12–15)—the time occupied by different parts of the journey and by the stops, the change of ships, the nationality, destination, and names of ships in which the journey was made (xxi. 2, xxvii. 2, 6, xxviii. 11), changes from travel by land to travel by

sea and *vice versa* (xx. 13, xxi. 7), conditions of weather, and the minute details of the sea voyages. In not a single instance can the indications of time be said to be designed to make the history clear. After what is said in Acts xx. 6, 16, the reader is interested to know whether Paul succeeded in reaching Jerusalem before or after Pentecost, but he is destined to be disappointed. There is no clear indication of the time when the end of the journey was reached, and, from the notices of the daily journey which precede, we are unable to estimate the length of time occupied between Philippi and Jerusalem, since the length of the stay in Miletus and Cæsarea (xx. 15–xxi. 1, 8–15) and the length of the voyage from Rhodes to Tyre (xxi. 1–3) and of the land journey from Tyre to Ptolemais and from Cæsarea to Jerusalem are not given by days. It is true that the elaborateness of these two accounts does impress the reader with a strong sense of the situation. He receives a vivid impression of the care exercised by divine providence over the life of the apostle who was destined to do more great things. But most of the details mentioned have no bearing on this point. They are out of relation to the main historical idea that is being developed to an extent not paralleled anywhere else in Luke's work.

Luke's interest in minute details, proper names, etc., which are not absolutely necessary in the narrative, is to be observed elsewhere also (Acts ix. 25, xii. 13, 20, xiii. 1, xxi. 29, 37 f., xxii. 2, xxiii. 16, 19, xxiii. 31 f., xxiv. 1, 11), and it would be arbitrary to infer from the absence of "we" in xx. 16–38, xxi. 19–26, 32, that the narrator was less familiar with the facts which he records in these passages than he is with the facts recorded in the "we" passages. For it will be observed that the sections where the "we" is omitted deal in every instance with some action or suffering of Paul's which could not be shared by another in the same way that a journey in company with

him from Philippi to Jerusalem and from Cæsarea to Rome could be shared (cf. above, pp. 55 f., 87, n. 13). In connection with the meeting with James, where the narrator was present (xxi. 18), it was necessary to omit the "we," because Paul alone had to do with the elders in Jerusalem. As yet no evidence has been advanced which proves that the person who wrote the entire section, xx. 4–xxviii. 31, was not always in close touch with the events which he records. Nevertheless, the accounts of the two journeys mentioned—to which possibly xvi. 10–18 may be added as a remnant of a third—are distinct in character. They could not have been written for the first time when the author composed his history; rather he must have had them in his possession and have inserted them in his book, retaining all the details which were not necessary, either for the sake of the narrative or for the readers' understanding of the history. There may be difference of opinion as to how many changes Luke made in the form and contents of these journey-narratives, whether he inserted passages from his memory of events that had happened elsewhere, or narratives of his own invention. But, apart from all these conjectures, there is no doubt as to the fact that these portions are distinct in character from the rest of the book.

Repeated examination of chap. xxvii. by experts has shown that, while it could not have been written by a mariner, it must have been written by some gifted man who accompanied Paul on the journey, and who had an appreciation of nature and of the incidents of a sea voyage (n. 20). If, without recourse to the tradition, we were to ask which one of Paul's travelling companions was most likely to have been the author of the accounts of these journeys, the most probable answer would be Luke, the physician. If he is, at the same time, the author of the entire work, it was his own notes, which he had written down in the form of a journal during the voyage, that he

incorporated in his history. Even the best memory will not retain for decades all such details as changes in the weather and the movements of the sailors in a voyage lasting for months, and no historian would record in a large work such recollections as he might have, simply because he had not forgotten them. The incorporation by the author in the work of these accounts, which in their details are so out of proportion to the other narratives in the book, is most conceivable, if they were recorded by him years before. In addition to the purpose which he had accomplished in an earlier passage by the introduction of "we"—namely, to prove that he had been an eye-witness of the events recorded—he secured by this means vividness in the narrative which could be obtained in no other way. The fact that Luke incorporates into his work only accounts of travels, is easily explained by the common experience that persons who do not regularly keep a journal do so with the greatest precision when they travel. However uninteresting and meagre such notes may be in themselves, for the person who afterwards has to relate the history of travels in which he was one of the party, they are invaluable and become more and more so as the years pass.

A further point to be noted—self-evident, but at first thought strange—is the fact that Luke *did not use as sources the letters of Paul*, which in our estimation are authorities of the first importance for the history which Luke records (n. 21). When Luther expresses the opinion that Acts may well be called "a gloss to the Epistles of St. Paul" (in a preface of the year 1534), he means that Acts furnishes historical illustrations of Pauline doctrine. Acts may be so designated also because it furnishes the reader of Paul's letters with an historical guide, without which even those who question its genuineness could not make their way through the Epistles. If, on other grounds, it were conceivable that Luke had never heard

of Paul's letters, this unaccountable ignorance on his part would be quite confirmed by the entire silence of Acts concerning the Epistles of Paul (n. 22), and by the absence of points of formal resemblance between Acts and the letters, where both handle the same facts. Of course there are points of similarity between the contents of an early account of Paul's missionary work and the letters which Paul wrote in the midst of this work: if the case were otherwise, it would be necessary to assume, either that the Epistles are pure forgeries or the historical accounts pure inventions. Since neither can reasonably be accepted as true, it is not surprising that the Epistles and Acts agree as to numerous facts. But the fact that the narratives of Acts are uniformly independent of the Epistles, both as regards the form and the compass of historical material handled, is of great significance in the criticism of Acts. Exactly the same relation exists as between Luke i.–ii. and Matt. i.–ii. (above, p. 108 f.). It is altogether inconceivable that an author, who read the letters of Paul for the sake of the historical information in them, and who intended to use them as sources, should have made no use of the wealth of interesting historical matter which they contained, particularly if he were short of material. Such a procedure would be inexplicable, even if the author were so devoid of conscience as to esteem his own theological or ecclesiastical opinion and purpose above historical truth as contained in such ancient documents as the Pauline letters. For he was under obligation, not simply to pass by the things which he desired to set in different light from that in which they had been represented by Paul, in fact he had no right to do so, but he was able, and was in duty bound, to reconstruct Paul's statements to suit his own unhistorical purpose.

Taking up first the gospel history, if the opinion regarding the text of Luke xxii. 17–20 expressed above, p. 39 f., be correct, Luke did not utilise in any way the

account in 1 Cor. xi. 23–25. If the text, as it stands, proves to be the right one, significant differences still remain, and the agreement may be very simply explained as due to the fact that Luke belonged to the Church in Antioch at the time when Paul was a teacher there (above, pp. 39 f., 28 f.), so that his idea of the institution of the Lord's Supper was derived from the same oral tradition as that of Paul. It may be for the same reason that Luke x. 7 agrees with 1 Tim. v. 18 (*μισθοῦ*), as against Matt. x. 10 (*τροφῆς*). Luke makes no use whatever of the account in 1 Cor. xv. 5–7, which, in our estimation, is so important. During the forty days mentioned in Acts i. 3 there was ample time for the appearance to the "more than five hundred brethren," and to James. There is no evidence of a disposition on Luke's part to emphasise the exclusive authority of the twelve apostles (but cf. above, p. 49 f.), or to minimise James' position in the Church. The fact that he mentions an appearance to Peter alone, but without giving any account of it (Luke xxiv. 34 = 1 Cor. xv. 5), and the fact that he records an appearance to the group of apostles on Easter evening, and still another appearance to the same circle at the close of the forty days (xxiv. 36; Acts i. 4 ff.)—seeming in these points to agree with 1 Cor. xv. 5*b*, 7*b*—do not lessen at all his manifest independence of Paul. Luke makes no use of Paul's autobiographical statements. A statement of the apostle's descent from the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. iii. 5) would have been just as much in place in Acts xxii. 3 as is the remark in Luke ii. 36 (cf. also Acts xiii. 21). No mention is made in Acts of "the contest with wild beasts" in Ephesus (1 Cor. xv. 32), which in the *Acts of Paul* is enlarged into an adventurous story (*GK*, ii. 880). Nor is anything said about the five times thirty-nine stripes which Paul received from the Jews, the three shipwrecks prior to the voyage to Rome, dangers by rivers and perils by robbers (2 Cor. xi. 23–26). Luke mentions only one instance when the

apostle was stoned (Acts xiv. 19 = 2 Cor. xi. 25; cf. 2 Tim. iii. 11), and of the three scourgings with rods he gives an account of only one, and records only one of the numerous imprisonments which Paul suffered prior to his long imprisonment (Acts xvi. 22–40; 2 Cor. xi. 23, 25). From all this it appears that Acts gives us anything but a complete history of Paul; at the same time, it is evident that its reports are derived from independent and trustworthy sources. As regards Paul's history before his conversion, at the time of it, and shortly afterwards, one acquainted with the Epistles, who had formed his conception of the scene near Damascus from 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8; cf. Gal. i. 12, 16; 2 Cor. iv. 6, would hardly have obscured so completely as in Acts ix. 4–7, xxii. 6–11, xxvi. 12–19, the fact that Paul saw the form of Jesus, nor would the testimony to this fact be so indirect as in Acts ix. 17, 27, xxii. 14, 15; cf. ix. 7*b*. There is no reason why, if Luke used Paul's letters, he should have passed over the journey to Arabia, which is mentioned in Gal. i. 17, as a merely temporary absence from Damascus, and which, therefore, could very well have taken place during the ἡμέραι ἱκαναί of Acts ix. 23; nor is it easy to see why he should have omitted all reference to the part taken by the ethnarch Aretas in the plot against Paul's life (2 Cor. xi. 32)—which does not in any way exclude the possibility of the plans having originated with the Jews (Acts ix. 23; see n. 23)—nor why he should have replaced the notice of the personal contact of Paul with Peter and James (Gal. i. 18 f.) by the colourless statement that Paul had intercourse with the apostles (Acts ix. 27 f.), nor why the exact statement that Paul's stay in Jerusalem lasted but fifteen days should have been exchanged for a brief sketch which leaves the reader to guess whether this sojourn lasted ten days or several months. Even where Luke and Paul do agree, no striking similarity of expression is to be observed (n. 23). In the

account of the first missionary journey (xiii. 2–xiv. 28), besides the similarities in the story of the stoning in Lystra, which has been already mentioned, Luke's narrative has points of resemblance to 2 Tim. iii. 11, and to various hints and presuppositions in Galatians (vol. i. § 4). While, on the one hand, it would be impossible to form a definite idea of the course of events from the hints of Galatians—for example, from the reference in Gal. iv. 14 f. to the event described in Acts xiv. 11–18 (vol. i. 180)—without aid from the vivid narrative of Acts, on the other hand, it is just as impossible to suppose that Luke's account, which is so full of details, was derived from this source. The very clear statement of Paul (Gal. iv. 13 ; vol. i. 165, 181), that his sojourn in the cities of Lycaonia was due to an illness, is not found in Acts at all.

The relation of this account of Luke to Paul's letters may be summarised in a word, by saying that it is such as would naturally exist between the account of a well-informed and truthful historian and original sources which he had not seen. This is the case also with reference to the second missionary journey (Acts xv. 40–xviii. 17). Silas was the elder of Paul's two helpers, and Paul always places his name before that of Timothy (1 Thess. i. 1 ; 2 Thess. i. 1 ; 2 Cor. i. 19), but Luke never calls him by his Roman name, Silvanus, as does Paul uniformly (vol. i. 31 f., 207). Luke's statement that Timothy's mother was a Jewess and his father a Greek (xvi. 1), is confirmed by what is said and left unsaid in 2 Tim. i. 5 (vol. ii. 22, n. 4), but Luke does not mention the name Eunice. The hints with reference to the ordination of Timothy in 1 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14 ; 2 Tim. i. 6 (1 Tim. vi. 12), harmonise with Acts xvi. 2 (vol. ii. 23, n. 5, 94), but there is no evidence of dependence. We know from Phil. iii. 3 (vol. i. 538, n. 7) that Timothy was circumcised (Acts xvi. 3) ; and that this was done in Timothy's home, the province of Galatia, is confirmed by Gal. v. 11

(vol. i. 182). But if these facts are overlooked or denied by our clever critics, notwithstanding the fact that they have the "gloss to the Epistles of St. Paul," how could Luke have constructed his concrete narrative from such obscure hints? No notice is taken in Acts of the names of the persons who are prominent in the organisation of the Church in Philippi, Phil. iv. 2–3 (vol. i. 529 f., 532 f.), or the remittances of money from the Philippians, Phil. iv. 15–16, and of the hints in 1 and 2 Thess. concerning the circumstances under which the Church in Thessalonica was organised. The only point directly confirmed in Acts is the fact that Paul went to Thessalonica from Philippi after he had been maltreated in the latter city (1 Thess. ii. 2). In Acts xvii. 15 f., xviii. 5, Luke leads the reader to infer that Paul remained in Athens alone without his two helpers, and that these did not join him again until after his arrival in Corinth (vol. i. 205, 210 f.), which is directly opposed to 1 Thess. ii. 17–iii. 6,—a contradiction for which there is no conceivable reason, while there is no contradiction between Paul and Acts with regard to the history of the Corinthian Church (vol. i. 265); their statements are as mutually independent of each other as they could well be. What we learn from 1 Cor. i. 1, 14, xvi. 19, regarding Sosthenes, Crispus, Aquila, and Priscilla does not in any way resemble what is said of these persons in Acts xviii. 1–17. The names Chloe, Gaius (it is not the Corinthian Gaius who is referred to in Acts xix. 29, xx. 4), Stephanas, Achaicus, and Fortunatus do not occur in Acts (cf. 1 Cor. i. 11, 14–16, xvi. 15–17). The description of Apollos in Acts xviii. 24–28 in every way supplements what may be inferred concerning him from 1 Cor. i. 12–iv. 6, xvi. 12, but there is nothing to indicate that Luke had read Paul's opinions concerning him and the results of his work. From the character of Luke's book, which is intended to set forth the progress of missionary work—from chap. xiii. onwards, particularly Paul's mis-

sionary labours—we should not expect an account of the internal development of the various Churches, nor of the heated conflicts concerning which we learn in 1 and 2 Cor., nor of Paul's journey from Ephesus to Corinth (vol. i. 271), nor of the important journeys of Titus spoken of in 2 Cor. ii. 13, vii. 6–16, viii. 16–24, xii. 17 f., nor of the stay of Paul in Antioch (Gal. ii. 11). But even when the development of missionary work led to transactions within the Church of such a nature that Luke does not leave them unnoticed, there is no evidence that he was influenced by Paul's accounts of the same events.

This is not the place in which to discuss the question whether, in view of Gal. ii. 1–10, Acts xv. 1–33 is to be regarded as historical. All that needs to be shown is that Luke had never read Gal. ii. 1–10, or, at least, did not recall it when writing his own account. Here again the proof is to be found in the omission of features for the intentional suppression of which there is no conceivable motive, as well as in the absence of all traces of formal imitation, or of conscious denial, of what Paul had written. There is room enough in Acts xv. 2 for the statement that Paul made the journey to Jerusalem in consequence of a revelation (Gal. ii. 1), and this would be in perfect harmony with the spirit of Acts, where the co-operation of human reflection and effort with divine suggestion is frequently mentioned (cf. xvi. 6–10, xx. 16 with xx. 22, xix. 21 and xxv. 10 with xxiii. 11 and xxvii. 24; see above, p. 16 f.). It could not have been Gal. ii. 1–3 which influenced Luke to let Titus—whom he had mentioned, according to the β text, in xiii. 1 (above, p. 354, n. 6)—disappear among the τινὲς ἄλλοι in Acts xv. 2. In Acts xv. 5 he himself relates how the demand that all Gentile Christians be circumcised was made in Jerusalem as in Antioch, and even if Luke, like some modern writers, misunderstood Paul—supposing him to mean that Titus was

circumcised out of deference to the Judaisers—in view of what is said in xvi. 3, Luke could not have objected to it. There was nothing about the Gentile missionaries' recognition of their duty to care for the poor in Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 10) that could displease him (cf. xi. 29 f., xii. 25, xxiv. 17); and if he had wanted to mention still other stipulations not mentioned by Paul, he needed only to omit the μόνον in Gal. ii. 10. No writer who had read Galatians with a view to informing himself from this first-hand source regarding these matters, could disregard altogether the impressive words, Gal. ii. 7–9, in which Paul expressed the recognition received from Peter, John, and James of the standing and independence of his apostolic work. With regard to the apostolic decree, see above, p. 18 f., and below, § 62.

The undeniable fact that Luke did not feel it necessary to draw from Paul's letters as sources, or in any way to take account of them, in decisive proof of his close relation to the events recorded in Acts xiii.–xxviii. Whether the author of Acts was a friend of Paul's, or someone who wrote between 100 and 120, it is inconceivable that a Christian so deeply interested in Paul as was the author of Acts should have been ignorant of his letters, and, if they had come into his possession, that he should have left them unread. They made a deep impression, and attracted attention even among contemporaries outside the circle of those to whom they were originally addressed (2 Cor. x. 10 f.; 2 Pet. iii. 15 f.; vol. ii. 276 ff.). From the close of the first century onwards, the letters of Paul came to be more and more the means by which the apostle's memory was kept fresh in the mind of later generations (n. 24). The relation of Acts to the Pauline letters proves not only that the former was written before the close of the first century (§ 62), but also that its author was so close to the apostle, and had been associated with him so long, that it was not necessary for him to study

his letters in order to enlarge his own knowledge of the history. While, on any other hypothesis, the relation of the author of the Lucan history to the Pauline letters is an anomaly, the relation is perfectly natural, if it was written by Luke (or Timothy or Titus). The only source which a man like Luke required for the composition of Acts xiii.–xxviii., and also of Acts vi. 8–viii. 3, ix. 1–30, was his remembrance of what he had heard from Paul, and of events in which he had participated. Naturally, in the course of conversation Paul must frequently have spoken of his earlier experiences, and this is abundantly confirmed by his letters (1 Cor. ix. 1–6, xv. 3, 8, 32; 2 Cor. i. 8–10, xi. 22–xii. 9; Gal. i. 11–ii. 14; Eph. iii. 8; Phil. iii. 3–7, iv. 3, 15–16; 1 Tim. i. 12–16, ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 3, iii. 10–11, iv. 16–17; Rom. xv. 16–32, xvi. 7). Especially, in times of enforced idleness when Luke was with him, as, for example, during the second captivity in Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11), and during the winter months spent on the island of Malta, perhaps also during the two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea (above, p. 56), we cannot think of a more natural subject of conversation between the apostle and his friends than the experiences of the years when he had been fully occupied with his labours. Upon returning from missionary journeys, and on many other occasions, Paul and his companions must often have given before an assembled congregation a connected and detailed account of their experiences (Acts xiv. 27, xv. 3, 12, 26, xxi. 19; *καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον*, Gal. ii. 3, 7–9). It is just as conceivable that some of those who heard these narratives, or that Luke, after such conversations, made notes of them, as that a Timothy or Silvanus kept a sort of daily journal during their travels, as did the author of the "we" passages, though, of course, it cannot be proved.

Throughout Acts, as in xiii.–xxviii., we note the absence of variations in the narrative, such as are naturally explained by the use of different sources im-

perfectly worked over. It may seem peculiar that Agabus is introduced in xxi. 10 as if entirely unknown, although he has been introduced earlier in an exactly similar manner, xi. 28. But both notices (the first in the recension β) are in "we" sections (above, p. 4, n. 3). It is, therefore, necessary to assume that in xxi. 10 the author either did not recall the cursory mention of Agabus which he had made earlier, or did not venture to assume that the reader still remembered it. Where this could be assumed, as in the case of Philip, xxi. 8, such references to earlier passages are to be found—in this particular instance to vi. 5 and viii. 5–40. The substitution of the name Paul for Saul, in xiii. 9, cannot be explained by supposing that at this point a new source, in which the apostle is called by his Roman name, takes the place of an earlier source in which he is called Saul. Such a new source could not well begin in the middle of an account of Paul's sojourn in Paphos. A new account does begin with xiii. 1, or perhaps xii. 25, but here we find the name Saul also, xii. 25, xiii. 1, 2, 7 (n. 25). Luke exchanges one name for the other, for reasons similar to those which led to the substitution of Peter for Simon (vol. ii. 219, n. 9). As the apostle to the Gentiles, Paul had always been known by his Roman name, Paul. Hence it was appropriate that he should be so designated in Luke's narrative at the point where he ceased to appear in the synagogues (xiii. 5, ix. 20–xxii. 29) and in the rôle of a teacher in congregations composed of Jews and Gentiles (xiii. 1, xi. 25–30), and became a teacher in the home of a Gentile in opposition to unbelieving Judaism (Acts xiii. 8–12).

If some of the events narrated in Acts vi. 8–viii. 3, ix. 1–30, xi. 19–30, xii. 25–xxviii. 31 were experienced by Luke, and if he had such abundant opportunity to hear the account of others from those who were participants,

so that, as seems to be the case, he felt no necessity for using written sources or literary helps in the preparation of these parts of his work, the question arises whether he was dependent at all upon earlier written sources in the preparation of his second book. If he was a guest of Philip for several days (xxi. 8–12), and if, during Paul's two years' imprisonment, he was with him even occasionally, he had in Philip the best possible witness for the events recorded in viii. 4–40, also in vi. 1–viii. 3 and x. 1–xi. 18. What he relates in ix. 31–43 may have been learned from Mnason, who lived midway between Cæsarea and Jerusalem, and who had been a disciple from the very earliest times, Acts xxi. 16 (above, p. 18). If Luke was a member of the Church in Antioch when Barnabas came hither from Jerusalem and settled there, he had for a number of years the opportunity of hearing from him the story of the mother Church. That Barnabas would have occasion to relate this history is self-evident. It would also be a strange coincidence if, among the men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who in the year 35 fled from Jerusalem to Antioch, and there proclaimed the gospel for the first time to the Gentiles, there were not also those who had been baptized on the first Christian Pentecost (Acts xi. 19 f., xiii. 1; cf. ii. 10, 41). Indeed, these men must have related to the younger Christians all they knew. And one of them, Lucius of Cyrene, was still alive when Luke wrote (above, p. 28, n. 6). So there were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from the beginning for the events narrated in Acts ii.–v., from whom Luke could have obtained his information directly. It is possible that some one of these, or Barnabas, noted down at a comparatively early date recollections of what had taken place during the early years of the Church's history. If Mark planned to extend his work to cover apostolic times (vol. ii. 479, above, p. 50), he may have left behind notes which he had gathered for the part of his book that was

never written, and possibly these fell into Luke's hand. But neither of these things can be proved. In order to explain the fact that there are more Hebraisms in i.–xii. than in xiii.–xxviii. (n. 26), it is not necessary to assume the use of written sources showing this characteristic, if Luke heard these narratives from Jewish Christians who were Palestinians, and had been in Palestine, and if he had sufficient literary sense in the narratives to retain their native colouring (above, p. 104 f.). The assumption that the history of the early apostolic age was written in Hebrew or Aramaic (n. 27) is not only incapable of proof, but also extremely improbable; since the "Hebrews" would have had very little occasion to use such a book, and the reasons which influenced Matthew to write in Aramaic (vol. ii. 521) would not apply in this case. A Greek like Luke would certainly not have been in a position to make use of such a book. Notwithstanding numerous attempts to distinguish different sources in Acts, this has never been shown to be even remotely probable (n. 28). The general outcome of such attempts is the conclusion that the author of the Lucan history, who was in reality a man of fine literary training, and an intelligent, thoughtful, and systematic writer, was a miserable bungler. They fail also to explain the tradition according to which Luke was the author of these writings, or to weaken the proofs of the correctness of this tradition which are to be found in the writings themselves.

1. (P. 94.) M. Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*, 1894, S. 1 ff.) discusses at length the sources upon which Luke depended. His method is not to be commended. In the section on "Josephus' influence upon the language of Luke," S. 283 ff., the comparison, arbitrarily limited to these two writers and the LXX (with the exclusion of 1 and 2 Macc., books so very essential just at this point), is put in tabular form. But what value has the comparison when such words as *αἰσθάνομαι*, *γῆρας*, *δῆμος* are found in a table purporting to give the vocabulary which the three works have in common, or when words like *δορκάς*, *δοχή*, *ἐρείδω*, *στεῖρος* are included in a list of words supposed to give the vocabulary of Luke and the LXX, not found in Josephus. More than this, the citation of the first of these words, *δορκάς*, is incorrect (cf. *Bell.*

iv. 3. 5 with Acts ix. 36). The only list of words which really belongs here is that of the words common to Luke and Josephus, not found in the LXX (S. 304–309). And this would be significant (1) only if very familiar words were excluded, such as are found quite universally in literature since Homer —as *ἄγνωστος, ἀνατρέφω, ἐκεῖσε, μόγις, περαινέω, πλοῦς* κτλ. In this class belongs also *αὐτόπτης*, Luke i. 2, upon which Krenkel (S. 55, 56, 305) lays weight; whereas it is used by Herodotus, iv. 16; Polybius, i. 4. 7, iii. 4. 13, and frequently—generally with *γίνεσθαι*, as in Luke. The last passage cited from Polybius (*διὰ τὸ τῶν πλείστων μὴ μόνον αὐτόπτης, ἀλλ' ὧν μὲν συνεργός, ὧν δὲ καὶ χειριστὴς γεγονέναι*) can just as well as Jos. *c. Apion*, i. 10, be compared to Luke (see above, p. 82 f., n. 5). (2) It would also be necessary to omit all words, the use of which time or circumstance rendered impossible in the LXX, *e.g. ἀνθύπατος, κολωνία, νεωκόρος, ῥήτωρ, Σεβαστός, σικάριος, στρατοπεδάρχης*. (3) It would also be necessary to compare other authors known not to be dependent upon Josephus, who might show points of resemblance to Luke in content and form: the O.T. Apocrypha, especially those portions of it which are of a narrative character, Philo, the other N.T. writers, the historians from Polybius to Herodian, also the medical writers whom Luke may have read (see above, pp. 32 f., 92, nn. 5, 28). It would be particularly necessary to make comparisons with Polybius, from whom such a writer as G. Raphelius, *Annotat. in. s. script. ex Xenophonte, Polybio*, etc., 1747, tom. i. 431–602; ii. 1–209, has collected much material. If this extended investigation should show a special resemblance between Luke and Josephus in language and style, it would naturally be explained by the fact that both are in a sense writers of Jewish history and contemporaries. Cf. A. Harnack, *Lucas der Arzt als Verfasser des 3 Ev. und der AG*, 1906 [Eng. trans. 1907] (Beiträge zur Einl. in d. NT., 1 Heft) received too late for consideration.

2. (P. 94.) In the matter of Josephus' imperfect command of Greek, cf. *Ant.* xx. 12 (cf. also prœm. § 2); as to literary assistance rendered him, cf. *c. Ap.* i. 9, cf. vol. i. 63, n. 9. On the other hand, regarding the style of Luke i. 1–4, cf. the conclusions of Blass, *Ntl. Gr.* § 79. 6 (Eng. trans. § 79. 6); Vogel, S. 18.

3. (P. 96.) The present writer's extended discussion of the Syrian governorship of Quirinius (*NKZ*, 1893, S. 633–654) cannot here be quoted at length. When Schürer, i. 542 (new, not in Eng. trans.), has nothing more to say against the writer's "fascinating" argument than that, even if it be valid, "nothing of apologetic value would be gained," his criticism is evidence of a lack of regard for an historical investigation, carried out without consideration of desired conclusions. The investigations of Ramsay, embodied in his book *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 1898, have not as yet resulted in a perfectly clear conclusion. Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchos Papyri*, ii. (1899) p. 207 ff., among others in Schürer, i. 514, A. 21 (new, not in Eng. trans.). Worthy of note is Origen's exposition of the matter, tom. xvii. 25 *in Matt.*, which is probably dependent on Philo (cf. *Forsch.* vi. 304 f.). Krenkel discusses the question without any attempt at a criticism of Josephus (S. 64–75). The vain effort to prove that *πάσα* or *ὅλη ἡ οἰκουμένη*, Luke ii. 1, Acts xi. 28, cf. Matt. xxiv. 14, Rev. iii. 10, xii. 9, xvi. 14, *can* mean Judea in Luke's writings need not be here considered, since Krenkel does not think that Luke uses it in this sense. All examples of the use of the word cited

prove that, in order to mean anything other than the whole world, ἡ οἰκουμένη must have a modifier (Luke iv. 5 ; Acts xvii. 6, 31, xix. 27, xxiv. 5) such as ἡ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένη, Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6. 5 (a modification of the exaggerated expression in xi. 6. 2), or ἧς ἐπῆρχεν, *Ant.* xix. 1. 2, or ἧς ἐβουλήθη, *sc.* κρατῆσαι, *Ant.* xi. 6. 6. The word itself is used with a single general limitation—in other words, it is customary to treat the parts of the world which are civilised and ruled by the Romans as the world proper, and simply to designate them as such (Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* ii.), except where the context makes it necessary to say more accurately ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένη, Ptolem. *Geogr.* ii. 1. 1, cf. § 2 ; Jos. *Bell.* ii. 16. 4 (Niese, 378), as contrasted with another ἑτέρα or ἄλλη οἰκουμένη, *Bell.* ii. 16. 4 (363), *Ant.* iv. 6. 8. Cf. the distinction made by us between the old world and the new world, *i.e.* the more recently discovered world—a distinction which is disappearing. The limitation of the meaning in Luke ii. 1 to the world ruled by the Romans is clear from the very character of the statement made ; similarly in Acts ii. 28 it is expressed by the name of the Emperor. The same exaggeration of statement is to be found in Paul's writings, Col. i. 6 ; Rom. x. 18 ; 1 Tim. iii. 16 ; 2 Tim. iv. 17. This, however, is to be said with reference to the alleged unhistorical character of the statement in Acts xi. 28 : the scarcity of food, and the consequent rise in its price in Rome in 41–43 A.D., and again in 51 (Dio Cass. lx. 11 ; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43 ; cf. Anger, *De temp. in Actis ratione*, 42), must have been due to repeated failure of crops in Egypt, which would increase the price of grain in other lands. There is also to be considered in this connection the reports regarding conditions in Palestine (Jos. *Ant.* iii. 15. 3, xx. 2. 5, 5. 2) and Greece (Eus. *Chron. Anno Abr.* 2064, cf. *ad* 2057). In a metrical inscription from Apollonia in the province of Galatia (Le Bas-Waddington, *Asie min.* No. 1192 = *C. I. G.* 3973), dating possibly from the year 57 A.D. (Ramsay, *Stud. Oxon.* iv. 1896, p. 52 ff.), is found the following : ὅτε βούβρωστις κατὰ γαῖαν σαρκοβόρος δεινή τε, φόνον βρείθουσα ἄλυκτον, κόσμον ἐπέσχεθε πάντα. Even if the date of the inscription be considered uncertain, because of the impossibility of determining exactly the period to which it belongs, the text does show how educated people in imperial times were accustomed to speak of such calamities. The carping critic must also admit that Luke uses the language to which exception is taken only in reproducing the prophecy of Agabus, he himself adding merely the brief remark that this was fulfilled under Claudius. No details are added, which show how nearly the events corresponded to the letter of the prophecy. This fact Theophilus and every contemporary knew better than Overbeck and Krenkel. How one-sided Krenkel is in his treatment of this problem appears on S. 281, where the frequently noticed parallelism between Josephus (*Vita*, 3) and Paul's voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii.-xxviii.) is passed over without further discussion, and the dependence of Luke upon Josephus in this passage is denied, on the ground that Acts xxvii. and xxviii. are the report of an eye-witness. Both authors agree in the following points : (1) The dangerous journey by sea from Palestine to Italy ; (2) the extreme dangers in the Adriatic Sea, and by night (Acts xxvii. 27) ; (3) the loss of the ship (Acts xxvii. 27, 41–44) ; (4) the transfer from one ship to another during the journey (Acts xxvii. 6, to an Alexandrian ship ; Josephus, to a Cyrenean ship) ; (5) landing at Puteoli. It is an unimportant difference in the accounts that Paul made his journey

in the autumn of 60, Josephus in the autumn of 64. Nor is the resemblance rendered less striking by other differences, such as that in the size of the crews, Paul's sojourn in Malta, etc.

4. (P. 97.) *C. I. L.* v. i. No. 136*: de Rossi, *Bull. di arch. Christ.* 1880, p. 174 and plate ix.; Mommsen, *Ephem. Epigr.* iv. (1881) S. 537–542; also the present writer's essay quoted above, n. 3, *NKZ*, 1893, S. 647 f.

5. (P. 98.) It is hardly necessary to prove that the Herod referred to in Luke i. 5 can be no other than Herod the Great, who died in March of 4 B.C. (Matt. ii. 1–19). Agrippa I. (37–44 A.D.), who is also called Herod in Acts xii. 1–23, and Agrippa II. (Acts xxv. 13 [50 to 93 or 100 A.D.]) are entirely out of the question. It is also inconceivable that Luke should have called by the title "King Herod" the Archelaus, who governed a part of Palestine from 4 B.C. to 6 A.D. under the title of ethnarch. For, in the first place, Luke always employs exact titles in designating the rulers of this house, iii. 1, 19, ix. 7; Acts xii. 1, xxv. 13 (cf. *per contra* vol. ii. 503, n. 3); in the second place, the name Herod is never substituted for that of Archelaus either by Josephus or in the N.T. (cf. Matt. ii. 22) (Schürer, i. 450 [Eng. trans. I. ii. 39]).

6. (P. 99.) The more noticeable resemblances between Jos. and Acts in points of detail are the following: (1) Theudas, Acts v. 36, *Ant.* xx. 5. 1. The question cannot be here discussed whether the same individual is referred to in both passages, or whether, as Wieseler (*Chronol. Synopse*, 103 f.; *Beiträge*, 101 f.) endeavours to show, the Theudas of Luke is identical with the Matthias in Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 6; *Bell.* i. 33. Whether Luke himself composed the speech of Gamaliel, or took it from some older writing, he certainly was of the opinion that the insurrection under Theudas took place a long time before the speech in question, namely, before the insurrection of Judas and the one famous taxing, which in Luke ii. 2 he places between 4 and 1 B.C. (above, p. 94 ff.). According to Josephus, the insurrection under Theudas was put down by the procurator Fadus in 45 A.D.—a date considerably later than Gamaliel's speech, and from forty to fifty years later than the insurrection under Judas. The account in Josephus cannot be accepted as of unquestionable trustworthiness. Josephus was at the time a child between seven and nine years of age. Moreover, his reports of the history of this period are extremely meagre; the story about Theudas is a very isolated supplement to the description of Fadus' procuratorship in xx. 1, and is separated from it by the long episode in xx. 2. 1–4. 4. If Josephus is right and Luke wrong, at all events it could not have been Josephus that misled Luke into this chronological error of half a century. No credence is to be given Krenkel's hypothesis (163 ff.) that the mention of the sons of this Judas in the following paragraph of Josephus (xx. 5. 2) caused the confusion of father and sons in Luke's mind,—leading him to suppose that the insurrection of Theudas followed that of Judas. For in this case Luke must have overlooked or forgotten the fact that Josephus, a few lines before, had mentioned the great famine—which, as Luke knew, took place under Claudius (Acts xi. 28)—as well as the names of the procurators, Cuspius, Fadus, Tiberius Alexander, Cumanus, and the name of the Emperor Claudius in *Ant.* xx. 5. 1–2. Furthermore, the agreement between the two narratives is so slight as to leave it only probable that Josephus and Luke are referring to the same

event. According to Josephus, Theudas is a *juggler*, who pretends to be a prophet, leads his followers to the *Jordan*, and promises by a *miracle* to render easy the *passage* of the river. He is *beheaded* by a *company* of *cavalry*, who destroy part of his company and take the rest prisoners, and his *head is sent to Jerusalem*. It will be seen that much is wanting in Luke's account besides the name of Fadus. The number of followers which Luke gives (400) could not have been suggested by Joseph ὁ πλεῖστος ὄχλος, and only frequently used words are common to the two accounts (Luke ἀνῃρέθη, Jos. ἀνεῖλεν, Luke ἐπείθοντο, Jos. ἔπειθε,). (2) The death of King Agrippa I., Acts xii. 19–23; Jos. *Ant.* xix. 12. In passages that precede and follow, Josephus calls him Agrippa. In this passage he calls him simply "the King"; Luke says "Herod." According to Josephus, the occasion of his death was a feast of several days in honour of the saving of the Emperor, at which the distinguished persons of the region were gathered; according to Luke, it was the presence of a number of Syrians and Sidonians, who, on account of their dependence upon the King's country for their supply of grain, through the chief chamberlain, Blastus, begged peace of the enraged monarch. According to Josephus, the King appeared in the theatre on the second day of the feast; according to Luke, he delivered an oration to the ambassadors before all the people, on a day appointed with the Syrians for the discussion of the matter. While Josephus describes in detail the splendid garments of the King, and the reflection of the morning sun upon them (cf. *per contra* Luke, ver. 21), and represents the flatterers of the court as proposing in well-turned phrases an apotheosis of the King, Luke produces a greater effect by the use of five words, in which he gives the exclamations of the people. In place of Luke's impressive conclusion of the scene in ver. 23, Josephus gives the following account: Suddenly Agrippa saw an owl sitting upon a rope, and, because of an earlier experience with an owl which he had had in Rome, recognised at once that it was a messenger (ἄγγελον) of death (*Ant.* xviii. 6. 7). He was seized with severe pains in the abdomen, delivered a philosophical discourse to his friends, was carried into the palace, was deeply moved by the sympathy of the people, and died five days later. It is perfectly clear to everyone that each story has as its basis an entirely independent tradition, and it requires no great exercise of one's historical sense to understand that Luke has reproduced more successfully than Josephus the spirit in which the event was recounted by those who witnessed it. The "Angel of the Lord," which the Gentile Luke represents as acting, is more natural in the story of the death of a Jewish King in Palestine than the discourses about mortal nature and fate which the Jew Josephus represents the King as delivering. The very fact that Josephus calls the owl an "ἄγγελος" in a different sense from which it is used in Luke's account, would seem to indicate familiarity with the popular account of Jewish contemporaries. Christian writers have transformed the owl again into what it was originally, a real angel (cf. Eus. *H. E.* ii. 10. 6). (3) The Egyptian, Acts xxi. 38; Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 6, *Bell.* ii. 13. 5. It is possible that Luke may have taken his short notice, which, however, is connected with another event in a manner hardly to be considered as invented, from the longer accounts of Josephus; but there is nothing to prove it. Nothing in Jos. indicates that the followers of the Egyptian were *Sicarii*. Indeed, Josephus describes the

activity of this body in an entirely different way (*Ant.* xx. 13. 3, *Bell.* ii. 8. 10), and does not connect them at all with the Egyptian. Their number in Luke, 4000, agrees neither with the 400+200 of *Ant.* xx. 8. 6, nor with the 30,000 of *Bell.* ii. 13. 5. The other points in which the accounts agree prove nothing as to the dependence of one author upon another. Luke cannot win the favour of the critics. When he differs from Josephus, he errs or fabricates; when he agrees with him, he copies; what he omits or adds is due to arbitrariness or misunderstanding; but Josephus is always infallible.

7. (P. 100.) The question whether, before completing his *Antiquities* and writing his *Vita*, Josephus read Luke's work, cannot be answered without entering at length into Josephus' attitude toward the religious life of his people, the Messianic expectation, and the Christian movement. He did not understand this movement any more than would the rich, worldly, and heartless Jew of our own time. But he knew ten times more about it than he says. The famous testimony to Christ is put into his mouth by someone else, and there is a suspicion that the same is true of the statement about James, the brother of the so-called Christ; cf. *Forsch.* vi. 301–305. A convenient starting-point for the discussion of this question is the chapter on John, *Ant.* xviii. 5. 2, which Grätz (*Gesch. d. Juden*[3], iii. 294) declares to be a forgery, while Ranke (*Weltgesch.*[1] iii. 1. 161, 2. 39) uses it as a principal source, instead of the gospel account. It is an episode at the beginning and end, of which regard is had for the popular way of treating history, characteristic of certain Jews. It is senseless to suppose that Antipas feared that John would create a popular uprising, if at the same time he exhorted the people only to righteousness and piety, because this leaves out of account altogether the preaching of the nearness of the Kingdom of God and the fire of judgment. When Josephus makes John teach that men ought to be baptized, "not in order to apologise for certain offences," there is implied a direct rejection of the Christian tradition, according to which he preached a *βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* (Luke iii. 3; Mark i. 4 f.). If Josephus had read Luke iii. 10–14, it explains the very moderate moral teaching which he puts into the mouth of the Baptist. The variation in the statements about Quirinius in the *Antiquities* from the earlier account in *Bell.* (above, p. 96) is explained, if between these writings Josephus had read Luke ii. 2. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the two important parallels between Jos. and Acts are to be found only in the *Antiquities*, not in *Bell.*; see n. 6. The story (*Vita*, 2) of the fourteen years old Josephus, whose advice was sought by the high priests on questions of the law, has the appearance of being a grotesque imitation of the incomparable story in Luke ii. 41–52. The present writer has no desire to argue with one whose taste permits him to regard the reverse relation as possible.

8. (P. 100.) Concerning the secular *χαίρειν*, Acts xv. 23 and Jas. i. 1, which is almost contemporaneous, see vol. i. 119, n. 7. To this corresponds *ἔρρωσο*, xv. 29—the verb is not found in the N.T. (in xxiii. 30 it is probably spurious). Leaving out of account expressions required by the subject under discussion, this short message contains the following words not found elsewhere in the writings of Luke or the N.T. (the latter are indicated by *), *ἀνασκευάζειν*, *διαστέλλεσθαι* (only five times in the writings of Mark, a native of Jerusalem); *ἐπάναγκες**, *εὖ πράττειν**, *οἱ ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῶν*, without *ἀδελφοί*;

the appositional ἀδελφοί* after πρεσβύτεροι, undoubtedly the correct reading. On the other hand, ὁμοθυμαδόν, which is used 8 or 9 times in Acts, but never with γίνεσθαι; διατηρεῖν, not as used in Luke ii. 51, but in an essentially different sense, and ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσαμεν—ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν, ver. 24 f. (cf. Luke i. 1–3), need hardly be taken into account.

9. (P. 101.) Julius Africanus in Eus. *H. E.* i. 7. 7–15. The δεσπόσυνοι drew partly from family traditions, partly from chronicles; see *ZKom. Matt.* 44 f. A. 7.

10. (P. 104.) To Luke the use of the article, with both the name and the title of Isaiah in Mark i. 2, seemed harsh, as did also the bare phrase, "in Isaiah" (cf. Rom. ix. 25, xi. 2). One reads "Isaiah" (Acts viii. 28, 30; cf. xv. 21) as he does "Homer," but "the book of the prophet Isaiah" (Luke iv. 17) is handed to him, and when this and other books are quoted, reference is made to the *book* (Luke iii. 4, xx. 42; Acts i. 20, vii. 42). Because Theophilus is not entirely familiar with the work, it is remarked, in connection with the first quotation from it, that the book is a collection of the sayings of the prophet mentioned (Luke iii. 4).

11. (P. 104.) Outside of chaps. i.–ii. in the narratives peculiar to Luke, but certainly not created by him, we find such expressions as ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας, xvi. 8; ὁ μαμωνᾶς τῆς ἀδ., xvi. 9 (ver. 11 is different); ὁ κριτὴς τῆς ἀδ., xviii. 6; ἐν τοῖς ὠσίν, εἰς τὰ ὦτα, Luke iv. 21, ix. 44; Acts xi. 22; ἰδού or καὶ ἰδού (not in quotation) 56 times in the Gospel, 23 times in Acts, often where it is not found in the parallels in Mark (found in this Gospel only 8 or 10 times), frequently wanting also in Matt., Luke v. 12 (=Matt. viii. 2, not Mark i. 40); v. 18 (=Matt. ix. 2, not in Mark ii. 3); vi. 23 (not in Matt. v. 12); ix. 30 (=Matt. xvii. 3, not in Mark ix. 4); ix. 38, 39 (not in Matt. xvii. 15; Mark ix. 15). Passages without parallel: vii. 12, 37, x. 19, 25, xi. 41, xiii. 7, 11, etc. Noticeable is the frequent occurrence of καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δέ (often with ἐν τῷ, followed by the infinitive or ὡς ἤκουσεν and similar expressions, or with a statement of time). This is found in a number of different constructions: (*a*) followed by the principal verb, without καί, i. 8, 23, 41, 59, ii. 1, 15, 46, vii. 11, viii. 40, ix. 18, 33, 37, xi. 1, 14, 27, xvii. 14, xviii. 35, xix. 29, xx. 1; (*b*) with καί, v. 1, 12, 17, viii. 1, 22, ix. 51, x. 38, xvii. 11, xxiv. 4, 15; (*c*) followed by the infinitive with the accusative, iii. 21, vi. 1, 6, 12, xvi. 22. Of these constructions only the third, which is (in the first place) found in vulgar Greek, also occurs in Acts and very frequently (iv. 5, ix. 3, 32, 37, 43, xiv. 1, xvi. 16, xix. 1, xxi. 1, 5, xxii. 6, 17, xxvii. 44, xxviii. 8, 17; about xi. 26 there may be a question). The second construction (*b*) is the most Hebraistic of the three, especially in constructions like Luke xiv. 1, καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτόν . . . καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν . . . καὶ ἰδού, cf. vi. 1, 2, xxiv. 4. It is avoided altogether by Mark and Matt. The only one of the constructions used by Matt. is (*a*) vii. 28, ix. 10 (where the correct reading is ἰδού without καί), xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1; Mark uses it twice, i. 9, iv. 4; also (*b*) ii. 15, 23, twice.

12. (P. 105.) For the use of εὐθύς in Mark see vol. ii. 482. Luke uses εὐθέως appropriately, also παραχρῆμα, which is found outside of Luke's writings (Gospel 10 times, Acts 6 times) only in Matt. xxi. 19 f. The strong Hebraism in Mark vi. 39 is removed in Luke ix. 14, as are also the

Aramaic words and names, Mark iii. 16, 18, v. 41, ix. 5, x. 46, 51, xi. 10, xii. 43, xiv. 32, 36, 45, xv. 22, 34. In some cases translations are substituted: *ζηλωτής*, Luke vi. 15 (Acts i. 13); *ἡ παῖς ἐγείρου*, viii. 54; *ἐπιστάτα*, ix. 33 (v. 5, viii. 45, ix. 49, xvii. 13, where there are no parallels; viii. 24 for *διδάσκαλε*); *κύριε*, xviii. 41 (for *ῥαββουνί*), *ἀληθῶς*, xxi. 3 (for *ἀμήν* removed in xxii. 18 altogether, used only 6 or 7 times in the Gospel). In other cases the Hebrew or Aramaic word, or name, is simply stricken out, xix. 38, xxii. 40, 42, 47, xxiii. 33. In Luke's writings are found the following Hebrew words: *ἀμήν*, iv. 24, xii. 37, etc. (used by Jesus only in connection with *λέγω ὑμῖν*, hence not found in Acts); *Βεελζεβούλ*, xi. 15–19 (with explanation); *γέεννα*, xii. 5 (but in xvi. 23 *ᾅδης*); *πάσχα*, ii. 41 (*ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ π.*, as in Matt. and Mark); xxii. 1 (with detailed explanation), cf. Acts xii. 3, 4, xxii. 7–15; *σάββατον* and *σάββατα*, often in the sense of week, xviii. 12, xxiv. 1; Acts xvii. 2, xx. 7, vol. i. 212, n. 5; 5 times in the Gospel, twice in Acts (also *διάβολος* from 4 to 6 times in the Gospel; twice in Acts); *σίκερα* indeclinable, Luke i. 15 (Isa. xxiv. 9 nom. Num. vi. 3 gen., Deut. xiv. 26, Cod. AF dat., Lev. x. 9 acc.). Luke and Theophilus, who lived in Antioch, were probably familiar with the Syriac words *μαμωνᾶς*, xvi. 9–13, and *βάτος*, xvi. 6 (more correctly written *βάδους*, ℵLX, Epiph. *Mens.* xxii. 4. 10, which is the source of the reading in D *κάδους*), cf. vol. i. 18; regarding the use of Syriac in and about Antioch see *Forsch.* i. 40 ff.

13. (P. 104.) The expression *ἄνθρ. ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ* in Mark i. 23, v. 2 is improved in Luke iv. 33, viii. 27. In two instances *ἐξ αὐτοῦ* following *ἐξελθεῖν*, Mark i. 25 f., is changed into *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, iv. 35 (cf. iv. 41, v. 8, viii. 29, 33, 35, 38, 46; Acts xvi. 18, xix. 12); *ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ*, Mark i. 28, is replaced by *ἦχος περὶ αὐτοῦ*, Luke iv. 37; in two cases *κράβατος*, Mark ii. 4, 11, is replaced by *κλινίδιον* in Luke v. 19, 24, left out altogether in v. 23 (Mark ii. 9) and reproduced by a circumlocution in v. 25 (Mark ii. 12), while the word is tolerated in Acts v. 15 (along with *κλινάρια*) and ix. 33. For words and phrases in parallels in Mark, not altogether polished in character, Luke substitutes the following (those not occurring elsewhere in the N.T. are marked with an *): *παράδοξα**, v. 26; *δοχή*, v. 29 (also xiv. 13), *ὑγιαίνοντες*, v. 31 (also vii. 10, xv. 27); *ἱκμάς**, viii. 6; *δέχεσθαι*, viii. 13; *ἀποδέχεσθαι*, viii. 40, ix. 11 (used similarly 3 or 4 times in Acts); *τελεσφορεῖν**, viii. 14; *δοκεῖ ἔχειν*, viii. 18; *συντυχεῖν τινι**, viii. 19; *λίμνη*, viii. 22, 23 (also v. 1, 2, viii. 33 always instead of *θάλασσα* in Mark and Matt. and John, of the sea of Gennesaret); *διηγεῖσθαι*, viii. 39, ix. 10 (Acts ix. 27, xii. 17, *διήγησις*, Luke i. 1); *προσαναλώσασα ὅλον τὸν βίον*, viii. 43; *διαπορεῖν*, ix. 7 (Acts v. 24, x. 17; in the middle voice in ii. 12); *βρέφη* for *παιδία*, xviii. 15 (i. 41, 44, ii. 12, 16; Acts vii. 19); *ἐξεκρέμετο αὐτοῦ ἀκούων**, xix. 48; *ἀναθήμασι* κεκόσμηται*, xxi. 5; *προμελετᾶν**, xxi. 14; *ἀπολογεῖσθαι*, xxi. 14 (xii. 11, 6 times in Acts). For medical terms cf. § 62. While Luke does not avoid altogether Latin terms, such as *ἀσσάριον*, xii. 6; *δηνάριον*, vii. 41, x. 35; *λεγιών*, viii. 30; *Καῖσαρ* (in the Gospel 6 times, in Acts 10 times), which are found also in the other Gospels, he does avoid *κεντυρίων* (Mark, Luke has instead *ἑκατόνταρχος*, vii. 2, 6, xxiii. 47, 13 or 14 times in Acts) *κουστωδία* (Matt., but cf. Acts xii. 4); *κῆνσος* (Matt., Mark for which Luke xx. 22, xxiii. 2 has *φόρος*); *κοδράντης* (Matt., Mark for which Luke xxi. 2 has *δύο λεπτά*, which in Mark xii. 42 is given as the equivalent of one

quadrans, vol. ii. 504; *ξέστης* (Mark); *σπεκουλάτωρ* (Mark); *τίτλος* (John); *φραγελλοῦν* (Matt., Mark), see vol. ii. 504. In Luke xx. 24 probably the correct reading is *νόμισμα* instead of *δηνάριον*. Neither does Luke use *πραιτώριον* designating the guard in the passion history (Matt., Mark, John), but only in Acts xxiii. 35. In Acts we have *colonia* (xvi. 12) and *sicarii* (xxi. 38). Otherwise Luke uses Greek names for everything Roman (officials, the military, etc.): *ἀνθύπατος*, *ἡγεμών*, *ἡγεμονεύειν*, *ἡγεμονία*, *στρατόπεδον*, *στρατοπεδάρχης*, *στρατεύεσθαι* (*στρατιά*, Luke ii. 13; Acts vii. 42 applied to the world of spirits), *χιλίαρχος* (so used elsewhere only in John xviii. 12; in Mark vi. 21, Rev. vi. 15 more indefinite); *σπεῖρα* (of cohorts, Acts x. 1, xxvii. 1, also in Matt., Mark, John); *τετράδιον στρατιωτῶν* (Acts xii. 4); *δεξιολάβος* (Acts xxiii. 23); *παρεμβολή* (elsewhere only in Heb. and Rev.). Likewise for Jewish officials and authorities Luke uses only Greek titles: *στρατηγός* (xxii. 4, 52; Acts iv. 1, v. 24, 26); *γερουσία* (Acts v. 21); *νομικός* (6 times elsewhere, only in Matt. xxii. 35); *νομοδιδάσκαλος* (Luke v. 17; Acts v. 34).

14. (P. 108.) For the Hebrew and Aramaic words in Luke's writings see n. 12. On *Akeldama* see vol. i. 28; on *Barnabas*, vol. i. 30. The translation of the word Tabitha only (Acts ix. 36) is unquestionably correct (cf. Jos. *Bell.* iv. 3. 5). In xiii. 8 the text is obscure, cf., however, *NKZ*, xv. 195 ff. To the mind of the present writer, Klostermann (*Probleme im Apostelt.* S. 18) has, with great probability, proved that *μεγάλη*, Acts viii. 10, was originally מגלא or מגלי ("The Revealer"), which Luke has misunderstood.

15. (P. 109.) In the parallels between Matt., Mark, Luke there are a few words in which Luke agrees with Matt. against Mark. But in the case of the more important of these there is a suspicion about the correctness of the text, *e.g.* *ὡς ἡ ἄλλη*, Luke vi. 10 (omitted by ℵBL, Old Lat. and Copt.) = Matt. xii. 13, not found in Mark iii. 5; like the preceding *ὑγιής*, which likewise is genuine only in Matt., it has crept into the text of Luke, only at an earlier date, and, therefore, is found more generally in the MSS. Other agreements may be due to the fact that the translator of Matt. and Luke both made the same changes in the clumsy language of Mark; in which process the former may have been influenced by the latter; cf. vol. ii. 574 f., 594.

16. (P. 111.) Matt. iv. 1–11 and Luke iv. 1–13 must be based upon a report by Jesus to His disciples, and this is confirmed by Matt. xii. 29; Mark iii. 27; Luke xi. 21 f.; also by Luke x. 18, when this saying is rightly understood; cf. *ZKom. Matt.* 147 f.

17. (P. 112.) Feine (*Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lc.* 1891) constructs, on the basis of material found only in Luke, a Jewish Christian "source," *i.e.* a source which originated in the Christian Church in Palestine before 70, peculiar to Luke. This fourth source Luke used in addition to the other sources, which in learned fashion he adopted, namely, (1) Mark; (2) "The original synoptic document" (following B. Weiss); (3) "Sayings" (Logia). But, according to Feine, Luke probably found this fourth source already combined with the third. In Acts i. 1–viii. 24, ix. 31–xi. 23, xii. 1–24 he finds essentially unaltered a writing closely related to this fourth source, "possibly" (S. 236, 244) in some way combined with it into a whole.

18. (P. 114.) It is to be assumed that the subordinate characters in the gospel history, who are mentioned by name in the Gospels (Jairus, Bartimæus, Simon of Cyrene, Alexander, Rufus, Nicodemus, Lazarus) were more or less widely known in the apostolic age as members of the Church, as was also the rich, small statured chief publican of Jericho. According to Clement, *Hom.* iii. 64–71; *Recogn.* iii. 65–68; cf. *Hom.* ii. 1, xvii. 1. 6; *Recogn.* ii. 1, he became bishop of Cæsarea. Of the fifteen Jewish Christian bishops of Jerusalem before 132 or 135 the fourth to be mentioned is a Zacchæus (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 5. 3), or, according to Epiph. *Hær.* lxvi. 20, Zacharias, which, however, is only the full Hebrew form for the Aramaic abbreviation; cf. Dalman, *Aram. Gr.*[2] 178. For further discussion of the subject see *Forsch.* vi. 291 f., 300 f.

19. (P. 114.) Luke x. 30–37 is freer from Semiticisms than other passages peculiar to this Gospel. In xv.–xvi., xviii. 1–14 also, notwithstanding thoroughly Jewish expressions and ideas (xv. 18, 21, 24, 32, xvi. 8, 9 [n. 11], 22, xviii. 6), a fairly good style is to be observed. Naturally one speaks of heaven and hell (xvi. 22 f., xxiii. 43) in a different way than of the happenings of a journey and of inns (x. 30–35).

20. (P. 117.) J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1848, 3rd ed. 1866; A. Breusing, director of the naval academy in Bremen (*Die Nautik der Alten*, 1886, S. 142–205). In his introduction, p. xiii, Breusing says: "The most valuable nautical document preserved to us from antiquity is the description of the sea journey and shipwreck of the apostle Paul. Every seaman recognises at once that it must have been written by an eye-witness." Th. Mommsen (*Sitzungsber. d. berl. Ak.* 1895, S. 503) has not increased his reputation by his scornful remark, that "Luke speaks of the Adriatic Sea in the vicinity of Crete, and of the Barbarians on the island of Malta." Even Strabo (pp. 123, 317) knows Ἀδρίας to be the common name of the Adriatic proper and of the Ionian sea; and in Ptolemæus (iii. 4. 1, cf. Pausan. viii. 54. 2) it includes also the Sicilian (or Ausonian) sea. Just as Strabo (p. 123) remarks that the Sicilian sea reaches to the western end of Crete and to the Peloponnesus, so Ptolemæus says (iii. 17. 1) that Crete is bounded on the west by the Adriatic sea. Luke, whose chronological position is between Strabo and Ptolemæus, had no more occasion than did Josephus (*Vita*, 3) to make an accurate geographical statement regarding the scope of the term Ἀδρίας, but, like Ptolemæus and Josephus, he seems to have made it include the entire sea lying between Crete and Sicily (Acts xxvii. 27); for during the fourteen days (xxvii. 27, 33) after land was lost sight of on the south-west coast of Crete, namely, the island *Cauda* (xxvii. 16 B vg, also S^1 not *Clauda*, called now Gavdos or Gozzo), until shortly before the stranding of the ship on Malta it was tossed about in the Adriatic sea. Mommsen's mocking remark deserves even less credence than the claim that Luke included Malta in the Adriatic sea, upon which W. Falconer (*Dissertat. on St. Paul's Voyage and on the Apostle's Shipwreck on the Island of Melite*, 1817, 2nd ed., by Th. Falconer, 1870) based the hypothesis that Melite is to be identified with the modern Meleda, on the Illyricum coast. But the inference would be wrong in any case (cf. Breusing, S. 150). Procopius (*de Bell. Vand.* i. 14) makes the islands of Gaulos and Malta the boundary between the Adriatic and

Tyrrhenian seas. That Luke's view was the same cannot be proved. It would be pedantic, in order to make Luke agree with Ptolemæus (iii. 4. 1, cf. iv. 3. 47), to require him to say that during the last of the fourteen days the ship passed the longitude of Cape Pachynos, so that when Paul landed on Malta he was no longer in the Adriatic (Siculum) sea, but in the African sea. With reference to the *βάρβαροι* on the island of Melita (Acts xxviii. 1, 4), it is difficult to understand how Mommsen knows that in the year 60 the Punic language had died out on this island, which was long a part of the dominions of Carthage—its name Melita being in fact a Punic name—and was also an old Phœnician colony (Movers, *Die Phönizier*, ii. 2. 347–358; cf. the inscriptions in Schröder, *Die phön. Sprache*, S. 232–235), especially in view of the fact that on the mainland opposite there were extensive regions where it remained the dominant language until within the fifth century (*GK*, i. 40–42; Movers in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.*, article "Phönizien," 433 f.). Of the twelve existing coins which were struck on the island of Malta between the time of Roman annexation (218 B.C.) and Augustus (A. Mayr, *Die antiken Munzen der Inseln Malta, Gozzo, and Pantelleria*, München, 1894, especially S. 18 f.), numbers 1 to 4 are Punic, from 5 to 10 are Greek and Latin, and 12 is Latin. Punic and Greek coins were struck cotemporaneously. All that Luke says is that the fishermen, sailors, and peasants whom those who were shipwrecked first met did not know Greek. On account of the close connection between Punic and ancient Hebrew, it is quite possible that Paul understood at once the words of the Barbarians (xxviii. 4). The landed proprietor Publius, with whom those who were shipwrecked, or at least part of them,—among these the three Christians in the company,—spent three days as guests, and most of the inhabitants of the city where they spent three months (xxviii. 11) may have understood and spoken Latin, or Greek, or both. Luke shows his knowledge of actual conditions in Malta by the use of the title *ὁ πρῶτος τῆς νήσου*, xxviii. 7, which is attested for this island by *C. I. G.* No. 5754 = Kaibel *I. G. Siciliæ*, No. 601: *ἱππεὺς Ῥωμαίων, πρῶτος Μελιταίων καὶ πάτρων*. *C. I. L.* x. No. 7495, *municipii Melitensium primus omnium*, according to the addenda to this inscription, p. 994, dating from the first or second century.

21. (P. 118.) The literary relation of Acts to the letters of Paul is not carefully investigated by those critics, who are most under obligation to do so, because of the late date which they assign to Acts, and because of the conscious modification of the Pauline history which they assume. Zeller speaks very incidentally (S. 518 f.) of "the Pauline letters," and especially of Gal., as sources of Acts. Overbeck (p. lix) claims in a mere remark—as if this question were not of fundamental importance in any critical estimate of Acts, that while as a matter of course Luke was acquainted with the genuine Epistles of Paul, as evidenced by ix. 19–30, xv. 1–33, xviii. 24–28, these Epistles were "*not* among the sources of Acts." There is, however, nothing added to explain this, which Overbeck calls "a characteristic fact." Jacobsen (*Quellen der AG*, 1885, S. 8 ff.), on the other hand, represents the author of Acts as elaborating the most important statements and narratives even of chaps. i.–xii. from the hints in Paul's letters, while Steck (*Gal.* 1888, S. 78–151) thinks that he is able to show that the author of the four "chief

Epistles" presupposed and utilised Acts and perhaps even the Gospel of Luke (S. 191–211).

22. (P. 119.) The reading ἐπιστολήν for ἐντολήν (Acts xvii. 15 ES[1], "And when they parted from him they received from him a letter to Silas and Timothy") is untrustworthy, and, if genuine, would refer to a *lost* letter.

23. (P. 121.) Paul refers to his Pharisaism in the description of his condition before conversion, Phil. iii. 5 f.; Gal. i. 14; Luke does not refer to this until much later, and then in a different connection, Acts xxiii. 6, xxvi. 5, and the expression ζηλωτὴς ὑπάρχων, Gal. i. 14 = Acts xxii. 3, is not at all striking; cf. Acts xxi. 20. There is nothing in Luke which reminds us of the bold figure in 1 Cor. xv. 8. The fact that besides the more common διώκειν (1 Cor. xv. 9; Gal. i. 13, 23; Phil. iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 13) πορθεῖν is used twice by Paul (Gal. i. 13, 23) and once by Luke (Acts ix. 21) proves nothing; Philo also, *c. Flacc.* viii., calls the Jew haters in Alexandria πορθεῖν Ἰουδαίους. In the description of the flight from Damascus in Acts ix. 24 f. and 2 Cor. xi. 32 all the words are different, until the designation of the city wall, which it was necessary for both to mention, and except χαλᾶν, which is used by Luke elsewhere (Luke v. 4, 5; Acts xxvii. 17, 30); Paul: ἐφρούρει τὴν πόλιν . . . πιάσαι με. διὰ θυρίδος ἐν σαργάνῃ. διὰ τοῦ τείχους; Luke: παρετηροῦντο τὰς πύλας ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν, λαβόντες δὲ . . . νυκτὸς διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθῆσαν αὐτὸν χαλάσαντες ἐν σπυρίδι. On this point cf. *NKZ*, xv. 34–41.

24. (P. 125.) Clement of Rome possesses independent knowledge about the end of Paul's life (*1 Cor.* v.; vol. ii. 68 f.), but nevertheless refers the Corinthians in chap. xlvii. to 1 Cor., as if it were the first letter in a collection of Pauline letters (cf. *GK*, i. 812 f.). Ignatius (*Eph.* xii. 2; *Rom.* iv. 3) and Polycarp (*Phil.* iii. 2, xi. 3) uniformly treat Paul as the author of the letters that pass under his name (vol. i. 535, n. 3; *GK*, i. 811–822), although they were not unfamiliar with Acts (*GK*, i. 923). Marcion confines himself entirely to the letters, and leaves Acts out of account altogether. The schools of Basilides and Valentinus made large use of the Epistles, while it is impossible to prove certainly that they utilised Acts (*GK*, ii. 751–763, 773). In the *Acts of Paul*, including the *Acts of Theclæ* and in the Gnostic *Acts of Peter*, we find the Epistles of Paul just as much noticed or imitated as Acts (*GK*, ii. 854 f., 887–889, 903–909, i. 783, 787–789).

25. (P. 127.) On p. 127 above, in xii. 25–xiii. 9, the *a* text is presupposed. S[3] and p have ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Παῦλος after Σαῦλος in xii. 25, and the latter alone, Παῦλος instead of Σαῦλος in xiii. i, 2 also, but see p. 28, n. 6 above. If, in view of xi. 25, 30, it is probable that Σαῦλος was used in Antioch when Paul first came to the city, the scantily attested Παῦλος in xiii. 1, 2 is improbable, and for the recurrence of Σαῦλος in xiii. 7 there is no sufficient reason, and the addition in xii. 25 is superfluous. For the two names see vol. i. 69 f. It is very possible that Paul's own companions, Barnabas and Mark, up to this time had used Aramaic in conversing with him, hence had called him Σαῦλος. From the time, however, when they found it necessary to use Greek they called him Παῦλος.

26. (P. 129.) The following are Hebraistic expressions in Acts i.–xii.:

διὰ χειρὸς (χειρῶν), ii. 23, v. 12, vii. 25, xi. 30; cf. ἐν or σὺν χειρί, vii. 35, also xiv. 3, xv. 23, xix. 11; ἐκ χειρός, xii. 11; Luke i. 71, 74, also xxiv. 7; ἦν χεὶρ κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν, xi. 21, elsewhere only in Luke i. 66, but cf. also Acts iv. 28, 30, xiii. 11; διὰ στόματος, i. 16, iii. 18, 21, iv. 25 (Luke i. 70), also xv. 7, cf. xxii. 14; Luke xi. 54, xix. 22, xxi. 71; ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα, viii. 35, x. 34 (viii. 32 quotation), cf. xviii. 14; ἠκούσθη εἰς τὰ ὦτα, xi. 22, cf. Luke i. 44; Matt. x. 27; Jas. v. 4; ἰδού, 16 times in chaps. i.–xii., only 7 times in chaps. xiii.–xxviii. see above, p. 135, n. 11.

27. (P. 129.) E. Nestle has repeatedly attempted to explain the variations of Cod. D and the allied MSS. from the commonly accepted text in Acts, on the supposition that they are different translations of the same Hebrew (or Aramaic) original, or due to variations in this original (*CW*, 1895, separate print, S. 6; *Philol. sacra*, 1896, S. 39 ff.; *ThStKr*, 1896, S. 102 f.). This is conceivable, if, with D. Schultz (*De cod. Cantabrig.* 1827, p. 16), we may regard the text of D as a later form of the text, dependent upon a Syriac translation of Acts; but this theory is irreconcilable with the view that both *α* and *β* originated with the author, and that *β* represents his original draft of the book. For, in view of the language conditions of the time, it is impossible to believe that one so thoroughly Greek in character as the Antiochian physician Luke, the author of the prologue, and the author or redactor of the entire Lucan work, could have read a Hebrew book. To every thousand Jews (Syrians, Copts) who at that time were able to read, write, and speak Greek, there could not at most have been more than one Greek who had obtained a corresponding knowledge of Hebrew or Aramaic. And the present writer confesses that he has sought this *rara avis* in vain. A few words and expressions were occasionally picked up from the natives (*Forsch.* i. 41), but it occurred to no educated Greek or Roman to learn their language in a systematic way (vol. i. 34 ff.). Except in cases where a Greek pastor was assigned to a region where only Syriac was used (*Forsch.* i. 43), this was not done until Christians, such as Origen and Jerome, studied Hebrew in the interest of theology. Among these Aquila would be included, if he were actually a native Gentile and a Greek.

28. (P. 129.) Schwanbeck, *Über die Quellen der Schriften des Lc.*, vol. i. (the only vol.); *der AG*, 1847; Zeller, S. 489–524. Jacobsen, *Quellen der AG*, 1885; Sorof, *Entstehung der AG*, 1890; Spitta, *Die AG, ihre Quellen und deren geschichtl. Wert*, 1891; Gercke, *Hermes*, 1894, S. 373–392; *Der δεύτερος λόχος des Lc. und die AG*; Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lc.* 1891; Jüngst, *Quellen der AG*, 1895. Cf. the review by Zöckler, *Greifswalder Stud.* 1895, S. 107–145: "Die AG als Gegenstand höherer und niederer Kritik." It would be useless to undertake to review the separate hypotheses of the scholars mentioned. It will be sufficient to illustrate the conception of the redactor of the entire work, if attention be called to Spitta's idea of his work in writing down Acts ii. 1 (S. 23, 51). In the *A* source the outpouring of the Spirit was connected with the choice of an apostle by the words καὶ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι, to which the indulgent reader was left to supply αὐτούς or τὸν ἀριθμόν, *sc.* τῶν ἀποστόλων. At the moment when the number of the apostles was complete they were all filled with the Holy Spirit. In the *B* source the story began with the words,

"But when the day of Pentecost was now come, they were all together." The redactor, however, misunderstood *A*, and out of *A* and *B* constructed the alleged bungling construction of ii. 1. The only conceivable motive for the retention of *συμπληροῦσθαι*, which was misunderstood,—also entirely unintelligible in *A*,—would be the childish fondness of the redactor for this word, which is found elsewhere only in Luke viii. 23, ix. 51, and used here inaccurately, as in Luke ix. 51. For also in Luke ix. 51 it is not the *time until the taking up*, which is said to be fulfilled,—the natural expression,—but the time *at* which the taking up occurs. It is the same common shifting of the idea that we have in the *πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρός* of Mark i. 15; John vii. 8, and other similar combinations (cf. Luke ix. 31; John iii. 29). In this way it comes about that a point of time or an event which really marks the conclusion of a period at the end of which these are expected, is itself said to be fulfilled.

§ 62. THE AUTHOR OF THE WORK ATTRIBUTED TO LUKE AND THE TIME OF ITS COMPOSITION.

Assuming that the "we" passages, Acts xvi. 10–18, xx. 5–xxi. 18, xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16, were written by a travelling companion of Paul's, either in the form in which we now possess them, or at least in substance (above, p. 115 f.), it is entirely arbitrary to attribute their composition to some person other than Luke, to whom they are assigned by the tradition, whether it be to Timothy or Silas (Silvanus) or Titus (n. 1).

The first two names are excluded because both are mentioned in the third person and by name in xv. 22–xviii. 5, directly before and directly after the first long "we" passage. Timothy is mentioned again in xix. 22 and once more in xx. 4, directly before the "we" reappears. The sudden transition from the impersonal designation of one of these persons, "Silas or Timothy," to "I," which is implied by the use of "we," and especially the contrast between one group of individuals, which includes Timothy, and a second group, which includes Paul and the narrator speaking in the first person (Acts xx. 4–6), would not only make the narrative incredibly awkward, or introduce into it a needless element of mystery, but would be positively meaningless (above,

p. 86 f.; nn. 11–13). Moreover, if the "we" in xi. 27 is original (above, p. 4, n. 3; 28, n. 6), Silas and Timothy are excluded. Silas was not at this time a resident of Antioch, but of Jerusalem (xv. 22), and Timothy had not yet become a Christian; for it was not until very much later that the gospel reached the province where he lived (xiv. 6, xvi. 1).

Furthermore, Silas is not mentioned as one of Paul's companions in any of the letters written from Rome. But, according to Acts xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16, the narrator accompanied Paul to Rome, and, unless we assume that a strange accident took place, he was, like Aristarchus (xxvii. 2), whom we meet again in Col. iv. 10, Philem. 24, one of the persons mentioned in Col. i. 1, iv. 7–14; Philem. 1, 23 f.

Since Paul took Titus with him from Antioch to the apostolic council after the first missionary journey (Gal. ii. 1), possibly he may be concealed behind the "we" of Acts xi. 27. Since, moreover, he is not mentioned at all in the prevailing text of Acts (see, however, above, p. 28, n. 6), some of the difficulties disappear in which we are involved when we assume that the "we" passages were written by Silas or Timothy. But Titus could not have been the author of the "we" passages, because there is nothing to indicate that he accompanied Paul to Rome, or was with him there during the first imprisonment.

It has already been remarked (above, p. 117) that, if, without reference to the ancient tradition, we were under necessity of conjecturing which one of Paul's friends who were with him in Rome wrote the account of the journey in Acts xxvii., the choice would most naturally fall upon the physician Luke. But, in addition, there is an ancient and unanimous tradition which represents Luke as the author of the entire work, *i.e.* identifies him with the person speaking in Luke i. 1–4; Acts i. 1, also, however, with the person associated with Paul and his

other travelling companions in the "we" passages of Acts. It is impossible to explain this tradition unless there are at least good reasons for assuming that Luke is the author of the "we" passages. For it is inconceivable that Luke should be the author of the entire work and at the same time have appropriated for his own use in different parts of his work accounts of journeys written by Titus, or some third party, without so much as changing the inappropriate "we" into the third person. A man with the literary training of the writer of these two books could not have made such a blunder unintentionally (n. 2). Nor could a man like Luke, who was so closely associated with Paul and the events narrated, have endeavoured to deceive his readers by borrowing the journal of another disciple of Paul's and by retaining the "we" used in these accounts. He did not need to borrow a mask; his own authority was sufficient. In this case it would be necessary to assume at once that some later writer, out of touch with the events which he was about to narrate, sought by the retention of the "we," which he found in one of his exemplars, to create the impression that he was an eye-witness. And, as a matter of fact, this is the assumption made by those who grant that Luke was the author of the "we" passages, but not of the entire work (n. 3). But this hypothesis is in itself incredible and incapable of explaining the tradition. One unacquainted with the original work would not notice the fact that in Acts several of its passages had been borrowed, and hence could not in this way be led to believe that Luke, who may have been known as the author of the original work, was the author of the much later compilation. But the same would be true also of the reader, who was acquainted with the original work, and who knew that Luke was its author; since such a person would detect the plagiarism and could not possibly confuse a large historical work, consisting of two books, with a work by Luke of an

entirely different character, because of a few chapters incorporated from the latter. Nor is any such deception to be attributed to the author of the Lucan work; for if this were his purpose, then the means which he chose in order to pass himself off for Luke, the friend of Paul, were ridiculously inadequate. In the preface he would be merely suggesting that, in the course of the history which he is about to set forth, he became an eye-witness of the events which he records, and a helper in the proclamation of the gospel. And, indeed, in such a delicate way that modern readers can deny that the passage really contains the author's testimony to himself which we have found it to contain (above, pp. 46 f., 54 f.). When he comes to deal with the events where he wanted the reader to think that he was an eye-witness, when he was not, he would be concealing his identity by the use of a "we," which clearly includes several persons, without indicating the specific person for whom he wishes himself to be taken, and without relating how he became a companion of Paul. Why did he not use one of the unmistakable methods employed by the classical historians, or by Polybius, or Josephus, or Porphyry, when they wanted to make clear to their readers things about themselves and their personal relations to the facts which they recorded (above, p. 86, n. 11)? Anyone having such a purpose, no matter how stupid he was, could not have failed to make use of means which were suited to accomplish it. In particular, judging by all analogous cases, the deceptive intention of the author to pass himself off for Luke must have betrayed itself in a bold use of unmistakable designations of himself (n. 4). The modest way in which the author refers to himself in the hints of the prologue, and the corresponding manner in which he introduces himself in Acts xi. 27, and from xvi. 10 onwards, is evidence of his truthfulness.

If there is no reasonable ground for denying the Lucan

authorship of the "we" passages, he is to be regarded also as the author of the entire work. The burden of proof rests with those who deny this claim, not with those who find no reason to question the agreement of the tradition with the witness of the book to its author. But this latter conclusion is otherwise supported both by the contents and by the style of the entire work. Against the proof based upon *similarity of language* in the "we" passages and other parts of the work (above, pp. 79, 92, n. 28), it is argued, either that the redactor of the entire work introduced long interpolations in xx. 5–xxviii. 31, or that he revised thoroughly the style of the sources which he used. Thus it will be seen that this evidence is met, not by counter arguments, but by hypotheses. The first of these assumptions can never be positively proved, and against the second stands the fact that Luke admitted into his work the greatest variety of style (above, p. 104). His revision of the style of such narratives as he took from Mark was due to the clumsiness of their language, particularly to their strongly Hebraised character. That, however, the account of the journey written by one of Paul's companions would have required as much revision as Mark's Gospel is very unlikely.

W. K. Hobart (n. 5) has proved to the satisfaction of anyone open to conviction, that the author of the Lucan work was familiar with the technical language of Greek medicine, and hence was a *Greek physician.* It is not to be judged as a coincidence that Luke alone preserves the proverb used by Jesus, "Physician, heal thyself" (iv. 23), that he only of the four evangelists who tell the story of the wounding of Malchus' ear, also related that it was healed by Jesus (xxii. 51), and that in the description of Jesus' healing work he sometimes writes more fully than does Mark, and with greater vividness, notwithstanding the fact that in the sections which he borrows from Mark he frequently omits unnecessary details. The friends of

the woman stricken with fever consult the physician. He approaches the bedside, bends over the patient, and rebukes the fever as He does elsewhere the evil spirits (iv. 38 f. = Mark i. 30 f.). It did not seem natural to a physician after the restoration of the maiden to life, that Jesus should first have forbidden those present to make the fact known, and then have given the medical instructions that the child be supplied with something to eat (Mark v. 43). So he reverses the order (Luke viii. 55 f.). Just as in the accounts of cases of healing peculiar to his Gospel, Luke often indicates how long the person healed had been afflicted (xiii. 11 ; Acts iii. 2, iv. 22, ix. 33, xiv. 8, only Luke viii. 43 has parallels in Matthew and Mark), so in viii. 27–29 he inserts such a notice in an older account (Mark v. 2), with the added remark that the person possessed of the evil spirit would not endure clothing upon his body, a fact which has been observed by physicians (Hobart, p. 14). It is Luke alone who accurately indicates that it was the right hand which was healed (vi. 6), and who notes that healing was accomplished by the laying on of hands (iv. 40), where mention of this act is not made in Matthew (viii. 16) or in Mark (i. 34). Luke alone describes vividly the physical side of Jesus' struggle in prayer (xxii. 43 f.). Out of consideration for himself and his fellow practitioners, Luke does not omit the humiliating confession that the believing touch of Jesus' garment brought healing where long and expensive treatment by physicians had accomplished nothing (Luke viii. 43, n. 6). It is even more significant that Luke everywhere avoids the inaccurate popular designations of diseases and kindred things, and uses the technical language of medical writers. It will also be observed that Luke often uses, in describing other objects and relations, words with which a physician must have been familiar in his practice, and which, therefore, occur with very great frequency in the writings of the Greek physi-

cians (n. 5). The crowning proof of the composition of the entire work by the physician Luke is the fact, *first*, that these peculiarities are found in those sections of Luke which have parallels in Matthew and Mark; *secondly*, that they recur in other parts of the entire work, or, at least, have their analogies; and *thirdly*, that they consist of words and expressions which are to be found in the N.T. in no other writings save those of Luke, or occur here with greater frequency than in all other N.T. writings. These facts cannot, therefore, be explained on the ground that one of the sources used by the author of the entire work was written by a trained physician, but from the fact that the author of the entire work—the person who worked over the older narratives of Mark and also of other writers who are unknown to us—must himself have been an educated physician.

It would require a complete historical commentary to answer fully all the arguments that have been advanced against the composition of the Lucan work by a friend of Paul's. While the theologians have persistently charged Luke with ignorance of the historical conditions and personages with which he deals, historians and investigators of antiquity of the first rank, who have gone into the matter with great care, declare Acts especially to be throughout an important and, in the main, trustworthy historical document (n. 7). Whereas all the apocryphal literature of the second century (the *Gospels of James*, *Thomas*, and *Peter*; *Acta Pilati*, *Pauli* [including the *Acts of Theclæ*], *Petri*, *Joannis*, etc.) clearly betray in the Christian and even more in the non-Christian, characters which they introduce, and in their portrayal of political conditions in Palestine and in the empire, the influence of the N.T., and consist almost entirely of fantastic stories, Luke's account is everywhere confined to facts which we are able to verify from other sources. On the subject of Jewish history from 4 B.C. to 60 A.D.,

Luke's information is independent of Josephus, and for the earlier decades of the period, is sometimes more reliable (above, pp. 95 ff., 131), for example, with reference to the official position of Quirinius and the time when he held office (above, p. 96). It is possible that in what Luke says about Theudas (Acts v. 36) there is a great chronological error (above, p. 132, n. 6), but this cannot be proved from the conflicting account by Josephus. In any case Luke did not compose the speech in which this error is supposed to be found, but took it from some older source which he may not have been able to correct in this minor point. The case is different when he is dealing with subjects that come properly within the scope of Christian history, for example, in what he says concerning the Fabian policy of the Pharisees toward Christianity, prior to the death of Stephen, as distinguished from the attitude of the Sadducees, which alone enables us to explain the entrance of Pharisaism into the Christian Church (xv. 5), and without which it would be impossible historically to explain Paul's development. Here his testimony is historically unimpeachable. Consequently progress in our knowledge concerning Jewish parties is to be made, not along the lines suggested by Geiger and Wellhausen,—by more thorough study of the Talmud or of Josephus,—but by a better appreciation of the words *ἡ οὖσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων* in Acts v. 17.

Luke is even better acquainted with conditions and persons in the provinces and cities which were the scene of Paul's labours than he is with Jewish conditions. The proconsuls Sergius Paulus and Gallio (xiii. 7, xviii. 12) are historical personages, and, so far as we are able to determine the date of their respective terms of office in Cyprus and Achaia, there is no contradiction to the probable chronology of Paul's life and work (Part XI.). In the investigation of Paul's letters we have frequently found the notices of Acts confirmed by inscriptions and writings,

for example, with regard to the politarchs in Thessalonica and the population of Philippi (vol. i. 211 f., 532 f.). Here there is no difference between the "we" passages and other parts of Acts. No success has attended the effort to explain the uprising of the silversmiths (Acts xix. 23 ff.) by assuming that it is simply a misinterpretation of an official title (n. 8).

It is impossible to determine in separate instances to what extent Luke, in recording the longer discourses of Peter and of Paul, made use of the liberty often taken by the ancient historian freely to reconstruct their form, in the light of his knowledge of persons and conditions involved. Nor do we know how far these could have been taken from the reports of persons who heard them (*e.g.* xvii. 34, xxv. 23, cf. xxiv. 23). But it is only necessary to compare the addresses recorded by Luke with the miserable harangues which Josephus puts into the mouths of his heroes, in order to see that Luke was not only much better educated than Josephus, but that he regarded much more seriously the obligation of historical accuracy.

The strongest proof of Luke's thorough acquaintance with what he undertook to set forth is the fact that, without consultation of Paul's letters as sources (above, p. 118 ff.), Luke's accounts, in their main outlines and in a great many of their details, are in thorough agreement with them. In addition to what has been already said incidentally in numerous passages of the earlier volumes, the following points may be noted here. In Acts the progress of Paul's ministry is marked not only by visions and revelations (ix. 3–9, xiii. 2, xvi. 6–10, xviii. 9, xx. 23, xxi. 11, xxii. 17–21, xxiii. 11, xxvii. 23), by notable cases of healing (xiv. 8–10, xix. 11–17), and similar miracles (xiii. 11, xvi. 18, xx. 9, xxviii. 3–6), but also by natural phenomena of the most extraordinary character (xvi. 26–30). But all this is in accord with Paul's own testimony. In addition to the revelation of Christ to which

he owed his faith and calling (Gal. i. 12–16 ; 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8), the visions of a later time which he could never forget (2 Cor. xii. 1–4 ; Gal. ii. 1), and his participation in the miraculous gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor. xiv. 18), he refers to signs, wonders (*τέρατα*), and mighty works which prove his right to exercise his apostolic calling (2 Cor. xii. 11–12 ; Rom. xv. 19), and which, if need be, will again establish his right to punish evil-doers (1 Cor. v. 3–5 ; 2 Cor. x. 4, xiii. 2–10). It shows a lack of careful thinking when the letters of Paul mentioned above are accepted as genuine, but the authorship of the corresponding narratives in Acts, or the entire book of which these narratives are a part, by a friend of Paul's and by an eye-witness of some of these things, is denied, because of the miraculous element which it contains. Literary and historical criticism have nothing to do with the question as to the nature of these events and why it was that they influenced so strongly the consciousness of Paul and those about him.

By the "very chiefest apostles," in contrast to whom Paul speaks of the signs and wonders which were done through him (2 Cor. xii. 11 f.), are meant, not the original apostles, but the followers of Peter, who were not willing to admit that Paul's apostleship was on a par with that of Peter (vol. i. 288 f.). The very fact that in making this contrast Paul calls these miraculous signs *τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἀποστόλου*, shows that in this respect also he claimed to be the equal of the older apostles, especially of Peter (cf. also 1 Cor. ix. 1–5, xv. 5–11). But this comparison is not something new, suggested now for the first time by his opposition to the Petrine party. But, according to Gal. ii. 7–9, at the apostolic council the same comparison was made between Peter and Paul, and the fact that God owned and blessed Paul's preaching in exactly the same way that He did Peter's made a profound impression. Even then this was the effect produced by the stories

told in Jerusalem by the missionaries to the Gentiles (Gal. ii. 2; Acts xv. 3, 12, *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, cf. xxi. 19). There is no occasion, therefore, because of a certain parallelism in Acts between the miraculous deeds and experiences of Peter and of Paul to question the historicity of these accounts (n. 9). If Luke, in choosing from the abundance of material at his disposal, brought out this relation, he was led to do so only under the influence of a Pauline idea, or, as is more probable, by an uplifting experience of apostolic Christianity.

In summarising the main ideas that pervade the entire work (above, p. 69 ff.), it has been repeatedly observed that the author was influenced by ideas not found in the N.T. except in Paul's writings. The claim that Luke represents the attitude of Paul toward legalistic Jewish Christianity as one of yielding to it, thereby sacrificing historical accuracy and contradicting the fundamental principles of Paul, cannot be substantiated. The circumcision of Timothy, which, if it had not actually happened, would be, as an invention, in the most glaring contradiction to history, is testified to by Paul himself (vol. i. 538, 182). The Paul of Acts, who, on the one hand, denies that the observing of the law has any saving efficacy, either for Jews or Gentiles, attributing this power to faith in Christ (xiii. 38 f., cf. Luke xv. 1–32, xviii. 9–14, vii. 36–50), and who will not suffer the Mosaic law to be forced upon the Gentile Christians, but, on the other hand, is eager to keep Jewish feasts in Jerusalem (xx. 16, cf. xx. 6, according to β, also xviii. 21), has no objections to the assumption of vows by Jewish Christians (xviii. 18), and on one occasion himself takes part in such an act (xxi. 26),—this Paul is none other than the Paul of the letters. In fact, Paul never required Jewish Christians to give up the observance of the law. Even in Churches, where there were both Jews and Gentiles, the former might retain their Judaism as a religious non-essential, in so far as it

did not conflict with higher ends (1 Cor. vii. 18 f. ; Gal. v. 6, vi. 15 ; Rom. xiv. 5 f., vol. i. 422 f.). Consequently he was able to deny the false report that he compelled the Jews of the diaspora to renounce the law (Acts xxi. 21). He represents his own emancipation from the law as being for the sake of his calling, a renunciation of rights which were legitimate, and of his natural Jewish manner of life (1 Cor. ix. 21, cf. Gal. iv. 12). On the other hand, he asserts with equal clearness that, notwithstanding his inward freedom from the law, he observes it for the sake of the Jews, with whom his calling brought him into contact (1 Cor. ix. 20).

For this reason the so-called apostolic decree cannot be regarded as contradictory to Paul's account in Gal. ii. 1–10, nor treated as an invention, made on the basis of customs in vogue in the Church at a later time ; because, by the end of the first century, some of its stipulations had become obsolete and after that time were nowhere strictly observed (n. 10). The literal fulfilment of all its requirements—in some quarters down to the Middle Ages, and even to the present time—was due entirely to the tendency to observe the letter of this apostolic command. The fact that, in his short account in Gal. ii. 1–10, Paul does not mention abstinence from the four things mentioned, which were not the only, nor by any means the principal, contents of the decree, is no argument against its historical character. For, in the *first* place, this requirement had nothing to do with Paul's relation to the original apostles and the mother Church, which is the only question under discussion in Galatians. The missionaries to the Gentiles were not commissioned to enforce these regulations upon the Gentile Christians, but the mother Church dealt with them directly through her own ambassadors. In the *second* place, the resolution did not affect intercourse between the Gentile and Jewish Christians, concerning which not a single word is said in Acts xv. The Jewish Christians who desired to live according

to the law, could not associate in social life and worship even with Gentile Christians who observed the four restrictions, without constantly being made ceremonially unclean. In the *third* place, the decree was no concession to the Judaisers; since the recommendation to abstain from the four things specified was not intended as a substitution of a partial observance of the law for a full compliance with its demands. On the contrary, it was meant to free the Gentile Christians entirely from the legal yoke, which already had its advocates among the rabbis in every city (xv. 19–21, cf. ver. 10). In the *fourth* place, it represented no compromise between the missionaries to the Gentiles and the Judaisers. On the contrary, while the work of the former was unconditionally recognised (ver. 25 ff.), that of the latter was unconditionally condemned (vv. 10, 19, 24). In the *fifth* place, it was not a new command, observance of which was made a condition for the recognition of men as Christians. The Christian character of the Gentile Christians is acknowledged from the outset as unconditionally as that of their missionaries (vv. 8–11, 14, 19, 23), and it was not the recognition of their Christian character, but their well-being as Gentile Christians, which is represented as dependent upon their abstinence from the four things specified (ver. 29). Finally, in the *sixth* place, nothing whatever is said about commands and requirements, but mention is made only of a communication by letter (ver. 20, ἐπιστεῖλαι, cf. xxi. 25), which was received joyfully by those to whom it was sent, being regarded by them as an encouraging word, as were also the oral communications of those by whom the message was brought (ver. 31 f. somewhat in the sense of 1 Pet. v. 12). For this reason it is not to be supposed that the Gentile Christians in Antioch had not heretofore abstained from the things mentioned, that Paul had not demanded it of them, and that the requirement was now laid upon them for the first time as

a new burden. If only they continue to abstain from these things (ver. 29, διατηροῦντες), it will go well with them. The fact that the Council in Jerusalem had reached this decision made it natural for the missionaries to at once enjoin abstinence in these four particulars upon the more recently organised Churches of Lycaonia, but that does not in any way affect the fact that the principal point in the decree was the recognition of the right of the Gentiles to live as they had lived heretofore, unfettered by the law, and that the accompanying recommendation of abstinence in the four particulars mentioned set the Council's approval upon a Christian custom in process of formation in the Churches of Antioch and Cilicia. This custom spread in the missionary Churches among the Gentiles. The attitude of the majority in the Corinthian Church regarding the question about meats offered to idols, as well as the laxity of their opinions concerning unchastity, were opposed to the general Christian practice (1 Cor. x. 32, vol. i. 297, n. 7). Gradually the requirements, which from the beginning were of minor importance, namely, abstinence from blood and things strangled, were no longer observed, with the result that the text of the decree as preserved by Luke was misinterpreted and modified in many ways (above, p. 33 f.). Luke would not have incorporated this document in his work—especially in a book intended for Theophilus, who was still outside the Church—if already in his time the progress of Christian morals had made the stipulations of the decree in some respects antiquated, as they were at the time when Revelation and the *Didache* were written (n. 10).

The Lucan work must, therefore, have been written somewhat earlier than the close of the first century. This we have already seen to be the case, because of the author's entire independence of the Pauline letters (above, p. 118 ff.), and because he had no knowledge of any Gospel written by an apostle, in particular of our Greek Matthew (above,

pp. 50, 108 f.). Furthermore, if the reasons for the composition of the whole work by Luke have been shown to be as strong as the objections to it are weak, and if Luke was a member of the Church in Antioch as early as the year 40 (above, p. 2), it is not likely that it was written later than the year 85; especially if that Lucius of Cyrene, who in the years 40–50 is mentioned by name as a teacher of the same Church—therefore at that time no longer a young man—was still alive when Acts was written (above, p. 28, n. 6). On the other hand, it could not well have been written before the year 70. The use of Mark, which at the earliest was not written before the year 67, brings us almost down to the year 70. Luke's intention to conclude his work in a third book (above, p. 56 ff.) presupposes that a period of Christian history of considerable length had intervened since the time the narrative was broken off in Acts xxviii. 30 ff., *i.e.* since the spring of 63. Finally, a Christian of the age in which Luke lived could not well have the idea that the development of the history of Christianity had reached its consummation before the judgment upon Jerusalem and the Temple, prophesied by Jesus, had taken place (above, p. 60). This would be especially true in the case of Luke, who records more fully than any other evangelist very definite prophecies of Jesus regarding these events. Besides Luke xiii. 34–35, xxi. 6 (Matt. xxiii. 36–xxiv. 2; Mark xiii. 2, cf. Matt. xxii. 7, xxvi. 61, xxvii. 40; Mark xiv. 58; John ii. 19; Acts vi. 14), Luke alone records the impressive scenes in xix. 41–44, xxiii. 27–31, the parable of xix. 11–27, the meaning of which is unmistakable, the pointed application after xx. 18 (Matt. xxi. 44 is spurious), and, finally, the discourse in xxi. 20–24. While the latter has many words in common with Matt. xxiv. 15–20, Mark xiii. 14–18, and has the same relative place in the long prophetic discourse as do the corresponding sections of Matthew and Mark, its contents are essentially different.

According to Matthew and Mark, Jesus did not on this occasion speak of the awful destruction of the temple, much less of the siege, capture, and destruction of Jerusalem. But their words refer rather to the setting up in the temple of an idolatrous abomination prophesied by Daniel, by which true worship is to be displaced, the temple desecrated, and consequently desolated, and to the last and greatest persecution of the Church which will be connected with this event, and which will be ended by the return of Christ (vol. ii. 570 f., vol. i. 226 ff., 235 ff.). Luke says nothing of these things, and gives instead a prophecy of the siege of Jerusalem by hostile armies xxi. 20, cf. xix. 43), of the flight of the saints from Jerusalem and Judea (xxi. 21 ff.), of the slaughter of part of the population of Jerusalem, and the capture and leading away into captivity of others, and of the permanent conquest of Jerusalem by the Gentiles (xxi. 24, cf. xix. 44, xxiii. 28 f.). Only by gross misinterpretation of the prophecy to be found in Matthew and Mark is it possible to affirm that Luke merely states with greater clearness what is mysteriously hinted at in Matthew and Mark. The real question is why Luke replaced the prophecy of the desecrating abomination in the holy place, with which he was familiar from Mark and from the prophetic teaching of the Pauline Churches, by a prophecy of totally different contents, and why generally in his Gospel he inserts with so much greater clearness and so much greater variety than do Matthew and Mark the prophecies of the fall of Jerusalem. In answer to the first question, we have the fact that his book was intended for a man still outside the Church, who would not be able to understand such a prophecy. Luke here follows the principles of his own teacher (1 Cor. ii. 6–16). The answer to the second question is not dependent upon the question whether it was probable or even possible for Jesus to depict the events which took place in 70 with greater clearness

than in the passages quoted from the other Gospels, for example, as clearly as in Luke xix. 43 f., xxi. 20–24. According to the unanimous tradition, Jesus predicted that the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple would occur before His own generation passed away. Consequently, it is presumptuous to deny that He was able to describe this event with the clearness of Luke xix. 43 f. as of xxi. 20–24. The only question is whether in the prophetic discourse recorded by all three of the Synoptists in the same connection Jesus actually spoke what is found in Matt. xxiv. 15–28 ; Mark xiii. 14–23, or what is found in Luke xxi. 20–24. If the objections to the historicity of what Matthew and Mark say on this point are without weight (vol. ii. 570 f., 588, n. 2), then it follows that the departure from strict historical accuracy is on the side of Luke, who wrote later than the others. When it is recalled that in the same passage Mark interpreted the prophecy preserved in its original form by Matthew, with distinct reference to the later understanding of the Church, and otherwise recast it (vol. ii. 500), there can be little doubt that Luke was led by the destruction of Jerusalem, which had now actually taken place, to report the prophecies of Jesus relative to this event with greater detail and fulness than the evangelists writing before 70 had done, and in xxi. 20–24 to substitute such a prophecy for the one which is found in Mark. The narratives in xix. 11–27, 41–44, xxiii. 27–31 do not read as if they were written after 70, or as if they were the inventions of Luke. The fact that Luke brought these narratives out of the treasury of tradition is itself only an indication of the time when he wrote. On the other hand, the recasting of the original prophecy in xxi. 20–24 was the effect of the events of the year 70.

Whether this modification was due to Luke alone, or whether it was simply a reflexion of the impressions made upon Palestinian Christians who witnessed these events,

the present writer does not venture to decide. The latter supposition is the more probable. It was impossible for these persons to watch the approach of the destruction of Jerusalem, and see it actually accomplished, without considering the events of their time in the light of Jesus' prophecy, and without following their development with the deepest interest. It is almost impossible not to suppose that the prophecies among these Christians which are said to have led to the flight from Jerusalem to Pella (vol. ii. 588, n. 3), were based upon the prophecy of Jesus preserved in Matt. xxiv. 15–28; Mark xiii. 14–23, and consisted of an adaptation of these words to the particular circumstances of the time. Luke, by appropriating this modified form of Jesus' prophecies, and by adopting into his narrative a large number of prophecies concerning the fall of Jerusalem,—omitting, however, the prophecy of the *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, which was based upon Daniel and unintelligible to Theophilus,—was able to make it serve his apologetic purpose. If he had written his third book, he would certainly have shown definitely how the prophecies of Jesus concerning Jerusalem were fulfilled forty years after they were made. In view of all these considerations, it may be assumed with practical certainty that Luke wrote his work about the year 75 (n. 11).

According to the present writer's view, it is not possible to make any affirmation relative to the place where the work was written. A tradition represents Luke as writing his work in Greece and dying between his seventy-fourth and eighty-fourth year in Bœotia, or Bithynia; this is based upon legends which we must have before us in a complete form before it is possible to determine whether they contain a germ of historical fact (n. 12).

1. (P. 142.) Mayerhoff, *Einl. in die petrin. Schriften*, 1835, S. 13–30, endeavoured to show that Timothy was the author of the travel-document, and also of the whole Lucan work. According to the statement of Ulrich, *ThStKr*, 1837, S. 369 ff., Schleiermacher, in his lectures, regarded Timothy as the author of the travel-document, but not of Acts; and in this Bleek

and others followed him. The view is not found, however, in the printed lectures (cf. his *Werke, Zur Theologie*, iii. 344–379). SCHWANBECK (*Ueber die Quellen der Schriften des Lucas*, 1847) pictured that Silas was the author of the itinerary, or rather of the memoirs, incorporated with little change in Acts xv. 1–xxviii. 31. He printed these memoirs (S. 265–309), and added (S. 309–320) fragments of a life of Barnabas from Acts iv. 36–xv. 4. KRENKEL, *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden*, 1869, S. 214, following others, suggested Titus.

2. (P. 144.) Examples of the mechanical retention by a later writer of an "I" or "we," which was appropriate only in the source of which he made use, are given by Schwanbeck, S. 189 ff. (after Stengel, *Geschichte Deutschlands unter den fränk. Kaisern*, ii. 10 ff.), from the annalistic literature of the Middle Ages. Attention was called also to the interchange of the first and third persons in Ezra-Nehemiah, to similar phenomena in the book of Tobit (König, *Alttest. Einl.* 276 ff.; Schürer, iii. 176 [Eng. trans. II. iii. 40]), and to a curious "we" at the close of the *Diamartyria Jacobi* (Lagarde, *Clementina*, p. 6. 1). Jerome occasionally falls into a peculiar style midway between thoughtlessness and deception; cf. *Forsch.* ii. 88 f., 278 f.

3. (P. 144.) According to Baur, *Paulus*, i. 17, the author of Acts was very willing to be taken for Luke, whose travel-document he adopted, and with whom he thus identified himself. According to Zeller, 456, 460, 516, with less diffidence he did his utmost to deliberately confuse the reader as to his identity by giving the book a title which included the name of Luke, and thus made the "we" later on intelligible (see above, p. 80, n. 1). Overbeck, xlv., also assumes intentional pseudonymity.

4. (P. 145.) *Protev. Jacobi*, chap. xxv. 1, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὁ γράψας ταύτην τὴν ἱστορίαν; *Ev. Thomæ*, chap. i., according to both Greek recensions; *Ev. Petri*, xiv. 59 f., ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταὶ . . . ἐγὼ δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφός μου. Clem. *Hom.* i. 1. Cf. *GK*, ii. 725 (*Gospel of the Twelve*, fragment 2), 772, 775, 856–860 (with regard to Leucius as author of apostolic histories). Cf. also the examples from secular literature above, p. 86, n. 11.

5. (Pp. 146, 148.) Hobart (*The Medical Language of Luke*, Dublin, 1882), with remarkable industry, has collected parallels to Luke out of the writings of Hippocrates (*circa* 430 B.C.), Dioscorides (contemporary with Luke), Aretæus, and Galen (both about 160 A.D.), arranging them topically, and furnishing a good index, pp. 299–305. A few only can be selected here, partly to amplify and partly to justify what has been said above, p. 146 f.: I. Designations of bodily processes, symptoms of disease, cures, and the like, in harmony with the usage of medical writers. (1) In those portions of Luke which have more or less exact parallels in Matt. and Mark. Let it be observed, to begin with, that Luke avoids the following terms for sickness which are not customary with the medical men, μαλακία (Matt. LXX., *Test. XII. Patr.*), βάσανος, βασανίζεσθαι (Matt. iv. 24, viii. 6, ridiculed by Lucian, *Solœc.* 6), and that of Luke terms for conception, etc., ἔχειν ἐν γαστρί (xxi. 23), συλλαμβάνειν with (i. 31, cf. ii. 21) and without ἐν γαστρί (i. 24, 36). ἔγκυος, στεῖρα, ἄτεκνος, which, with σπαργανοῦν also, are all current with the physicians, only the first is found in Matt. (i. 18, xxiv. 19) and Mark (xiii. 17). Terms of a specifically medical character which are not found in the parallel

passages are, for example, *ῥῖψαν . . . μηδὲν βλάψαν*, iv. 35 (cf. Mark xvi. 18); *συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ*, iv. 38 (cf. *πυρετοῖς καὶ δυνεντερίῳ συνεχόμενον*, Acts xxviii. 8). This last-named verb, occurring 6 times in Luke (of a constrained state of mind in viii. 37 and xii. 50), 3 times in Acts, and once in iv. 24 with *βασάνοις* (see above), belongs, like the distinction between "great" and little fever and the plural *πυρετοί* to the technical phraseology of medicine. Even the combination of *πυρετὸς καὶ δύσεντερία* is quite usual (Hobart, 3 f., 52 f.). Luke, however, preferred the common form *δυσεντέριον* (Lobeck, *ad Phryn.* 518). Instead of *παραλυτικός* (Matt. and Mark each 5 times), Luke always uses *παρυλελυμένος*, as do these four medical authorities —Luke v. 18, 24 (variant readings); Acts viii. 7, ix. 33. Instead of the poetical expression of Mark v. 29, Luke viii. 44 has *ἔστη ἡ ῥύσις τοῦ αἵματος*, which is strictly medical throughout. For the accompanying *παραχρῆμα* (10 times in Luke, 6 or 7 in Acts, elsewhere only in Matt. xxi. 19 f.) as a designation of immediate curative or destructive action, Hobart, p. 97 f., adduces 16 examples from a single work of Hippocrates, 27 from Galen, and 7 from Dioscorides. Similarly *ἐξαίφνης*, Luke ix. 39 (cf. ii. 13; Acts ix. 3, xxii. 6; elsewhere only in Mark xiii. 36). *ἐπίβλεψαι ἐπὶ τὸν υἱόν μου*, Luke ix. 38 (Galen, *ἐπιβλέπειν τι* or *εἴσ τι*), and *ἀποχωρεῖ* (of the abating of disease), also find support in medical usage. (2) In the sections peculiar to Luke there occur the following words, appearing rarely, or not at all, elsewhere in the N.T., but employed in accord with medical usage: x. 30–35, *ἡμιθανής* (in an entirely similar connection in Galen, ed. Kühn, vi. 850, vii. 602), *καταδέειν*, *τραῦμα* (*τραυματίζειν*, Luke xx. 12; Acts xix. 16; Rev. xiii. 12, 14, on the other hand, has *πληγή*, which in Luke x. 30, xii. 48, Acts xvi. 23, 33 denotes blows), *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι* (cf. *ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν*, Acts xxvii. 3; in 1 Tim. iii. 5 quite differently expressed), *ἐπιχέειν ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον*. Luke xvi. 20–25, *ἕλκος* (Rev. xvi. 2 also), *ἑλκοῦσθαι*, *ὀδυνᾶσθαι* (Luke ii. 48; Acts xx. 38 of mental suffering); Luke xxii. 44, *ἀγωνία*, *ἱδρώς*, *θρόμβοι αἵματος*, *καταβαίνειν*. Further, *ὀχλεῖν*, *ἐνοχλεῖν*, *παρενοχλεῖν*, Luke vi. 18; Acts v. 16, xv. 19; *ἀνάπηρος* (or *ἀνάπειρος*), Luke xiv. 13, 21, and its opposite, *ὁλοκληρία*, Acts iii. 16; *ἀποψύχειν*, *ἐκψύχειν*, *καταψύχειν*, *ἀνάψυξις*, Luke xvi. 24, xxi. 26; Acts iii. 20, v. 5, 10, xii. 23; *πνοή*, Acts xvii. 25, cf. ii. 2; *ἐμπνέειν*, Acts ix. 1; *ἐκπνέειν*, Luke xxiii. 46 (this also in Mark xv. 37, 39); *ζωογονεῖν*, Luke xvii. 33; Acts vii. 19; *ἀπέπεσαν . . . λεπίδες*, Acts ix. 18 (Hobart, 39 f.); *ἔκστασις*, Acts x. 10, xi. 5, xxii. 17 (in Luke v. 26; Acts iii. 10, on the other hand, as in Mark v. 42, xvi. 8, in the sense of astonishment); *εἰς μανίαν περιτρέπειν*, Acts xxvi. 24 (the medical writers use *τρέπειν*, but also *περιτροπή*); *κραιπάλη*, Luke xxi. 34; *χρώς*, Acts xix. 12 in the wider sense (Ionic, according to Galen, but used by all the medical men); *προσδοκᾶν* (6 times in Luke, 5 in Acts, and elsewhere only in two parallels in Matt., and 3 times in 2 Pet. iii. 12–14; also *προσδοκία*, only in Luke xxi. 26; Acts xii. 11) is used in Acts xxviii. 6 quite in Galen's manner, and close to a specifically medical *μηδὲν ἄτοπον* (Hobart, 162, 289); cf. also *οὐδὲν ἄτοπον*, Luke xxiii. 41; *τὶ ἄτοπον*, Acts xxv. 5 (*ἄτοπος* in any use is found elsewhere only in 2 Thess. iii. 2). Also *πιμπρᾶσθαι*, *καταπίπτειν*, *θηρίον* = *ἔχιδνα*, Acts xxviii. 3–6; *ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι*, Acts xix. 12 (with *νόσοι* as subject); *καταφερόμενος ὕπνῳ βαθεῖ*, Acts xx. 9, are medical phrases. Finally, cf. *ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε*, Acts xxvii. 33, with Galen, *ἄσιτος διετέλεσεν*, *ἄδιψοι*

διατελοῦσιν, and in Hippocrates as here a διατελεῖν for fourteen days, Hobart, 278. Cf. Madan, *JThS*, 1904, Oct. p. 116, who understands ἄσιτος in this passage to mean loss of appetite, resulting from sea-sickness. II. Noteworthy also is the application to other subjects of words common in medicine. If the needle used for surgical purposes is regularly called βελόνη, not ῥαφίς, and the eye of it is commonly spoken of by the doctors as τρῆμα, not τρύπημα or τρυμαλία, and if we read in Galen τοῦ κατὰ τὴν βελόνην τρήματος or τοῦ διατρήματος τῆς βελόνης (Hobart, 60 f.), the wording of Luke xviii. 25 as compared with Matt. xix. 24, Mark x. 25 (following Tischendorf's text in all three passages), indicates that the writer was a physician. If Galen expressly comments on the customary use of ἀρχαί, by himself as previously by Hippocrates, to denote the ends (πέρατα) of a bandage (οἱ ἐπίδεσμοι, and often ὀθόνια and ὀθόνη), it is clear that Acts x. 11, xi. 5 were written by a physician. Among the numerous peculiar words and phrases used by Luke to which Hobart further adduces parallels, are: ἀναδιδόναι ἐπιστολήν, Acts xxiii. 33, and οὐκ ἄσημος πόλις, Acts xxi. 39 (both in Hippocrates); ἄσιτος, ἀσιτία, τὰ σιτία, Acts vii. 12, from Gen. xlii. 2 (LXX σῖτος); ἀτενίζειν, ἰκμάς, κατακλείειν, Luke iii. 20; Acts xxvi. 10 (Galen with ἐν εἱρκτῇ also); πλήμμυρα, ῥῆγμα, προσρήγνυμι, συμπίπτειν (Luke vi. 48 f., words which occur neither in Matt. vii. 25–27 nor elsewhere in the N.T.), συκάμινος with συκομορέα, Luke xvii. 6, xix. 4, often interchanged in ordinary usage, according to Dioscorides. Of course, such words and turns of phrase, found elsewhere only in the medical books (cf. also above, p. 82, n. 5; p. 129 f., n. 1), have no weight in and of themselves, but only in connection with the examples previously given.

6. (P. 147.) That the account, not very flattering to doctors, in Mark v. 26 was toned down by Luke as a physician, viii. 43 (according to Tischendorf's text, at least), is an unworthy insinuation. Mark himself does not say that the condition of the sick woman grew continually worse in consequence of the medical treatment, but in spite of it. This in a case continuing for twelve years is as natural as the other statement to the effect that the ineffectual treatment by constantly changing physicians was a serious burden. Here, as elsewhere (cf. above, p. 105), Luke simply avoided Mark's diffuseness. The case is the same if one omits ἰατροῖς—βίον, Luke viii. 43 with BD Ss Sah. Arm.; for, of course, "no one" here means "no physician."

7. (P. 148.) Ranke, *Weltgesch.*[1] iii. 1. 170–193, follows Acts in his narrative, speaks, with reference to chap. xxi. (187), of the "simple account of the documents"—and in concluding (191) refers to the entire book as a narrative which "combines trustworthiness with simplicity of presentation." E. Curtius, *Griechische Gesch.* i. 50, A. 18, was not indeed, as Maass holds, in *Orpheus*, 1895, S. 8, the first to disclose the meaning of Acts xvii., but blundered in transferring the scene from Mars Hill to the market-place. Still it is of some significance when one, who knows Athens as Curtius does, declares (S. 925) that in Acts xvii. "a well-informed witness is giving a faithful account of the occurrence. In the sixteen verses of the text there is such an abundance of historical material, everything is so pregnant and original, so characteristic and full of life, there is such a lack of anything formal and stereotyped, as must be the case if one were relating a fictitious story. It is impossible to show a single trait which might render deliberate invention in any way

probable. One must be familiar with Athens in order to understand the account properly." The altar inscription (xvii. 23), which some who could not boast this familiarity have criticised, was cited without hesitation by Clement, a native Athenian (*Forsch.* iii. 162), *Strom.* v. 83, and by Origen, who had seen the city, tom. x. 5 *in Jo.* At the time of Didymus (Mai, *Nova p. Bibl.* iv. 2. 139) such an inscription was no longer to be found, but only certain forms similar to it with a plural dedication. If one compares with this reference Jerome, *ad Tit.* (Vall. vii. 707), it will at once be seen that Jerome is copying from his teacher Didymus, on the one hand, and, on the other, from some other Greek who had given the wording of the inscription, in all probability Origen (cf. *Forsch.* ii. 88 f., 275 ff., *GK*, ii. 426 ff.). But that Jerome, through his blending of information from two sources, contaminated the text, appears from a comparison with Oecumenius (Migne, cxviii. 237). The latter derived from the same source as Jerome, presumably, therefore, from Origen, the text: *θεοῖς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης, θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ*, which Jerome, under the influence of Didymus' remark, altered to *diis ignotis et peregrinis.* The inscription, which might still be seen at Athens in the time of Clement and Origen, had disappeared before the time of Didymus († 395) and Jerome, perhaps during the reaction under Julian; cf. Lucian, *Philopatris*, 8. Among the eminent archæologists who appreciate the great historical value of Acts should also be mentioned first of all W. M. Ramsay, in the works so frequently cited. Th. Mommsen is an unfortunate exception; vol. i. 67 f., n. 15, 392 f.; abovə, 138, n. 20; *NKZ*, 1893, S. 648; 1904, S. 23 ff., 190 ff.

8. (P. 150.) Hicks (*Expos.* 1890, p. 401 ff.) identified a Demetrius who seems to be reckoned with the *νεωποιήσαντες* or *νεωποιοί* (the letter N is all that remains of the title) in an Ephesian inscription (*Ancient Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum*, No. 578, line 6), with the *Δημήτριος ἀργυροκόπος, ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος*, Acts xix. 24, and thereupon charges the author of Acts with having misunderstood the former title, and so made a silversmith of a temple-officer, and invented the manufacture of silver representations of the temple of Diana. Ramsay's refutation, *Church in the Rom. Emp.*[2] p. 112 ff., seems to the present writer to be sufficient.

9. (P. 152.) The following come under consideration as parallelisms between Peter and Paul: The healing of the lame man, iii. 1–10=xiv. 8–10; in some measure also iii. 12, x. 26=xiv. 11–18, xxviii. 6; the marvellous cure of multitudes, v. 15 f.=xix. 11 f.; the sorcerers, viii. 18–24=xiii. 8–11; the effect of the laying on of hands, viii. 17–19=xix. 6; the raising of the dead, ix. 36–41=xx. 7–12; the miraculous release from prison, xii. 3–12 (v. 18–21)=xvi. 23–40. One hardly knows whether to admire more the art shown in the symmetry of construction or the skill that devises scenes ever new and radically different, unless all this is rather a faithful reproduction of reminiscence and tradition.

10. (P. 153, 155.) Even in Rev. ii. 14, 20, out of the four divisions of the apostolic decree, we find only *φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι* referred to, and when Christ assures the faithful portion of the Church in Thyatira (ii. 24 f.) that He lays upon them no further burden, but simply charges them to hold fast what they have, we can understand by *ἄλλο βάρος*, according to usage and context, not censure or punishment, but only burdensome obliga-

tions; and by that which faithful Christians have hitherto had and held we must understand primarily their abstinence in the two points named. These a recontrasted, however, with broader obligations of a kindred sort, of course; for it goes without saying that Christ also requires men to abstain from lying, theft, murder, and similar sins. The author thus meets the apprehension, probably fostered by the Nicolaitans,—the preachers of an immoral liberty—(2 Pet. ii. 19, cf. vol. ii. 281 f.), that further limitations and constraints were to be laid upon the Gentile Christians. The requirements laid down presuppose the apostolic decree, and the express setting aside of further restrictions with regard to external conduct presupposes that even before the time of Revelation the two remaining items of the decree were no longer observed in the Asiatic Churches. In the *Didache*, chap. vi., there is a still more explicit reference to other apostolic commands to the Gentiles concerning foods, besides the prohibition of meat from idol sacrifices; these others were known to the author from Acts, but their observance was no longer insisted upon; cf. *GK*, ii. 933 f. As a further result of the fact that the prohibition of blood and of things strangled was no longer enforceable and had actually ceased to be observed, arose the modified interpretations and alterations of the text, see above, p. 8 ff. The present writer must not enter here into an exhaustive discussion of the decree. It is sufficient to say that *μηδὲν πλέον βάρος*, Acts xv. 28, like *οὐκ ἄλλο βάρος*, Rev. ii. 24, can only mean "no further burden beyond the obligation which you already bear, and this accepted willingly, so that it is in fact no burden." The *πλήν* in both passages does not, like *ἤ* after *πλέον*, introduce an exception to the negative statement, which would imply that the following requirement was in fact an *ἐπιβάλλειν βάρος* (Rev. ii. 24), an *ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγόν* (Acts xv. 10), a *παρενοχλεῖν* (Acts xv. 19); on the contrary, *πλήν*, as usual, introduces a matter only more remotely connected with the contrasted subject of discussion, a matter which is not to be excluded by what precedes. This is equally true whether it is an independent sentence (Matt. xviii. 7; Luke xxii. 21, 42; Phil. iv. 14; Rev. ii. 25—"yet," "however"), or a dependent clause (Acts xx. 23), or a single substantive (Acts xxvii. 22—the ship is not a *ψυχή*) that follows.

11. (P. 159.) The words *αὕτη ἐστιν ἔρημος*, Acts viii. 26, are of no service in determining the time, though Hug, *Einl.*[3] i. 23, mistakenly assuming that this was a parenthetic remark of the author—whereas it belongs to the address of the angel—and also that it referred to the city of Gaza, besides tacitly inserting a *νῦν*, claimed to find in it a reference to the destruction of Gaza by the Jews, A.D. 66 (Jos. *Bell.* ii. 18. 1). If the second supposition were correct, the phrase would more properly point to the time before the rebuilding of Gaza, 62 B.C., recalling Strabo, p. 759 (*μένουσα ἔρημος*, on which see Schürer, ii. 87 [Eng. trans. II. i. 70 f.]). Plainly, however, the reference is not to the city which had no interest for Philip, but to the road between Jerusalem and Gaza, which he was to take, and on which he was to meet the eunuch as he travelled alone. Not in the sense, however, that of several roads leading from Jerusalem to Gaza that is intended, which runs through a sparsely inhabited district (as Robinson, *Palestine*, ii. 644, 748; Overbeck, *Kom. über d. Apostelges.* on Acts viii. 26)—a linguistic impossibility. The remark is expressly made of the one main road—probably that by way of Eleutheropolis—in order to indicate to Philip that he is not to proceed this

time as a missionary from city to city, preaching to the people, but that he is to be prepared for a meeting on the lonely road with something that he does not expect. Hofmann's opinion (ix. 265) that the author would not speak in the present of the loneliness of this road at a time when all Palestine had been desolated by the Jewish war, would not be in point even if Luke were to be regarded as the speaker, and not rather the angel; for it is not to be imagined that all Palestine after 70 was an uninhabited waste. Nor is it obvious that after 70, because so long subsequent to the death of Agrippa I. († 44), Luke (iii. 1) would have had no further occasion to mention Lysanias of Abilene (Hofmann, ix. 261). Agrippa II., during whose reign (*circa* 50–100) Luke certainly wrote, received this territory in 53 (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7. 1; *Bell.* ii. 12. 8), and not only does Josephus, but Ptolemy also (v. 15. 22), refer to the district by the name of its former possessor.

12. (P. 159.) For the opinions of the ancients concerning the place of composition see above, p. 7 f., n. 7. Until the most recent times, it has been argued in favour of Rome that unimportant places in its neighbourhood, like *Forum Appii* and *Tres Tabernæ*, Acts xxviii. 15, are assumed to be known. It would be a sufficient explanation if Theophilus had at some time made a journey to Rome. Troas, Samothrace, Neapolis, Cenchreæ, Assos, Mitylene, Chios, Samos, Trogyllium (or Trogylia, Cod. D), Cos, Patara, Myra, Adramyttium, Cnidus, Salome (Acts xvi. 11, xviii. 18, xx. 13–15, xxi. 1, xxvii. 2–7), are introduced in the reports of Paul's journeys in just the same way as the noted cities of Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Rome, or these unimportant stations on the Appian Way. It cannot be shown that there is a uniform procedure in this regard. The Palestinian cities Nazareth, Juda (Jutta?), Bethlehem, Capernaum, Nain, Arimathea, and their situations, are introduced as unfamiliar (Luke i. 26, 39, ii. 4, iv. 31, vii. 11, xxiii. 51), the location of the Gadarene country (Luke viii. 26), the distance of the Mount of Olives and the village of Emmaus from Jerusalem, and of Lydda from Joppa (Luke xxiv. 13; Acts i. 12, ix. 38) are given, while Jericho (Luke xviii. 35), Gaza, Ashdod, Lydda, Joppa, Antipatris, Cæsarea, Ptolemais, Tyre, Damascus (Acts viii. 26, 40, ix. 2, 32, 38, 40, xx. 3, 7, xxiii. 31), are introduced as familiarly as Jerusalem and Antioch. At the same time one may infer from those more detailed references that Theophilus did not live in Palestine, and from Acts xvi. 12, xvii. 19, 21,—remarks which are important for the understanding of the events,—that Luke did not assume in Theophilus' case the same knowledge of conditions in Macedonia and Greece that he himself possessed. Köstlin, *Urspr. der synopt. Evv.* S. 294 ff., and Overbeck, S. lxviii. ff. have argued for the composition of the work in Ephesus, or at least Asia Minor.

§ 63. RETROSPECT AND FORECAST.

Of the three historical works investigated up to this point, the first is preserved to us only in translation, which is for the most part faithful, but not always felicitous. The second was not completed; and the third,

which was planned to occupy three books, was not continued beyond the second. The condition of the Church between the years 60 and 80, and the practical needs which the three authors of this period desired to meet by their writings, were not such as tended to the production of finished literary works. Nor could they lead to the production of works which meet our need for historical information. Even Luke, who in nationality, training, and insight is closer than the other evangelists to the modern and Western mind, could not have said with reference to his work: *τοῦ συγγραφέως ἔργον ἔν· ὡς ἐπράχθη εἰπεῖν* (Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 39).

All three of the gospel writers had in view religious instruction and religious impression. The character of these books was correctly described by the post-apostolic Church, when the word *εὐαγγέλιον*, *εὐαγγέλια* was applied to them. The description was more correct in the case of the first three Gospels than of the Fourth. For, while the last is addressed to Christian Churches already long existant, the first three, each in its own way, are connected with the missionary preaching, which was originally called *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*. Matthew concerns himself almost more with unbelieving Jews than with his fellow-believers; Luke endeavours to win over altogether to the faith and the Church a Gentile favourably inclined toward Christianity. Even Mark in his writing does not deny that he was a missionary helper; he has in view primarily new converts (vol. ii. 432 ff.). And so all three of the Synoptists follow closely the main outlines of the history as given in the missionary preaching, which covered the activity of Jesus after the arrest of the Baptist—from this point onwards giving an uninterrupted and progressive account of His public ministry up to the time of His death and resurrection. As is so often the case in the popular treatment of complex historical development, intermediate steps are omitted and the whole progress of events so set forth that

the movement which began in Galilee ends in Judea (Acts x. 37–42, xiii. 23–31, cf. i. 21 f.; see vol. ii. 369 f., 377, n. 1, 379 ff., 383 f. n. 5, 459 ff.). This does not mean that the individual writers did not, each in accordance with his own special point of view, make departures from this scheme. For different reasons Matthew and Luke did this in their "histories of the childhood." This was omitted by Mark, because it did not fall in with his proposed plan. But all three of the evangelists made this scheme the basis of their accounts, and generally confined themselves within its bounds. From this it is certainly not to be inferred that their knowledge was limited to this outline—an idea which would mean that the conclusions heretofore reached regarding the authorship and origin of the synoptic Gospels are only so many errors. The correctness of this negative conclusion would seem all the more certain to one convinced of the genuineness and trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel (n. 1). But it has already been observed more than once (vol. ii. 372 f., 441 f., 556 f., 605 f.) that the premise upon which this conclusion rests, namely, that the information of Matthew, Mark, and Luke was limited to the material found in their respective Gospels, is false.

As is well known, the principal difference between the Fourth Gospel and the other three—a difference which has been made use of in the criticism both of John and of the "Synoptists" ever since the second century—is their different representation of Jesus' relation to Jerusalem. In the synoptic Gospels He appears here only once during the last days of His life, whereas in John there are no less than five visits to Jerusalem (ii. 13, v. 1, vii. 14, x. 22, xii. 12). He is also represented as working for some time in Judea (iii. 22–iv. 3), and His ministry covers at least three Passovers after His baptism (ii. 13, vi. 4, xii. 1 ff.). The opinion that Jesus' teaching covered only one year—which is based upon the synoptic account, and often

supported by an appeal to Luke iv. 19, and which was frequently maintained in the ancient Church, notwithstanding acquaintance with and acceptance of the Fourth Gospel—cannot be maintained even when the Fourth Gospel is left out of account. No one of the Synoptists gives a chronological statement with regard to Jesus' first appearance which can possibly justify this limitation of His ministry. Moreover, according to Matt. xii. 1; Mark ii. 23; Luke vi. 1, Jesus witnessed the beginning of a harvest while He was in the midst of His Galilean ministry, and long before His crucifixion. It is not possible to suppose that authors like Matthew, and Mark, and also Luke,—authors who nowhere betray evidence of stupid ignorance, and who, on the other hand, show themselves to be thoroughly acquainted with Jewish customs and with the natural features of Palestine,—thought of this scene as taking place in the autumn or winter. They knew that the beginning of the harvest was coterminous with the Passover season, consequently that between this time and the Passover, when Jesus was crucified, at least *one* full year elapsed. Moreover, Luke understood the tradition, which he reproduces with the phrase *σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*, to mean that it was the second Sabbath reckoned from the first Sabbath of the Jewish "ecclesiastical" year—which always fell between the 8th and 14th of Nisan—on which this event took place, *i.e.* it was just before the Passover. This is not the place in which to prove that this Passover is identical with the one mentioned in John vi. 4. The language which Luke uses in iii. 23 must also be considered very strange, if he was not aware that a number of years elapsed between the baptism and death of Jesus. No intelligent writer would say of a man who *ceased* to work at the end of the same year in which his work *began*, "he was when he *began* about thirty years old." Moreover, if Luke understood the discourses of Jesus' which he incorporated in

his Gospel, he must have learned from them—if he did not know it from other sources—that the year of grace foreseen by the prophet in which salvation was to be offered to Israel (iv. 19) in its fulfilment covered a number of years. Even at the risk of being charged with old-fashioned exegesis, the present writer is bound to maintain that, according to Luke xiii. 6–9, Jesus, at a time considerably remote from His crucifixion,—probably during the last summer or autumn of His life,—looked back over a period of three years, during which God had looked in vain for fruit from the preaching of the gospel begun by the Baptist and continued by Himself—primarily in Jerusalem, the unfruitful fig-tree in the vineyard of Israel (n. 2). Nor is it possible to interpret the word in Luke xiii. 34, which closely follows Luke xiii. 6–9—a word preserved also in Matt. xxiii. 37—in any other sense than that Jesus Himself had often striven in vain through His testimony, which was always rejected, to save the people of Jerusalem from their threatened doom (n. 3). That the public appearance of Jesus in Jerusalem, described only by the "Synoptists," was not the only but the last attempt, is evidenced by the word which He spoke over the city as He rode down from the Mount of Olives (Luke xix. 42), "If thou hadst known (as do the Galilean disciples) in this day (the last opportunity given to thee) the things which belong unto peace!" Unless there were earlier visits to Jerusalem, not altogether temporary in character, the words of Jesus in Matt. xxvi. 55, Mark xiv. 49 (*καθ' ἡμέραν*, cf. John xviii. 20) would sound strange, and one is at a loss to account for the close personal relations between Jesus and several persons in and about Jerusalem, which are presupposed in Matt. xxi. 3, 17, xxvi. 6, 18, xxvii. 57; Mark xi. 3, 11, xiv. 3, 13 ff., 51 (vol. ii. 491 f.), xv. 43; Luke xix. 31, xxiii. 50 f.

Luke shows most clearly that he is entirely free from the conception of the ministry of Jesus, which is supposed

to be based upon the accounts of all three of the "Synoptists." It has been already seen (above, p. 106 f.) that Luke avoids giving the impression, to which support is given by the accounts of Matthew and Mark, that all Jesus' activity in Galilee followed the arrest of the Baptist, and why this is so. He separates the journey from Judea to Galilee, which marks the beginning of this and of all Jesus' public work, from its association with the conclusion of John's work, and connects this journey directly with the baptism and temptation of Jesus (Luke iii. 22, iv. 1, 14; John i. 29–ii. 11). He says expressly in one of the earlier passages of his book (iv. 43 f.) that Jesus preached, not only in Galilee, but in the synagogues of all Palestine (above, pp. 64, 88, n. 18). In x. 38–42 he tells of the sojourn of Jesus in the house of the sisters of Bethany, near Jerusalem, a sojourn which cannot belong to the closing days of His life.

But why is it Luke alone who relates these facts, and why do Matthew and Mark fail to relate formally and in detail what evidently they knew? Anyone not satisfied with the answer afforded by the particular purpose which each of these evangelists had in view, and by their common dependence upon the main outlines of the missionary preaching, is at liberty to supply a better answer. But let him also explain why Matthew and Luke tell us nothing of the great and numerous miracles which were done in Chorazin and Bethsaida, and which are mentioned in Matt. xi. 21, Luke x. 13, before the deeds in Capernaum, and why they say nothing about the appearance of the risen Jesus to Peter (Luke xxiv. 34), and of the earlier relations of the four fishermen in Capernaum to Jesus, without which it is impossible historically to understand the account in Matt. iv. 18–22; Mark i. 16–20.

The facts here suggested are certainly not satisfactorily explained by any one of the constructions of the history

of the Gospels hitherto brought to light—constructions that contradict the internal testimony of the Gospels and the first century tradition regarding their origin, and which at the same time leave this tradition and internal testimony entirely unexplained. Only when it is shown to be probable that the men whose identity is concealed by the names Matthew, Mark, and Luke wrote after the eye-witnesses of the gospel history had passed away, and that the investigations to which one of these authors refers (Luke i. 3) were limited to the reading of two or three earlier writings, can the present writer admit that the passing over by the Synoptists of important events, to which they make clear reference, is to be explained by their dependence upon sources now lost. Even this does not solve the problem; it simply pushes it back. The question recurs, "Why did these earlier authors, whose writings we no longer possess, make such limited use of their abundant knowledge?"

It remains to be seen whether the investigation of the Fourth Gospel confirms or contradicts the conclusions heretofore reached.

1. (P. 167.) P. Ewald, who considers the one-sided choice of material by the Synoptists "the chief problem of the Gospels," assembles on S. 52 f. of his work (*Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage*, 1890) all that has hitherto been pointed out of Johannine material in the synoptic Gospels, and adds to it, particularly by his reference to Luke xxii. 24 ff., 35 ff., as compared with John xiii. ff.

2. (P. 169.) Rightly conceived in substance, though not in detail, as early as by Ephrem, *Ev. Conc. Expos.* pp. 166 f., 183 f., 213; *Opp.*, ed. Rom. i. 562 (cf. *Forsch.* i. 68, 261); Bengel, *Gnomon ad Lc*, xiii. 7; Wieseler (*Chron. Synopse*, 202; *Beiträge*, 165) in opposition to his own instructor in exegesis, J. Stockmeyer, *Erklürung ausgewählter Gleichnisse* (ed. C. Stockmeyer, 1897), S. 251–260, and Hofmann, *N.T.* viii. 351 ff., who reject this interpretation, the present writer must remark that: (1) The tree is planted in the *vineyard*, the vineyard is expressly spoken of as belonging to the owner of the tree, and the gardener is particularly called an ἀμπελουργός, although in the parable he has to do only with the fig-tree. It cannot possibly be that all this expresses merely the thought that the tree stood on well prepared soil and in a sheltered position (as Stockmeyer, S. 254). The vineyard, which is so significantly prominent in the parable, is an established

figure for the Jewish people (Isa. v. 1–7, xxvii. 2–6; Matt. xxi. 33–46; Luke xx. 9–16). The fig-tree within it, therefore, cannot mean Israel again, but only Jerusalem. (2) This is confirmed by the story in Matt. xxi. 18–22; Mark xi. 12–14, 19–24, which, in the historical connection, can be applied only to Jerusalem. It cannot be mere chance that Luke does not have this story, but has this parable as if to take its place; cf. above, p. 102. (3) That Luke himself had Jerusalem in mind is shown by his attaching the parable of xiii. 1–5—a passage that refers to two calamities in this city which were admonitory to repentance. As there is no note of time in xiii. 6, the connection must have been occasioned by the thought relationship between the passages. Jerusalem is again mentioned directly afterwards in xiii. 22, 33–35. (4) As the owner of the vineyard stands for God, and the vine-dresser puts in a good word for the tree at the end of the three years, one might be inclined to take the three years as denoting the centuries during which God had often visited His people seeking fruit (Luke xx. 10 ff.). But, in the *first* place, Jerusalem and not Israel is under discussion. Even if this city was peculiarly to blame for the ill-success of these prophetic visitations (Luke xiii. 33 f.), still the visitations concerned not Jerusalem but the whole people. In the *second* place, Luke represents Jesus as speaking immediately afterwards (xiii. 34, n. 3) of His own repeated efforts in behalf of Jerusalem. In the *third* place, the precise period of three years seems strangely chosen, and the explanation from Lev. xix. 23 ff.; Judg. ix. 27; Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8. 19 (Hofmann, viii. 352) is unsatisfactory. On the other hand, one cannot identify offhand the three years of the passage with the three years of Jesus' public ministry, or even find an allusion in them to the three visits of Jesus to Jerusalem, separated each from the other by a year's interval. The *latter* finds no support in ver. 7, for the owner says simply that three years have now passed since he began looking—who knows how often?—to see if the tree would not at last bear fruit. (Here, too, we must remember that the fig-tree bears at very different seasons, cf. Winer, *Realw.* i. 367). The *former* would lead us to reckon the three years from the Passover of John ii. 13, and with a correct understanding of the Fourth Gospel they would end with the Passover of John xii. 1 ff. We should then be transferred by the parable to a point immediately before the last Passover, about the time of Luke xviii. 31–xix. 28, or xix. 41–44, or John xi. 55. But from the surroundings in which Luke has placed the parable (cf. also xiii. 31–33) the reader must rather infer that a considerable time was yet to elapse before the end. That the fourth year, which, from the analogy of the three years, should be in this case a plain statement of actual time, should answer in reality to the period of some forty years until the execution of judgment upon Jerusalem, is inconceivable. Jesus did not announce that this judgment would come in the following year, but simply that it would be within the experience of His contemporaries. We must, therefore, seek another starting-point in the count of years, namely, that indicated in Luke iii. 1–6. According to Luke himself, Jesus represented the appearance of John the Baptist as the beginning of the new epoch of revelation (xvi. 16, cf. iii. 18, vii. 27–35, xx. 3–7; Acts i. 5, 22). Through John, too, God had sought for fruit, and had threatened the destruction of the barren trees (iii. 8 f.), but without any

effect upon the leaders of the people (vii. 30, xx. 4–7; Matt. xxi. 24–32), whose chief seat was at Jerusalem. The rulers there rejected the double testimony of the Baptist and of Jesus (John iii. 11, v. 33–36). To give John's testimony a peculiar reference to Jerusalem was all the more warranted, as he had never worked in Galilee, but always in the neighbourhood of the city (Matt. iii. 1, 5; Mark i. 5; Luke iii. 3; John i. 28, iii. 23–iv. 1, x. 40). John appeared several months at least, and perhaps a whole year, before Jesus' first visit at the feast in Jerusalem (John ii. 13). Jesus, therefore, can have spoken this parable about the time of the Passover next before His last—the one He did not attend (John vi. 4)—or, as the present writer considers more probable, about the time of the following Feast of Tabernacles, when He had already fixed His eye upon a later festival as the time of decision (John vii. 8). Not all hope has disappeared as yet; Jesus begs a further respite for Jerusalem—may God still have patience with the unfruitful fig-tree in this fourth year, now beginning or already begun. When this year also is spent, Jesus speaks and acts quite differently (Luke xix. 41–44; Mark xi. 12–14).

3. (P. 169.) While Strauss, *Leben Jesu krit. bearb.* (1835) i. 444, cf. *Leb. Jesu für das Volk*, S. 247 f., was unprejudiced enough to recognise that Matt. xxiii. 37 (=Luke xiii. 34) presupposed repeated efforts by Jesus in Jerusalem, Steinmeyer, *Apologet. Beitr.* iv. 219, sought to refer the ποσάκις to the many summons to repentance which "the grace of God" had addressed to Jerusalem through the prophets and finally through Jesus as well. But the speaker is not "the grace of God," nor, as others have dreamed, "the wisdom of God," but Jesus Himself and no other. Still more impossible is the favourite application of the words to the attempts so far made to convert the Jewish people at large, for (1) the children (sons, daughters, daughter) of Jerusalem or Zion in Isa. i. 8, iii. 16, iv. 4, xxxvii. 22; Zech. ix. 9; Ps. clxix. 2; Luke xix. 44, xxiii. 28; Matt. xxi. 5; John xii. 15, are the inhabitants of that city; so that to put upon Jesus' lips the theological phrase, based on an extended allegory, which Paul uses in Gal. iv. 25, is the more inadmissible because the context in Luke xiii. 31–35 distinguishes definitely between Jerusalem and other sections of the Holy Land. In Matt. xxiii. 37 also the city is first addressed twice by name and in the singular, and not until her children have been mentioned do we come, with ἠθελήσατε, to the plural address. Just as plainly as the "thou" is identical with the "ye," is Jerusalem (and the Jewish people is never called by that name) identical with her children, that is, the city with its inhabitants. But (2), and most important, ποσάκις does not mean "how long" or "for how many months or years," but "how often."

X.

THE WRITINGS OF JOHN.

§ 64. THE TRADITION.

One who has extricated himself from a labyrinth is wont to breathe a sigh of relief and set out with increased courage upon the way which he has farther to pursue. That is the natural feeling which the investigator has in passing from his study of the oldest historical literature of the apostolic age to the latest writings of the N.T. which bear the name of John, in particular to the Gospel of John, which follows the other three Gospels and is known as the Fourth. In the case of the others the inexperienced observer is confused by a mass of material practically identical in contents and language, the similarities of which are as difficult to explain as the corresponding differences. In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, we have an entirely distinct work, which never gives the impression made by the earlier Gospels, of being only another variation of the common primitive form.

Because John is an independent work, it follows at once that traces of its existence and influence in the Church are much clearer than in the case of the Synoptics (n. 1). When the reader finds, for example, in Clement of Rome, or Polycarp, a saying of Jesus which is to be found in similar form in Matthew, and also in Mark or Luke, he is unable to determine from which one of these sources it is taken, or whether it may not possibly be

derived from a lost Gospel, or even from the oral tradition. That which bears the Johannine stamp cannot be mistaken for or confused with anything else. It must also be remembered that the tradition concerning the origin of John's writings goes back much nearer to the time and place of their origin than does the tradition concerning the origin of the other historical books. We have no tradition concerning Matthew and Luke which can be proved to have originated in the place where these books were written and among the disciples of the men who wrote them. In fact we are compelled to conjecture the place where these books originated from their contents alone, or from traditions of a comparatively late date. The situation with regard to Mark is not much more favourable as regards this point. The Johannine writings, on the other hand, originated in the province of Asia, and for this information we are not dependent upon tradition alone. It is unmistakably affirmed in Revelation, and the tradition is entirely confirmed in this point by the contents of the Gospel and the Epistles. In this same province also we find living until far on in the second century personal disciples of the John of Ephesus, to whom these writings are ascribed. Some of these are bishops, as Papias in Hierapolis and Polycarp in Smyrna; others are not mentioned by name, but associated by Irenæus, the personal disciple of Polycarp, with Papias and Polycarp, and called "the elders" (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, seniores*). The fact that John lived to an extreme age and was still alive at the beginning of Trajan's reign (98–117), dying, therefore, about the year 100, and the fact that Polycarp died in the year 155 (Feb. 23) at a very great age,—86 years after his baptism, which must have taken place, therefore, in the year 69,—gives us an unbroken tradition from Jesus to Irenæus, *i.e.* from 30 to 180, with only two links between them, namely, John of Ephesus and Polycarp of Smyrna. Naturally there were

numerous other lines of connection between Irenæus and his contemporaries and the representatives of the apostolic generation in Asia Minor (Philip in Hierapolis, Aristion, see vol. ii. 436 f.), and doubtless in most cases there were more links in the chain than in the case of this one of four links, which we are able to establish biographically (n. 2).

The first clear traces of the influence of the Fourth Gospel upon the thought and language of the Church are found in the Epistles of Ignatius (about the year 110). How unmistakable these traces are may be inferred from the fact that not infrequently this dependence of Ignatius upon John has been used as an argument against the genuineness and antiquity of the Ignatian letters. It is possible, if one is disposed to do so, to assume that the resemblance of passages in Clement of Rome (*circa* 96), in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*circa* 100), in the *Didache* (*circa* 110), in the so-called *Second Epistle of Clement* (*circa* 120), in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (*circa* 130), in the *Protevangelium of James*, and the fragments of *Basilides*, to passages in the Fourth Gospel presupposes on more than the pre-existence of Johannine ideas and expressions, but in the majority of these cases the more natural explanation is acquaintanceship with the Fourth Gospel (*GK*, i. 767, 906–912, 915). On the other hand, it is certainly proved that Valentinus, who must have developed his system before the year 140, outlined his list of æons under the dominating influence of the Johannine prologue (*GK*, i. 736–739), and that the entire school of Valentinus valued the Fourth Gospel highly, and regarded it as the work of an apostle. One of the leaders of this school, Heracleon, wrote a commentary on this Gospel in the year 160, important fragments of which are preserved to us by Origen (*GK*, i. 732–739, ii. 956–960). The whole of John xiii. 4–xv. 34, xv. 19, possibly also portions of John vi. 33 ff., were

found in Marcion's Gospel, and it cannot be proved that these passages were incorporated into this Gospel by his disciples and not by Marcion himself, about 145, with whose ideas they agreed perfectly (*GK*, i. 663 ff., 675–680). Not a few passages were appropriated from the Fourth Gospel by others, who prepared new Gospels and apocryphal *Acts of the Apostles*, *e.g.* the unknown author of the *Gospel of Peter* (about 150), and Leucius, the alleged disciple of John, in the *Acts of John and of Peter* (between 160 and 170). Among other things, Leucius represents Peter as developing his ideas concerning the limited value of the written Gospel on the basis of John xxi. 25 and 1 John i.–iv. (*Forsch.* vi. 195 f.). Justin, who wrote the works, which have come down to us, between 150 and 160, knew the Fourth Gospel as the composition of apostles and their disciples, which was also in use in religious services in his time (*GK*, i. 516–533). Since Justin lived in Ephesus between 130 and 135, and became a Christian there, his knowledge concerning the Gospels and their use in the Church was derived from this period and region.

From the beginning of the controversy about the time of the Easter celebration, which broke out in the province of Asia between 160 and 170 A.D., the equal authority of the Fourth Gospel with the other three was presupposed. It is impossible to understand the Montanistic movement which started in the year 157 (or 156), except in the light of the Johannine discourses about the Paraclete. When (170 A.D.), in opposition to Montanism, a party, to which Epiphanius foolishly gave the name Alogi, declared the Johannine writings to be the work of the heretic Cerinthus, they stated their opinion of them in the sentence, "They are not worthy to be in the Church" (Epiph. *Hær.* li. 3). They made no effort to prove that these writings did not make their appearance in the Church until after the death of John, but, in

ascribing their composition to a contemporary of John's, they admitted that they had been "in the Church" since the close of the first century. The Asiatic "elders" of Irenæus appeal to the Johannine sayings of Jesus, as well as to the synoptic sayings (Iren. v. 36. 2; *GK*, i. 782). The appendix to the Gospel of Mark, which at latest was probably added about the year 150, is based, among other passages, upon John xx., and also upon the work of Papias (see vol. ii. 471–476). The fragments of the latter work also show some traces of familiarity with the Fourth Gospel (n. 3). In a fragment preserved only in Latin, the genuineness of which there is no other reason to suspect, Papias expressly says that John gave his Gospel to the Church during his lifetime (n. 4). The fact that Eusebius has not preserved for us this testimony of Papias is easily explained by its manifest triviality. As a matter of fact the sense of the fragment is excellent; since, when superficially considered, the appendix, and especially John xxi. 24 f., might make it appear as if the Fourth Gospel were an *Opus posthumum*, edited by the friends of the author.

There are two ancient accounts of the origin of the Fourth Gospel. One of these was found by Eusebius in Clement of Alexandria, and is preserved to us only in indirect discourse, and apparently in a very much abbreviated form. It is referred by Clement himself to his teachers (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*), as are the similar statements concerning Mark (n. 5). According to this account, John, who was the last of the evangelists, considering that the human and external side (of the gospel history) had been set forth in the (already existing) Gospels, at the suggestion of his friends, and under the influence of the Spirit of God, prepared a spiritual Gospel. The other account, manifestly also abbreviated and more of the character of a legend, is found in the Muratorian Canon (n. 6). According to this account, John replies to

his fellow disciples and the bishops, who exhort him to write a Gospel, with the suggestion that they fast with him for three days and await a revelation. On the very next night it is revealed to the apostle Andrew that John shall write all down in his own name, but that all the others (disciples present) shall revise his writing. If, as is probably the case, this account was derived from Leucius' *Acts of John*, which were written in Asia Minor between 160 and 170 A.D. (n. 6), it is possible that many similar but more extravagant things which are reported by later writers concerning the origin of John were largely derived from this same book of Leucius, which, notwithstanding its Gnostic character, was much read. Most of these accounts agree in representing the bishops of Asia as sent by their Churches to urge John to write, and in representing the prevailing heresies as creating a feeling that a new Gospel was needed. By some no specific heresies are mentioned (*Cat. in Jo.*, n. 4); others mention Cerinthus and Ebion (Epiph. *Hær.* li. 2. 12; Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* ix.). Quite anachronistically mention is made also of Valentinus (Victorianus on Rev. xi. 1), or in lieu of all others, Marcion (*Argum. in Jo.*, see n. 4). But even Irenæus, who elsewhere shows no traces of this legendary story, is confident that John wrote his Gospel in conscious opposition to his contemporary Cerinthus, and the still earlier Gnostic teaching of Nicolaus (n. 7).

All tradition which is ancient and in general worthy of notice agrees in representing John as writing after Matthew, Mark, and Luke, at a great age, and during his residence in the province of Asia, or more specifically in Ephesus (n. 8). As already noticed, this is frequently combined with the tradition held by the teachers of Clement, according to which John wrote his Gospel with the other three in view (n. 8 end). This is confirmed by the fact that the John of Ephesus, to whom the Gospel is attributed, did actually express his views

with regard to the Gospel of Mark, and by the fact that, during his lifetime and in the region where he lived, the original of the Gospel of Matthew was orally interpreted in religious services, and finally replaced by a written translation (see vol. ii. 433–444, 509–517).

The tradition of the Church is also unanimous in representing the evangelist John as at the same time the author of Revelation and the Johannine Epistles—and as none other than the apostle John, the son of Zebedee. John the evangelist is called a disciple of the Lord both by teachers of the Church and by heretical writers, and by these same persons he is sometimes called an apostle (n. 9). The first designation is the more natural, since the writing of a Gospel is not of itself the function of an apostle, and since the significance and trustworthiness of a Gospel depend very much upon its author's having been an eye-witness of the facts he records, but not at all upon his apostleship. Furthermore, there was no need frequently to describe John as one of the twelve apostles, since John, surnamed Mark, was known in the Gentile Christian Church only by the latter name, and since down to the time of Dionysius of Alexandria the Church was acquainted with only *one* distinguished John of the apostolic age, namely, the son of Zebedee, the disciple and apostle, the guardian of the Asiatic Churches during the last decades of the first century, the teacher of Polycarp and of Papias (see vol. ii. 433 f.).

Until after the death of Origen, all the Johannine writings in the N.T. were assigned by all the Fathers of the Church to the same author without question or explanation. When, as is occasionally the case, attention is called to the identity of the author of some one of the Johannine writings, it is done either for the purpose of recalling the various gifts for which the Church was indebted to this one John, or for the purpose of honouring him, or in order to indicate special relations existing

between the Gospel and Revelation, or between the Gospel and the Epistles. It is never done in order to establish the identity of the author, as if this were not self-evident (n. 10). This was the point of view even of the Alogi. They simply rejected "the books of John" (n. 11). Naturally their polemic was directed mainly, if not entirely, against the two principal Johannine works, —the Gospel and Revelation,—since the Montanists, in opposition to whom their opinion was developed, based their views upon the Paraclete passages in the Fourth Gospel and upon the visions of Revelation. Consequently Hippolytus writes, in opposition to the Alogi, his apology "for the Gospel according to John and for Revelation." But it must not be forgotten that the criticism of the Alogi applied to all the Johannine writings, and that they regarded the John, whose mask Cerinthus assumed, as an apostle. It was not until much later that the attempt was made, on the basis of one accepted work of the apostle John, to deny his authorship of another writing bearing his name, and to assign it to another John. This was impossible in the year 170, because at that time only *one* John who belonged to the apostolic age was known. And even as late as 210, when Caius of Rome accepted the negative conclusions of the Alogi with reference to Revelation, but rejected them in the case of the Gospel, he did not distinguish between an apostle John who wrote the Gospel and another John who was the author of Revelation, but maintained the opinion that it was not John but Cerinthus, under the mask of "a great apostle," who wrote Revelation (n. 11 end). The history of the criticism of Revelation, and later of the shorter letters, is an important chapter in the history of the Canon, but does not concern directly the investigation of the tradition relative to these books: for the reason that from the very outset this criticism is a conscious denial of every tradition. But even this is an

indirect witness to the one existing tradition regarding the Johannine authorship of these books.

Justin, who, as we have already seen, became a Christian in Ephesus between 130 and 135 A.D., says that, like Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the author of Genesis and the Psalter, the Christian John, the apostle of Christ, received a revelation and prophesied the millennial reign of Christ and the Christians and the general resurrection that is to follow (n. 12). The elders of Irenæus, "who had seen John face to face," endeavoured to find out the meaning of the number 666 in Rev. xiii. 18, interpreted other passages of the book, and thereby fixed their own eschatological views (n. 13). According to the testimony of those who saw his work, Papias, a disciple of John of Ephesus, affirmed the "trustworthiness" (τὸ ἀξιόπιστος) of Revelation, made explanatory comments on some passages of the book, and, most significantly of all, derived his belief in the millennium from this source. Mark, the Valentinian, who lived in Asia Minor about the year 160, fed upon the mysteries of Revelation. Melito of Sardis wrote a book on Revelation about the year 170. In short, we have an unusually large number of witnesses to the fact that between the years 100 and 180 Revelation was highly esteemed in the Churches of Asia, to which it was originally directed (Rev. i. 4, 11), and that it was regarded as the work of John of Ephesus, who, at the very latest, from 130 onwards, was generally held to be one of the twelve apostles. Between 170 and 220 we find Revelation circulated and accepted in all parts of the Greek and Latin Church as the work of the apostle and evangelist John.

It is a noteworthy fact, however, that the circulation of Revelation outside of the province of Asia cannot be traced back as far as the circulation of the Gospel. With the exception of Papias, the only writer before Justin who shows familiarity with Revelation is the author of the

Epistle of Barnabas, who wrote about the year 130 (*GK*, i. 954 f.). The absence of clear reminiscences of Revelation in Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the author of the sermon bearing the name of Clement (*2 Cor.*), might be explained as an accident. But when no reference is made to it in a great apocalypse like the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*circa* 100), and by the author of the *Didache* (probably *circa* 110), in an extended teaching concerning the end of the world (chap. xvi.), it is strong proof that Revelation was not yet in circulation in the regions where these works were written, *i.e.* in Rome and (probably) Alexandria, or at least it had not yet won its place in these large Churches. This agrees with the tradition concerning the *time when Revelation was written.* In a context in which he appeals constantly to the authority of the Asiatic elders, the disciples of John (v. 5. 1, 30. 1, 33. 3, 4, 36. 1–3), Irenæus says positively that the vision of Revelation "was seen" shortly before he was born, near the close of the reign of Domitian (died September 96) (n. 14). A date so definite as this, and one that could not be derived by exegesis from Revelation itself, would be significant, even if found in a later writer, and even if Irenæus did not testify that this was the common view among the personal disciples of the author of Revelation. It is confirmed, not only by the indications of the date of its own composition to be found in Revelation, but by the above mentioned fact that outside of Asia Minor there is as yet no trace of the influence of Revelation upon the Church in the literature dating from between 90 and 120 A.D. It is not until later that traces of it are found. The correctness of the date is also confirmed by all those traditions which refer the exile of John upon Patmos to his extreme old age, or which describe Revelation as the latest, or one of the latest, writings in the N.T. On the other hand, all the differing views as to the date of the composition of Revelation to be found in the literature of

the Church are so late and so manifestly confused, that they do not deserve the name of tradition (nn. 8, 10, 14).

There are three Epistles which in the tradition bear the name of John. The longest of these is without any greeting, and there is nothing in the course of the letter which definitely identifies the author. In the place usually occupied by the name of the writer, the author of the two shorter Epistles calls himself ὁ πρεσβύτερος—a title which is used as a proper name—instead of by his own name. Nevertheless, except by the Alogi, who denied the Johannine authorship of these Epistles, and ascribed them to Cerinthus (above, 181, and n. 11), no one of these Epistles was ever attributed to an author of another name than John. It follows, therefore, that this tradition must have originated in the same circle in which the letters originated, from which also they were circulated in the Church. According to Eusebius, Papias, the disciple of "the presbyter whose name was John" (vol. ii. 451 ff.), quoted, or adopted, passages from 1 John. In the case of his companion Polycarp, we ourselves can prove as much (n. 15). Both the disciples of John show traces of their familiarity with the shorter Epistles. Naturally, these shortest writings in our N.T. are seldom quoted. Their history is also not a little obscured through a widespread custom of early writers, by which they were accustomed to speak of the Epistle of John or of Peter, or of the Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians or to the Thessalonians, even when there was more than one letter by the same author or to the same readers (n. 16). Because of their brevity, 2 and 3 John would never have circulated beyond the first readers and have come down to us, if from the first they had not been connected with 1 John, and if they had not had the support of this more extended writing, which was full of important teachings. Without such connection with a longer writing, or a place in a collection of writings, or an insertion in an historical

work, such fragments are apt to be scattered to the winds. As a matter of fact we meet 2 and 3 John in Alexandria, Rome, and Gaul at the beginning of the second century. At that time, and for a long time afterwards, it was only their relation to the Canon that was uncertain. The Syrian Church, which at first had none of the catholic Epistles in its N.T., afterwards, when the redaction of the Peshito was made, accepted only the three longest, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. It was not until much later that the four shorter Epistles were accepted. At the time when the Muratorian fragment was written, 2 and 3 John and Jude were found "in the Catholic Church" in Rome, *i.e.* in the N.T. of the Roman Church, which was still in Greek. But there was no such clear witness in them of their Johannine origin as in 1 John, the relation of which to the Gospel is assumed in 1 John i. 1–4. Perhaps it was not known in Rome that ὁ πρεσβύτερος was a name given to the apostle John (n. 17). This uncertainty may explain why 2 and 3 John were probably not found in the oldest Latin Bible, and why, as late as the middle of the fourth century, the effort to introduce these letters in the Latin Church met with opposition in Africa. Not very long after this there appeared also in Alexandria, where Clement had commented upon 2 John, without suggesting any doubts as to its Johannine origin, and probably also on 3 John, the same questioning which had appeared in Rome, or it seemed best to take account of the omission of the shorter Epistles from the canon of other Churches. "Not all regard 2 and 3 John as genuine," says Origen, but without attaching any great weight to the objection. The result was, however, that Origen and Dionysius of Alexandria described only 1 John as a catholic Epistle, and that Eusebius reckoned 2 and 3 John among the antilegomena. It is worth noting that Dionysius in his efforts to discover a second John of the apostolic age, to whom the authorship of Revelation might be assigned, did

not think of ascribing to the same author the shorter Epistles about which questions had been raised. Likewise Eusebius, who thought that the desired author needed by his hypothesis was to be found in the presbyter John of Papias, commended this discovery only to those who could not ascribe Revelation to the apostle John. In the case of 2 and 3 John, he contents himself with the suggestion that they may have been written by some John other than the evangelist. It is not until Jerome that we meet with the definite statement that many regarded the presbyter John, who was to be distinguished from the apostle as the author of 2 and 3 John. But in both the chapters where this statement is made Jerome simply copies Eusebius without scruple (n. 18).

There is no tradition concerning the occasion of the Johannine Epistles and the time of their composition. The assumption that 1 John was written after the Gospel was simply the result of a very questionable interpretation of 1 John i. 1–4 and of the making of this passage refer to the Gospel. In the same way the statements which we meet incidentally, that 1 John was written after Revelation, or that Revelation was written after the Gospel, or *vice versa* (nn. 8, 11), have not the value of traditions regarding the chronology of these books. The only things which do have this value are (1) the report that John wrote Revelation on the island of Patmos between the years 93 and 96, and (2) that John wrote his Gospel in Ephesus at an advanced age.

The reports regarding the *person* of the apostle and author John may be divided into four classes: (1) The express statements of the N.T. regarding the apostle John; (2) those statements of the N.T. which are to be referred to the same John, on the presupposition that he is the author of the writings attributed to him; (3) the reports concerning the John of Ephesus which originated among the apostle's disciples in Asia; (4) the legendary accounts.

Since John is regularly mentioned second, when he is associated with his brother James, we may assume that he was the younger of the two sons of Zebedee. The tradition that he was the youngest of all the apostles is to be constantly met, and is probably much older than the sources enable us to prove (n. 19). The family in Capernaum was not poor. The father carried on a fishing business with the aid of his sons and a number of hired servants (Mark i. 20). Whereas the name of the father occurs frequently only because the sons are called the sons of Zebedee, in order to distinguish them from numerous other persons bearing these very common names, the mother is very prominent. We learn that her name was Salome only by a comparison of Matt. xxvii. 56 with Mark xv. 40 (cf. xvi. 1). She was one of the women who accompanied Jesus and the apostles on their preaching journeys and on the last journey to Jerusalem, and who used their own means to defray the expenses of the support of the large company of travellers (Mark xv. 41; Luke viii. 3). She is also mentioned among the women who purchased spices to embalm the body of Jesus after it was laid in the grave (Mark xvi. 1; cf. Luke xxiii. 55–xxiv. 1). All this goes to show that, as regards its prosperity and social position, the family of Zebedee is to be compared with that of Chuza (Luke viii. 3), the financial officer of Herod, or even of Joseph of Arimathea, rather than with that of Joseph and Mary (Luke ii. 24; cf. ii. 7). But these two families were closely related. Since it is extremely unlikely that two sisters would have each been called Mary, we may assume that four, not three, women are mentioned in John xix. 25. It is also very natural to identify these four women with the women mentioned in Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40 f. and the unnamed sister of the mother of Jesus, mentioned in John, with Salome (n. 20). The sons of Zebedee were, therefore, own cousins of Jesus, and if Mary and Salome

were relatives of Elizabeth, who was a priest's daughter (Luke i. 36), were, like Jesus, relatives of John the Baptist. While the brothers of Jesus continued to maintain at least a neutral attitude towards Him (John vii. 3), after the arrest of the Baptist Jesus' cousins became permanently His disciples (Mark i. 19 ; Matt. iv. 21 ; Luke v. 9), and after they were chosen among the Twelve they with Peter are repeatedly distinguished by Jesus as His most intimate disciples (Mark v. 37, ix. 2, xiv. 33 ; Matt. xvii. 1, xxvi. 37 ; Luke viii. 51, ix. 28). Occasionally a special commission is given John and Peter alone (Luke xxii. 8). We are not told what it was that led Jesus to give the brothers the name, "Sons of thunder" (Mark iii. 17, vol. i. 16), but what is said of them in Mark ix. 38–40, Luke ix. 49–55 (above, p. 89, n. 19), shows that they had intense zeal for their Master's honour, and were possessed by burning anger whenever any insult was offered Him. But this was accompanied by the overweening ambition which led them and their mother to ask for the place nearest to the throne of the Son of David in His glorious kingdom (n. 21). For both these exhibitions of unsanctified zeal they were earnestly rebuked by Jesus ; but He does not for this reason cease to trust them, nor is their loyalty and that of their mother to Him thereby shaken. Jesus' prophecy that they must suffer like Himself (Mark x. 38 f. ; Matt. xx. 22 f.) was fulfilled in James' case at Easter 44 (Acts xii. 2). His execution by Herod Agrippa I. is the only thing which is recorded of him in Acts. On the other hand, John is represented as being from the first along with Peter one of the leaders in the Palestinian Church (Acts iii. 1–iv. 23, viii. 15–25). But always when they appear together Peter is the speaker (Acts iii. 4, 12, iv. 8, v. 29, viii. 20), and frequently, without mention of John, Peter is represented as the undisputed leader of the early Church. The fact, however, that after the death of his brother and the assumption

of the leadership of the mother Church by James, the brother of Jesus, John, together with Peter and James, occupied a distinguished place in the Jewish Church is evidenced by Gal. ii. 9.

The picture of John which we get from these definite statements is essentially enlarged by what is said in the writings attributed to him—provided the interpretation of their testimony to their author, which is given below, proves to be correct. This explains at once why the sons of Zebedee, after the arrest of the Baptist, in response to the brief command of Jesus that they give up their business and attach themselves to Him with a view to becoming His future helpers in His calling, were willing to obey at once and unconditionally (Mark i. 20; Matt. iv. 22; Luke v. 11). Both were disciples of their relative John, and at the suggestion of their former master attached themselves to Jesus, when He returned again to the place of baptism not long after His own baptism, forming with Peter and Andrew, Philip and Nathanael (Bartholomew), the first group of Jesus' disciples. This enables us to understand why, in all four of the lists of the apostles in the N.T., the first five, and, with the exception of Acts i. 13, where the name of Thomas is inserted between Philip and Bartholomew, all six occupy the foremost places. From the moment when they attached themselves to Jesus they were constantly associated with Him, both in their native city Capernaum, where Jesus settled with His family (John ii. 12), and upon a journey to Jerusalem to attend a feast, as well as during a somewhat protracted residence in Judea (John ii. 13–iv. 2). When subsequently Jesus, because of the continued activity of the Baptist, abandoned His work in Judea and withdrew into Galilee and the quietness of private life, determined to await the further development of events (John iv. 1–3, 43 ff.), His disciples went with Him and in all probability resumed for a time their usual occupations, until Jesus

recognised the imprisonment of the Baptist (cf. John v. 35) as the signal for the resumption of His work, and summoned His disciples to share it. If the unnamed disciple in John xiii. 23–26 (xviii. 15f.), xix. 26, 27, 35, xx. 2–10, xxi. 7, 20–25 is the apostle John, this confirms at once the statement of the other Gospels, that he was one of the apostles who were most intimate with Jesus. The statement that he had relations with the high priest Caiaphas, and that he was known to the servants in the high priest's house, is new and surprising, if John xviii. 15 f. refers to him and not to his brother James (see below, § 65); but in either case is less surprising when we remember that Zebedee's wife was a priest's daughter, and that the family, while not one of the highest social standing and broadest culture (Acts iv. 13), did belong to the prosperous middle class. The statement in Acts iv. 13 also proves that John, like Peter, had been known by sight to some of the high priestly circle even before Jesus' death. The statement that John, with his mother Salome, ventured to approach near to the cross during the last moments of Jesus' life (John xix. 25 ff., 35), is neither confirmed nor contradicted by Matt. xxvii. 55 f.; Mark xv. 40 f.; Luke xxiii. 49. But it will be observed that Mark mentions Salome among the women who at this time watched the cross from afar, and that Luke mentions, besides the women, also the men who were friends of Jesus. If John was a near relative of Jesus, and if more than this his family was in comparatively good circumstances, it is easy to understand why Jesus entrusted His mother to John's care, and why he took her into his family (xix. 26 f.). The contributions made to the history of John's life by John xxi. will be discussed later (§ 66).

The three Epistles show that when they were written John was a teacher and occupied a position of leadership in a group of Christian Churches, the main constituency of which did not owe their conversion to his preaching, and

that they were Gentile Christian Churches. From Revelation we learn that he occupied this position in the Churches of the province of Asia.

The traditions current among the disciples of John in Asia concerning the last period of his life, so far as they relate to the origin of his writings, have already been established (above, p. 174 ff.). There is, however, some further matter of importance for the criticism of these writings. According to the testimony of Irenæus, his disciple Polycarp, who became a Christian in the year 69 (*i.e.* was baptized in that year), was "made a disciple by apostles," which means that he was not a small child when he was baptized, but was converted sometime during his boyhood by apostles and afterwards baptized (n. 22). Irenæus repeatedly mentions a number of apostles and also other personal disciples of Jesus with whom Polycarp was in constant intercourse during his youth. Evidently men like Philip and Aristion are meant (see vol. ii. 452 f.). But again and again Irenæus mentions John as the principal teacher of Polycarp, and of Papias and of the other Asiatic elders. Consequently at the latest he must have taken up his residence in the province of Asia in the year 69. In the year 66, when 2 Tim. was written, he evidently was not working in these regions. It is conceivable that after the death of Paul and Peter, men who remained at their posts in Palestine until the breaking out of the Jewish war (cf. Matt. x. 23 ; see vol. ii. 572) now recognised that the time had come when their calling, which had always been wider than Israel, should now be more extensively exercised—just as Peter had attempted to do not long before (vol. ii. 158 f.). It is also conceivable that they should choose as the scene of their apostolic labours (*i.e.* their labours as missionaries and leaders in Churches that were already organised), the Churches of the province of Asia, which, to judge from conditions in the second century, were especially numerous and strong—especially

since in these Churches the wheat and the tares grew together luxuriantly, as is evidenced by the last letters of Paul. The tradition that it was after the death of James and shortly before the outbreak of the Jewish war that the apostles left Palestine and the mother Church in Jerusalem, also favours the dating of the settlement of apostles and other disciples of Jesus in Asia between 66 and 69 (n. 23).

Since, according to Irenæus, John wrote his Gospel in opposition to Cerinthus, and since the Alogi declared Cerinthus to be the author of the Johannine writings (above, p. 177), it is significant that Irenæus is able to cite witnesses who heard from Polycarp's lips the well-known story of the meeting of John and Cerinthus in a public bath in Ephesus (n. 24). In this John of Ephesus one easily recognises the young Boanerges and the author of the Epistles. Judging from the context in Irenæus, it appears that Polycarp related this anecdote in Rome on the occasion of his visit there at Easter 154. It was on this same occasion also that Polycarp, speaking with reference to the differences in ecclesiastical custom between his native Church and the Roman Church, said that he himself, with John and the other apostles, had always celebrated the Christian Passover as it was then celebrated in Asia, not as it was celebrated in Rome—in other words, that a fast had preceded the Passover, which was really a special yearly celebration of the Lord's Supper (n. 25). No mention is as yet made in the intercourse between Polycarp and Anicetus in Rome in the year 154 about another difference which led to a vigorous contest within the Asiatic Church between the years 165 and 170, and which about the year 190 created a dissension between the Asiatic and Roman Church that was still more dangerous and which finally implicated the entire Church. Since in these later controversies most of the Asiatic bishops appealed to the authority of John of Ephesus, Philip of

Hierapolis, and also of Polycarp and all the prominent bishops of the past in defence of their practice in observing the Passover on the 14th of Nisan, there can be no doubt that John and the other members of the apostolic circle who came from Palestine to Asia Minor after the year 66 were quartodecimans, that is to say, they celebrated the Christian Passover in the manner mentioned above every year at the time of the Jewish Passover, on the 14th of Nisan, no matter on what day of the week it fell.

It is more difficult to determine how much trustworthiness attaches to the other traditions concerning John. Some of them sound as if they were genuine history (n. 26), and it would be foolish to reject as pure inventions all the accounts concerning John peculiar to Leucius Charinus, who wrote in Asia from 160–170. In this work Leucius must have followed existing tradition much more closely than was done in the *Acts of Peter*, which was also probably written by him. The scene of the latter was the distant city of Rome, and the death of Peter had taken place some thirty or forty years earlier than that of John. Whereas in the case of John, Leucius wrote a few years after the death of the last of his disciples. Of special importance to us is his description of the death of John. According to ancient and genuine tradition, John of Ephesus died a natural death in that city in his extreme old age, at the beginning of the reign of Trajan (*i.e.* about 100), and was buried there (n. 27). If there had been anything remarkable about this death except John's extreme age, it is impossible to understand the silence of Irenæus and the other prose witnesses concerning it. Nor is Leucius' representation of it essentially different from this tradition (n. 28). On a Sunday after religious services, John went outside the gates of the city, accompanied by a few trusted disciples, had a deep grave dug, laid aside his outer garments which were to serve him as

a bed, prayed once more, stepped down into the grave, greeted the brethren who were present, and gave up the ghost. According to this writing he does not die of weakness, as one might expect to be the case from the genuine traditions concerning the old man who had finally grown decrepit; but he does actually die and rests in his grave in Ephesus, just as truly as Philip and his daughters rest in theirs at Hierapolis, and just as truly as do the other "great heavenly lights of Asia, who will rise on the day of the Lord's return" (Polycrates of Ephesus [*circa* 190] in Eus. v. 24. 2–5). It was not until the fourth century that popular superstition, taking up the suggestion of John xxi. 23, began to disturb his rest in the grave and to relate miracles about the immortal disciple and his grave, which grew constantly more and more fantastic (n. 28).

1. (P. 174.) With regard to the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel, cf. E. LUTHARDT, *Der joh. Ursprung des 4 Ev.* 1874; E. ABBOTT, *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. External Evidences,* 1880; J. DRUMMOND, *An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel,* 1903, pp. 72–351; *GK*, i. 17 f., 150–192, 220–262, 516–534, 675–680, 732–739, 767, 778, 780, 784 ff., 901–915, 934, ii. 32–52, 733, 850 f., 909 f., 956–961, 967–973; *Forsch.* vi. 105, 127, 181–190, 201–203. As to the use of John's Gospel in the *Gospel of Peter*, cf. the writer's work, *Evang. des Petrus*, 1893, S. 49 f.

2. (P. 176.) Concerning Apostles and the disciples of Apostles in the province of Asia, cf. *Forsch.* vi. 1–224, where also the biography of Irenæus, the chronology of Justin, and other relevant facts and questions are considered. More recently, E. SCHWARTZ ("Über den Tod der Söhne Zebedäi, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Johannesev." 1904, *Abh. der gött. Ges. d. Wiss. philol.-hist. Kl.*, N. F. vii. No. 5) has once again made an attempt, surpassing in audacity all earlier ones, to prove that the entire tradition concerning the long-lived Apostle John is a myth. Starting from a remark of Wellhausen (*Ev. Marci*, 90), made without much consideration of the matter, Schwartz infers from Mark x. 35–40=(Matt. xx. 20–23) that the apostles John and James died violent deaths and at the same time; therefore, according to Acts xii. 2, about 44 A.D. This inference naturally does not depend, like the old myths of the martyrdom by oil, and of the poisoned cup related in connection with John, upon the presupposition that every prophecy of Jesus must have been literally fulfilled. (Cf. the writer's *Acta Jo.* cxvii. ff., *Forsch.* vi. 103, 147 ff.). Schwartz (S. 4) considers it self-evident, and not at all needful of proof, that the saying of Jesus is not authentic, but a *vaticinium ex eventu* attributed to Jesus. In that case certainly before the first record-

ing of the apparently prophetic words there must have taken place the event which Schwartz asserts is implied in that saying. This assertion is made with the naïvete of the philologist, which has become proverbial, and again without any attempt at proof. If Mark x. 38 f. might be understood to mean that James and John would die in the same way as Jesus (cf. John xiii. 36, xxi. 19), it would be necessary also to postulate that they were crucified, a fate which neither of them experienced. The drinking of the cup and the being baptized to which Jesus refers as the experience which is to come to Himself and His disciples, have the much more usual meaning of the suffering preceding the glorification, and thus understood form, as so often, the contrast to the reigning of Jesus, and the reigning with Him, which are to follow (cf. Luke xxiv. 26 ; Acts xiv. 22 ; Rom. viii. 17 ; 2 Tim. ii. 11 f.). In itself this saying stands on a level with the demands which Jesus made upon all true disciples and His announcements concerning their future (Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24 f.; John xii. 25 f., xv. 20 f., xvi. 2). Not until James was beheaded by Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 2) could one be tempted to accept the supposition that this announcement to John was to be fulfilled, as in the case of his brother, by a martyr's death. It was possible that Mark and Matthew entertained such an expectation when they wrote down that conversation ; for both of them wrote some twenty years after the death of James the son of Zebedee, and some thirty years before the death of John. The conclusion of Wellhausen, that this prophecy of martyrdom would hardly have stood in the Gospel if it had been only half fulfilled, would have a faint appearance of plausibility only if John had already died a peaceful death at the time when Mark and Matt. were written. As long as he lived, his death as a martyr could be expected daily. Does not the Gospel contain many prophesies of Jesus which had not been fulfilled when the evangelists wrote, and are not yet fulfilled ? Entirely without any support in the text is the improbable assertion of Schwartz, that Mark x. 38 f. prophesies a *simultaneous* martyrdom of both apostles, or rather that on the basis of this fact the prophecy was fabricated. Here again the critic makes what he would prove the presupposition of his exegesis. What further violent efforts are necessary to save this thesis from absolute absurdity ? The author of Acts, "for the sake of the later tradition," omitted the name of John in xii. 2 ; *i.e.*, to favour the myth that identified the long-lived John of Ephesus with the son of Zebedee, he falsified the history handed down to him. The John who, according to Gal. ii. 9, at the time of the Apostolic council was, together with Peter and James, the Lord's brother, one of the pillars of the mother Church, is held to be not the apostle of this name, who, according to Acts iii.–viii., stood second to Peter, but the John Mark of Acts xii. 12, whom the author of Acts through his unhistorical statements (xii. 25, xiii. 5, 13, xv. 37 f.) made a helper of Paul and Barnabas in their preaching, and who is not to be identified with the Mark of Col. iv. 10 ; Philem. 24 ; 2 Tim. iv. 11. From these criticisms of the Gospels and Acts it is easy to imagine how the fragmentary and in part obscure statements of the post-apostolic literature were handled. W. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 32, has correctly characterised the tone of this treatise ; and O. Benndorf (*Forschungen in Ephesos*, i. 107, published by the Austrian Archæological Institute, 1905) is probably not the only non-

theological historical investigator who turns away from its method and conclusions unsatisfied.

3. (P. 178.) Concerning traces of the Fourth Gospel in Papias' work, cf. *GK*, i. 902. In connection with this is what Conybeare communicates to us in the *Guardian* of July 18, 1894, from the *Solutiones in IV. evv.* of the Armenian Vardan Vardapet (XII. Cent.), according to the MS. at S. Lazzaro, No. 51, fol. 3 : "And as the doors were shut, He appeared to the Eleven and the others who were with them" (cf. Luke xxiv. 33 ; John xx. 19 ; a connection with the following is not clear). But the aloes, which they brought (John xix. 39), was a mixture, so to speak, half of oil, half of honey. It is certain, however, that aloes is a sort of incense, as we are told by the Geographer and by Papias, who say there are fifteen kinds of aloes in India, four of which are costly—namely, *Nikré* (? Ingré), *Andrataratz* (? Sangrataratz), *Jerravor*, *Dzakothén*. Accordingly, what Joseph and Nicodemus used for the burial was (? of these four costly kinds) ; for they were rich (John xix. 38 f., cf. Matt. xxvii. 57, πλούσιος). The "Geographer" is Moses of Khorene, in whose work, chap. xli., we can read of the four kinds of aloes. So this did not come from Papias. Just as little is he the originator of the popular misunderstanding of aloes as a mixture of oil and honey, because the Geographer and Papias are cited directly in opposition to this idea. There remains the assertion of Papias that aloes is a kind of incense. Consequently he has made John xix. 38 f. the subject of one of his ἐξηγήσεις. In this connection it is to be noted that the acquaintance of the Armenians with the work of Papias is also otherwise assured ; cf. *Forsch.* vi. 128–130, 155.

4. (P. 178.) According to Cardinal Thomasius (*Opp.*, ed. Vezzosi, i. 344) and Pitra (*Analecta*, ii. 160), the following argument for the Gospel of John is found in a Latin Bible of the ninth century, in the Codex Regina 14 in the Vatican : "Evangelium Johannis manifestatum et datum est ecclesiis ab Johanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine Hierapolitanus, discipulus Johannis carus, in exotericis id est in extremis quinque libris retulit. Descripsit vero evangelium dictante Johanne recte. Verum Marcion hæreticus, cum ab eo fuisset improbatus eo quod contraria sentiebat, abjectus est a Johanne. Is vero scripta vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus, qui in Ponto fuerunt." This same text is found in bad orthography in a Codex Toletanus of the tenth century as the conclusion of a long prologue, which in the preceding sentences agrees essentially with Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* ix. This codex is printed in Wordsworth-White, *N.T. Lat.* i. 490 ; cf. also Burkitt, *Two Lectures on the Gospels*, 1901, pp. 90–94, in addition *GK*, i. 898 ff. Only as far as *constitutio* have we the right to refer this statement to Papias. Whether the author of the *argumentum* borrowed directly from Papias, or, as the present writer assumes, from a work in which he found Papias cited, may not here be discussed. There is no doubt that a Greek source lies at the basis, and that *in exotericis*=ἐν τοῖς ἐξωτερικοῖς κτλ. is an error of the copyist for ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς ; cf. Clem. *Strom.* iv. 83, Βασιλείδης ἐν τῷ εἰκοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ἐξηγητικῶν. Enough has been said (*Forsch.* vi. 127, A. 1) against a very superficial criticism of what Papias reported concerning the publishing of the Fourth Gospel by the John who was still living, and also in *GK*, i. 900, concerning "the justness of the theological criticism," which

passes over this testimony of Papias in silence, and contents itself with the rejection of the "myths" connected with his words. The words which immediately follow *retulit*, connected by a *vero*, are also extant in Greek in the Prœmium of the *Catena in Jo.*, ed. Corderius, 1630, and in the *Acta Jo.* of Prochorus are assigned to this disciple of the Apostle (cf. the writer's *Acta Jo.* p. 154 ff.). Also the *subdictante* of the Codex Toletanus in place of the *dictante* of the Regino-Vatic. points to a Greek source; it is a literal translation of *ὑπαγορεύοντος Ἰωάννου*. Although it is not possible to name an authority for this account, there is no reason for treating it as a senseless myth. It is almost self-evident that John, like Paul, dictated extended portions of Greek writings to an amanuensis; and Papias, the friend of Polycarp, and a companion of the same age, can just as well as he have been twenty-five or more years of age when the Fourth Gospel was written. The notice concerning Marcion, introduced by a *verum* and in the Codex Toletanus written as a new section, the source of which we are less able to discover than that of the statement concerning Papias as secretary, is chronologically unbelievable in the form in which it appears, but excepting the name of John does not sound senseless. Marcion came from Pontus, and Polycarp seems to have come to know him in Asia before he met him again in Rome; cf. Iren. iii. 3. 4. Evidently there is a misunderstanding of the source like the *apud Johannem*, Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* vii.; cf. *NKZ*, 1898, S. 216, A. 1.

5. (P. 178.) Clem. Alex. in Eus. *H. E.* vi. 14. 7 (after the words cited, vol. ii. 400, n. 9, and 448, n. 9, and governed by the *ἔλεγον, sc. οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*): *τὸν μέντοι Ἰωάννην ἔσχατον συνιδόντα, ὅτι τὰ σωματικὰ ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προταπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πενύματι θεοφορηθέντα, πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον.*

6. (P. 178.) Can. Mur. lines 9–16; *GK*, ii. 5, 32–40; *Acta Jo.* pp. cxxvi–cxxxi. The origin of this narrative in the *Acta Jo.* by Leucius (*GK*, ii. 38) has become still more probable, since it has been proved that the Can. Mur. stands also in close relation to the *Acta Petri* written by the same author (*GK*, ii. 844). In *GK*, ii. 37 f., are given also the noteworthy patristic statements in this connection (cf., further, *GK*, i. 898 f., and the previous notes 4, 5). As to the relation of the narratives of Leucius and Clement, cf. *Forsch.* vi. 201–204.

7. (P. 179). Iren. iii. 11. 1: "Hanc fidem annuntians Joannes, domini discipulus, volens per evangelii annuntiationem auferre eum, qui a Cerintho inseminatus erat hominibus, errorem et multo prius ab his qui dicuntus Nicolaitæ, qui sunt vulsio eius, quæ falso cognominatur scientia, ut confunderet eos . . . sic inchoavit in ea, quæ est secundum evangelium doctrina: 'In principio erat verbum,'" etc. Cf. vol. i. 515, n. 4.

8. (P. 179.) That John was the last of the evangelists to write, cf. vol. ii. 392 f., 397–400. This supposition involves the admission that he wrote in old age. After a life spent only in preaching, he came at its close to make use of the written word (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 24. 7). Epiph. *Hær.* li. 12 expresses himself most definitely: *διὸ ὕστερον ἀναγκάζει τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τὸν Ἰωάννην, παραιτούμενον εὐαγγελίσασθαι δι' εὐλάβειαν καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνην, ἐπὶ τῇ γηραλέᾳ αὐτοῦ ἡλικίᾳ μετὰ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ζωῆς, μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Πάτμου ἐπάνοδον, τὴν ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου γενομένην Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ἱκανὰ ἔτη τοῦ διατρῖψαι*

αὐτὸν ἐπὶ (Dindorf, ἀπὸ) τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναγκάζεται ἐκθέσθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Cf. li. 2, ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης μεθ' ἡλικίαν γηραλέαν ἐπιτρέπεται κτλ. As to the determination of the date of the exile on Patmos, cf. below, n. 14; and with reference to the strange statements contained in *Hær.* li. 33, cf. *Forsch.* v. 35–43. Not one of the Church Fathers (Irenæus, Clement, Origen, Eusebius) says that John wrote his Gospel after his return from Patmos, and therefore after the completion of Revelation. At the same time, with the exception of Epiphanius, there is a whole line of witnesses for this statement: (*a*) A speech delivered at Ephesus under the name of Chrysostom (Montfaucon, viii. 2. 131), which Suidas (cf. *sub voco*, Ἰωάννης [ed. Bernhardy, i. 2. 1023]) had looked upon and copied as a genuine work of Chrysostom; (*b*) many Lat. prologues to John's Gospel (*N.T. Lat.*, ed. Wordsworth, i. 486, 490); (*c*) two treatises ascribed to Augustine (Mai, *Nova patr. Bibl.* i. 1. 381; Aug. *Opp.*, ed. Bass. iv. 382); (*d*) indirectly, the "History of John," which was preserved in the Syriac (Wright, *Apocr. Acts*, i. 60–64), in so far as it states that John wrote his Gospel in Ephesus after an exile, the place of which it does not give; and (*e*) Prochorus in his *History of the Apostle John* in so far as it tells us that John dictated to him his Gospel in two days and six hours at the end of his exile, while he was still on Patmos; however, after he had left behind for the churches of the island a copy which was also written by Prochorus, but on parchment, he brought with him to Ephesus the original, which was on paper (cf. the present writer's edition of the *Acta Jo.* pp. 154–158, xliii–l). As has been more explicitly shown in the above reference, there must have come a confusion into the tradition, at the time when and in the circles where the Johannine origin of Rev.—this record of the exile on Patmos—was denied, and the book itself was far from being given a place in the N.T. Canon. Prochorus puts the Gospel in the place of Rev. which was written on Patmos, and only through an evident interpolation is there brought into his book a supplementary narrative of the Patmos origin of Rev. (*op. cit.* 184). It is an echo of the original narrative of Prochorus, when min. 145 (Tischend. *N.T.* i. 967, cf. another min. by Matthæi, *Evang. Jo.* 1786, p. 356) and the *Synopsis* of "Athanasius" (Athan., ed. Montf. ii. 202) admit that John wrote or dictated the Gospel on Patmos, but published it in Ephesus, and also when the *Chron. pasch.*, ed. Bonn, i. 11 and 411, idly talks of the ἰδιόχειρον of the Johannine Gospel, which was alleged to be still preserved in Ephesus (*Acta Jo.* p. lix). But the source of the tradition that the Gospel of John was written in Ephesus after the return from Patmos can scarcely be any other than the legend of Leucius (*Acta Jo.* p. cxxvi ff.). It does not deserve any particular credence, because Irenæus, who offers very definite statements in regard to the time of the writing of Matt., of Mark (iii. 1. 1), and of Rev. (v. 30. 3), would not have contented himself with the more indefinite statements as to the Fourth Gospel—*e.g.* that John may have written it later than Matt., Mark, and Luke, and that he may have written it during his stay at Ephesus (iii. 1. 1)—if the word of Papias or the oral tradition of the elders of Asia had furnished him with more exact information. Not only Leucius, if the present writer's opinion in regard to him as above stated is correct, and the Syriac history of John, but the general tradition agree with Irenæus, that Ephesus is the birthplace of the Gospel (as to the Syrians, cf. the writer's *Acta Jo.* p. cxxvii; *Forsch.* i. 54 f.). Also

where only Asia is spoken of, Ephesus is meant. The fables of that Syriac legend and of the *Acta Timothei* need no further discussion (*GK*, i. 943, ii. 38 ; *Acta Jo.* p. cxxxviii). Yet it is to be noted that these apocryphal statements, in so far as they allow that John in the writing of his Gospel had at hand and took into account all three of the synoptic Gospels, rely upon a very old tradition—a tradition going back to the teachers of Clement (above, n. 5) and repeated by well informed people such as Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 24. 7–13) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Comm. in N.T.*, ed. Fritzsche, p. 19 f.).

9. (P. 180.) We lack the definite testimony of Marcion and Justin that they ascribed the Fourth Gospel to the apostle John (cf., however, vol. ii. 389 f.; and with regard to Justin as a witness for the apostolic title of the Christian writer John, below, note 12. The Valentinian Ptolemäus calls the evangelist now Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ κυρίου (Iren. i. 8. 5), now ἀπόστολος (*Ep. ad Floram* in Epiph. *Hær.* xxxiii. 3 ; cf. *GK*, i. 732 f., ii. 956 ff.). The Valentinian Heracleon (Orig. tom. vi. 2 *in Jo.*) designates him at first as ὁ μαθητής, in order to distinguish him from the Baptist, and classes him directly afterwards among the οἱ ἀπόστολοι. This view of Heracleon's statement is based on the more probable limiting of the fragment by Brooke (*Texts and Studies*, i. 4. 55), which Preuschen, p. 109. 15 ff., ascribes to Origen. Also the Oriental Valentinians (Clem. Al. *Epit. e. Theodoto*, §§ 7, 41) call the writer of the prologue *apostle.* The Alogi certify that this was the prevailing view up to that time (see n. 11). Irenæus regularly uses "disciple of the Lord" where he speaks of John as author of the Gospel (III. i. 1, xi. 1. 3, end), and also at other times : v. 33. 3, xi. 22. 5 (here, however, immediately follows *non solum Joannem, sed et alios apostolos viderunt*), iii. 3. 4 [at first μαθ. τ. κυρίου, then including him οἱ ἀπόστολοι] ; *Epist. ad Victorem* in Eus. v. 24. 16, "John the disciple of the Lord and the other apostles"—Can. Mur. line 9, *quarti* (read quartum) *evangeliorum Johannis ex discipulis.* We are then told of the consultation which John held with his *condiscipuli* and *episcopi* about the writing of a Gospel (above, note 6), and that within this circle—evidently from among the *condiscipuli* of John—*Andreas ex apostolis* was specially noted. In other words, John too is an apostle as well as Andrew. In fact, the only Christian of the apostolic age, by the name of John, of whom the author of the fragment knows (cf. lines 27, 49, 57, 69, 71), has already, before Paul's time, been a holder of the apostolic office (line 48) ; cf. *GK*, i. 154 f., ii. 32 ff., 48 f., 88 f. ; in general, cf. *Forsch.* vi. 72–78.

10. (P. 181.) Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Can. Mur., Hippolytus, Origen statedly cite the Gospel, the Epistles (particularly 1 John), and Rev. as the works of the one person, John, without finding it necessary to characterise him more definitely (*GK*, i. 202 ff.). It is only for the purpose of explaining the statements of one writing by means of the others or of specially honouring John that now and then mention is made of the identity of the author of these different writings. Thus Irenæus, iii. 16. 5, in connection with a citation from John xx. 31, says : *propter quod et in epistola sua sic testificatus est nobis* ; following which is 1 John ii. 18 ff. So Can. Mur. (lines 26–34) brings to the discussion of the Fourth Gospel the evidence of his Epistles, *i.e.* of 1 John i. 1–4—in fact, it presents it as a writing later than the Gospel. Hippolytus (*Contra Noet.* 15) explains the name Logos, John i. 1, 14, from Rev. xix. 11–13, as a *later* statement of the same John (ὑποβὰς ἐν

τῇ ἀποκαλύψει ἔφη). Without expressing this idea of the chronological sequence of the books, Orig. (tom. ii. 5 *in Jo.*) makes a similar statement as to the identity of these writers (ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει κτλ.). Tert. *De Fuga*, 9; *Scorpiace*, xii., takes it for granted that Rev. was written before 1 John (cf. *GK*, i. 207). Frequently titles are given to John, appropriate to his different writings; *e.g.* Hippol. *De Antichr.* 36 addresses the Seer in Rev.: ὦ μακάριε Ἰωάννη, ἀπόστολε καὶ μαθητὰ τοῦ κυρίου. Clem. *Pæd.* ii. 119, with reference to Rev. xxi., uses φωνὴ ἀποστόλικη. In his *Quis Dives*, xlii., he calls the exile of Patmos Ἰωάννης ὁ ἀπόστολος; in *Strom.* iii. 106 he speaks of the writer of Rev. as ὁ προφήτης; Orig. tom. ii. 5 *in Jo.* refers to him as ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ ὁ εὐαγγελιστής, ἤδη δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀποκαλύψεως καὶ προφήτης. For other examples, cf. *GK*, i. 206 A. 2; *Forsch.* vi. 210 A. 2.

11. (P. 181.) With regard to the Alogi and the further related critical attempts of Caius of Rome, cf. *GK*, i. 220–262, ii. 967–991; *PRE*³, i. 386. Before Epiphanius gave the Alogi their name they were called ἡ αἵρεσις, ἡ ἀποβάλλουσα Ἰωάννου τὰς βίβλους (Epiph. *Hær.* li. 3). Inasmuch as these and similar designations by Epiphanius occur repeatedly (ed. Dindorf, ii. 452. 9, 19–21, 453. 6, 501. 30), and Epiphanius himself, reflecting upon the meaning of the expression, confesses that he does not know exactly whether only the Gospel and Rev. or also the Epistles are to be understood by it (τάχα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς, § 34; cf. § 35), we may, therefore, be sure that this expression had been used by Hippolytus, whose writing against the two-and-thirty heresies was a source for both Epiphanius and Philaster (*Hær.* xxx.). But since Hippolytus, to judge from those who depended upon him for their information, and from the title of his writing ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, discussed only the critical arguments of the Alogi directed against these two principal works of John, it is likely that he did not originate the expression "the books of John," but found it in his opponents' writings. The Alogi themselves stated: "the books of John are not by John, but by Cerinthus, and are not worthy to be in the Church" (Dindorf, pp. 452. 9, 20 f.), and further declared that "his books do not agree with the other apostles" (p. 453. 6). By the latter expression they testify that the John around whose books the discussion gathers was an apostle. Epiphanius (p. 451. 16) observes quite truly that "they know that he—the alleged John—belonged to the number of the apostles." They indicate the books individually with sufficient exactness: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ εἰς ὄνομα Ἰωάννου ψεύδεται (p. 474. 18); or λέγουσι τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον ἀδιάθετον εἶναι (p. 475. 7), also ὁ Ἰωάννης (*i.e.* the author of the Fourth Gospel, who passed himself off as John), ψεύδεται (p. 479. 6); τί με ὠφελεῖ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου (p. 499. 7). That, in rejecting the "books of John," they could not ignore his Epistles, is evident from the fact that they were known in the country and in the time of the Alogi under the name of John (below, note 15). This is verified also in the Can. Mur. line 26 ff.; for in the passage after the harmony of the four Gospels is maintained in the face of the assertion of the Alogi that the Fourth Gospel is inconsistent with the other three, the positive testimony to its author in 1 John i. 1–4 is defended as one well warranted and by no means surprising. The Alogi urged, as Dionysius did later in regard to Rev. (Eus. *H. E.* vii. 25. 6–11), that this strong self-attestation was a ground of suspicion against the genuineness of 1 John (*GK*, ii. 45–52, 136). Caius in Eus. *H. E.* iii. 28. 2 says of the

author of Rev.: *Κήρινθος, ὁ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ὡς ὑπὸ ἀποστόλου μεγάλου γεγραμμένων τερατολογίας ; ἡμῖν ὡς δι' ἀγγέλων αὐτῷ δεδειγμένας ψευδόμενος κτλ.*

12. (P. 182.) Just. *Dial.* lxxxi.: *καὶ ἐπειδὴ* (so. codd. read *ἔτι δή, al. ἔτι δέ, al. ἔπειτα*) *καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀνήρ τις, ᾧ ὄνομα Ἰωάννης, εἷς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ἀποκαλύψει γενομένῃ αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη ποιήσειν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Χριστῷ πιστεύσαντας προεφήτευσε, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ συνελόντι φάναι αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅμα πάντων ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι καὶ κρίσιν.* Cf. Rev. xx. 4–15 ; *GK.* i. 560 f.

13. (P. 182.) The Asiatic Elders of Iren. iv. 30. 4, v. 30. 1, 36. 1. In regard to the number of the antichrist, v. 30. 1, cf. *ZfKW*, 1885, S. 561 ff.; as to the older witnesses for Rev. in general, cf. *GK*, i. 201–208 (*Epist. Lugd.* in Eus. *H. E.* v. 1 ; Irenæus, Can. Mur., Hippolytus, *Acta mart. Scillit.*, *Passio Perpetuæ*, Tertullian, Clement and the Church of Alexandria, Theophilus of Antioch, the Montanists, Melito of Sardis), 560–562 (Justin ; cf. above, note 12), 759–761 (the Valentinians), 794 f. (the Elders of Irenæus, *Sibyll.*, *circa* 150), 950–957 (Papias and Andreas *in Ap.* [ed. Sylburg, p. 2, 52], and Eus. iii. 39. 12 : Barnabas). With reference to Leucius, cf. *Forsch.* vi. 197–201.

14. (P. 183.) Iren. v. 30. 3. (The Greek is rather free, rendered by Eus. *H. E.* v. 8. 6. There are added here in brackets the variants of the Lat. version : *ἡμεῖς οὖν* (*μενοῦν*) *οὐκ ἀποκινδυνεύομεν περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου ἀποφαινόμενοι βεβαιωτικῶς* (*ἀποκινδυνεύσομεν ἐν τούτῳ, οὐδὲ βεβαιωτικῶς ἀποφανούμεθα, ὅτι τοῦτο ἕξει τὸ ὄνομα*). *εἰ γὰρ ἔδει* (*εἰδότες ὅτι εἰ ἔδει*) *ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοὔνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκείνου ἂν ἐρρέθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη* (Lat. *visum est*), *ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.* In accordance with Wettstein (*NT*, ii. 746), whose interpretation E. Böhmer, *Über Vf und Abfassungszeit der Ap.* 1855, S. 31, has appropriated, Irenæus is held to have said that John was to be seen on earth or was alive towards the end of Domitian's reign. According to Iren. ii. 22. 5, iii. 3. 4, however, John had lived in Ephesus, not until toward the end of Domitian's reign, but until the times of Trajan. There is also no proof needed to show that *ἑωράθη* is to be understood in any other way than as *ἑωρακότος*. According to his commentary on Rev., Dionysius Barsalibi, who had at hand writings of Hippolytus not possessed by us, this author was of the same mind as Irenæus with reference to the time of the writing of Rev. ; cf. J. Gwynn, *Hermathena*, vii. (1889) p. 146. The extant writings of Hippolytus, however, offer no confirmation of this view. He simply says (*De Antichr.* 36) that Rome, that is to say, the emperor, had brought about the banishment of John to Patmos. Also Orig. tom. xvi. 6 *in Mt.* does not dare to name a definite emperor, because in Rev. i. 9 none is named. Cf. *Forsch.* vi. 199 f. In the legend of the young man saved by John (Clem. *Quis Dives*, xlii.), no emperor, indeed, is named, though Domitian certainly is meant ; for, in the first place, John is represented as a very old man ; and, secondly, the return from the exile is closely connected with the death of the tyrant (*i.e.* of the emperor, who had banished him). This presupposes the change in affairs at the passing of the rule from Domitian to Nerva. Cf. Dio Cass. lxviii. 1 f. ; Victorinus on Rev. x. 11 (cf. what immediately follows) ; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 3 ; Eus. *H. E.* iii. 20. 10. The exile on Patmos and the writing of Rev. are assigned expressly to the time of Domitian by Victorinus *in Apoc.* (Migne, v. col. 333) ; Eus.

H. E. iii. 18. 1 f., 20. 11, 23. 1; *Chron. ad a. Abrah.* 2109 and 2113 (cautious only in regard to Rev., whose genuineness he doubted); Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* ix.; *contra Jovin.* i. 26; pseudo-Chrys. in the discourse (Montfaucon, viii. 2. 131) referred to above, p. 198. Victorinus of Pettau, *circa* 300, remarked (*loc. cit.*) *in Apoc.* x. 11: "Hoc dicit propterea quod, quando hæc Joannes vidit, erat in insula Pathmos in metallo damnatus a Domitiano Cæsare. Ibi ergo *vidit* apocalypsin. Et cum jam senior putaret, se per passionem accepturum receptionem, interfecto Domitiano judicia eius soluta sunt, et Joannes de metallo dimissus sic postea *tradidit* hanc eandem, quam acceperat a deo, apocalypsin." The *publication* of Rev. after the return from Patmos is referred to in the statement of the renewed prophecy given in Rev. x. 11. Clearly Victorinus follows here an older narrative. In comparison with this, Epiphanius appears entirely innocent of the old tradition and lacking sound intelligence when (*Hær.* li. 12, 33) he places the exile, the writing of Rev., and the return from Patmos in the reign of Claudius (41–54), and at the same time (li. 12) makes John at ninety years of age write his Gospel "after the return from Patmos." To be sure, he seeks in some degree to adjust the contradiction between this statement of John's age and the name of the emperor under whom he is said to have lived out his exile and returned, since he introduces, or seems to introduce, a considerable number of years of residence in Ephesus between the return from Patmos and the writing of the Gospel (above, p. 197, n. 8). The contradiction, however, is but poorly veiled, for no sensible man will use the words "after the return from Patmos, which occurred under Claudius," to fix chronologically an event which, according to the statement of John's age, and according to the old tradition, happened about forty years after the death of Claudius. Of still less value is the opinion of Can. Mur. line 48—an opinion only incidentally expressed and as self-evident—that John, who, in comparison with Paul, was the older Apostle (Gal. i. 17), also wrote the messages to the seven Churches of Asia before Paul wrote his letters to the seven Churches. Cf. *GK*, ii. 70. The oft-mentioned Syriac *History of John*, which knows nothing of Rev. and does not name Patmos, represents John as banished by Nero and again set free by him (Wright, i. 60 ff.). Prochorus transfers the exile on Patmos to the time of Trajan or, according to another reading, of Hadrian (cf. the writer's *Acta Jo.* pp. 45, 46, 173, xxii, cxxv). To the emperor under whom John again received his freedom, he gives no name at all (p. 151). An indirect witness for the tradition supported by Irenæus is furnished by the opinion which repeatedly crops out, that Rev. is the last, or one of the last, writings of John and of the N.T. This is the view of Hippolytus, when he conceives of Rev. as written later than the Gospel (above, p. 197, n. 10). Furthermore, the employment of Rev. xxii. 18 f. to express the thought that it is sacrilege to add anything to the holy record of the N.T. revelation as of equal worth, seems to presuppose that Rev. is the last apostolic writing. Cf. Anonym. *Contra Montan.* in Eus. *H. E.* v. 16. 3; Iren. iv. 33. 8, v. 30. 1; Tert. *Contra Hermog.* xxii.; *GK*, i. 112 ff.

15. (P. 184.) According to Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39. 16, Papias is witness for 1 John (cf. vol. ii. 185 f., n. 1). It is very significant that the Syriac translation of Eusebius (cf. *ThLb*, 1893, col. 472), already known to Ephrem, and consequently originating at the latest about 360, freely renders this passage:

"This writer makes use of Papias as witness (for portions) of the letters of John and of Peter." By this there would not perhaps be meant several letters of John and of Peter; but the Syrian, who knew or recognised only the one letter of John and the one of Peter, included these both in one plural. The designation of Christ as *αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια* in the preface of Papias (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39. 3, cf. *ἡ αὐτοαλήθεια* in Orig. tom. vi. 3 *in Jo.*) reminds one very strongly of 3 John 12. Polycarp's statement (*ad Phil.* vii.: *πὰς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλοθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν*) has a much clearer connection with 2 John 7 than with 1 John iv. 2 f. On this point, as well as in regard to the similarity of Barnabas to the Epistles of John, cf. *GK*, i. 905 f.

16. (P. 184). Concerning the method of citation mentioned on p. 184 f., above, cf. the examples given in *GK*, i. 210 f. Even by such a learned man as Origen there is nothing more common than this carelessness. For new examples, cf. tom. i. 23 *in Jo.*, *κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον . . . ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους*; just the same i. 31; further, ii. 7, *ἐν τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς*. So also i. 33, *ἐν τῇ Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῇ* (=1 John ii. 1), besides i. 22, *ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ ὁ Ἰωάννης*; Ambros. *in Ps.* xxxvi. (ed. Bened. i. 777); Jerome, *ad Eph.* vi. 5, Vall. vii. 667.

17. (P. 185.) With reference to the Johannine Epistles in the Can. Mur. lines 28–34, 68, cf. *GK*, ii. 48–52, 88–95; on the other evidences for the Epistles, cf. i. 209–220, 374 f., 739, 759, 905 f.

18. (P. 186.) In the matter of Origen's witness to 2 and 3 John as given in Eus. *H. E.* vi. 25. 10, cf. *GK*, i. 211. For the testimony of Dionysius, cf. *H. E.* vii. 25. 11. And for the testimony of Eusebius himself, cf. *H. E.* iii. 24. 17, 25. 3. In the latter passage, at the end of the Antilegomena, he mentions *ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου, εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνῳ*. Here Eusebius evidently has in mind John the presbyter who was discovered by him. So is he understood by a later writer who quotes from him (*TU*, v. 2. 170). But in the passage where Eusebius communicates his discovery of the presbyter John (iii. 39. 5–6), he makes use of him only in reference to Rev., just as the double tomb of John at Ephesus is employed by him and before him by Dionysius (Eus. vii. 25. 16) only for the hypothesis of a second John as the author of Rev., not as the author of the shorter Epistles. Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* ix.) has nothing to say about the very clearly stated hypothesis of Eusebius regarding the presbyter John as the author of Rev.; in fact he turns against it the material offered him through Eusebius and the mere hints which Eus. gives (iii. 25. 3) as to the boastful assertions respecting the Epistles (*Vir. Ill.* ix. after the discussion of 1 John: "reliquæ autem duo. . . . Johannis presbyteri asseruntur, cuius et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur; et nonnulli putant, duas memorias eiusdem Johannis evangelistæ esse," etc. Later (*Vir. Ill.* xviii.) he infers as does Eus. (*H. E.* iii. 39. 4–6) from the preface of Papias, that a presbyter John—a different person from the apostle—had been the teacher of Papias, and continues: "Hoc autem dicimus propter superiorem opinionem (i.e. *Vir. Ill.* ix.), qua a plerisque rettulimus traditum, duas posteriores epistulas Johannis non apostoli esse, sed presbyteri." Jerome does not even know how to quote himself accurately. Cf. v. Sychowski, *Hieron. als Literarhist.* S. 91, 107.

19. (P. 187.) James stands before his brother John three times in Matt., nine times in Mark, three times in Luke. John precedes James only in Luke viii. 51, ix. 28; Acts i. 13. The use of *οἱ* (*υἱοί* or *τοῦ*) *Ζεβεδαίου* without the proper name is found only in Matt. xx. 20, xxvi. 37, xxvii. 56; John xxi. 2; beside the names of the sons, Matt. iv. 21, x. 2; Mark i. 19, iii. 17, x. 35; Luke v. 10. In regard to John as the youngest of all the apostles, cf. the writer's *Acta Jo.* p. cxxxiv f.; in addition to this, cf. Theod. Mops. *Comm. in Jo.* (Syriac ed. Chabot, p. 3. 16).

20. (P. 187.) Cf. the discussion regarding the brothers and the cousins of Jesus, *Forsch.* vi. 225–363, especially 338–341.

21. (P. 188.) Mark x. 35 represents the sons of Zebedee as themselves presenting the request. At the same time the statement (Matt. xx. 20) that their mother came before Jesus with them and was herself the spokesman sounds most credible. Mark and still more Luke, who gives no account of this incident, leads the reader, who knows the story through the sequence of the narratives in Mark ix. 33-40, Luke ix. 46–55, to suppose that the brothers were very actively concerned in the dispute for position. According to Luke xxii. 24–34, cf. John xiii. 4–17, the dispute was renewed at the time of the Last Supper, and Peter also appears to have had a part in it.

22. (P. 191.) Iren. iii. 3. 4. In regard to this passage and the entire testimony of Irenæus as to the relation of Polycarp to John, cf. *Forsch.* iv. 259 f., vi. 72–78, 96–109.

23. (P. 192.) Eus. *H. E.* iii. 5. 2 f.; *Demonstr. ev.* vi. 18. 14; Epiph. *De Mens.* xv.; *Hær.* xxix. 7, xxx. 2 (cf. vol. ii. 588 f., n. 3), cf. Theod. Mops., ed. Swete, i. 115 f.

24. (P. 192.) Iren. iii. 3. 4 (as given in Greek in Eus. iv. 14. 6): *καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ ἀκηκοότες αὐτοῦ* (*i.e.* of Polycarp), *ὅτι Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητής, ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον, ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπών: "φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ."* No suspicion can be attached to this narrative of Polycarp's, traced back so definitely to ear-witnesses, who were still living in the time of Irenæus, through the very similar narratives of Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 24, in which Ebion takes the place of Cerinthus (*GK*, ii. 757). If, in all probability, the latter account goes back to Leucius, who wrote earlier than Irenæus, then it is a significant confirmation of the historicity of Polycarp's narrative. Leucius, who was at least connected with the school of Valentinus (vol. ii. 73, n. 7), and therefore not so greatly out of sympathy with the teaching of Cerinthus, although he was anti-Judaistic, has substituted the name of Ebion for Cerinthus, which he has probably retained beside it as "Merinthus"; cf. the writer's *Acta Jo.* p. cxxxviii. The anecdote is of itself not possible of invention. What inventor of legends would represent an apostle as frequenting a public bathing-place. In Epiph. (*op. cit.*) one can read how offensive this story from a secular source was to the pious taste. But it could not even have been invented fifty or sixty years after the death of John, if the fact was not established that Cerinthus in the lifetime of John had been prominent in Ephesus as a heretic.

25. (P. 192.) Polycarp's position in the question of the Passover we know through Iren. *Ep. ad Vict.* in Eus. *H. E.* v. 24. 16 (*Forsch.* iv. 283–303, where the present writer believes he has contradicted old errors, and has made clear

for the first time the real facts in the case); cf., further, Polyc. *Ep. ad Vict.* in Eus. *H. E.* v. 24. 1–8.

26. (P. 193.) Of the narratives regarding John which cannot be traced nearer to their sources, the one that claims special confidence is in Clement (*Quis Div.* xlii.), beginning with the words, *ἄκουσον μῦθον, οὐ μῦθον ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου παραδεδομένον καὶ μνήμῃ πεφυλαγμένον*, not poorly rendered by Herder in the legend, "Der gerettete Jüngling," cf. *Acta Jo.* p. cxl ff.; *Forsch.* vi. 16–18, 199. Further seems genuine what Jerome on Gal. vi. 10 (Vall. vii. 528 f., at all events according to one of the Greeks named on p. 370, probably according to Origin) related of the decrepit John, who, brought by his disciples into the assembly, could utter nothing but the ever repeated word *Filioli, diligite alterutrum.* So the story of John playing with the partridge, though originating with Leucius, has nothing made up about it (*Acta Jo.* pp. cxxxvi, 190). The resurrection of a dead man at Ephesus through the agency of John, which is testified to by Apollonius (in Eus. v. 18. 14) in the year 197, is perhaps identical with the interesting account *Acta Jo.* pp. 188. 33–190. 2, and also p. cxxxvi.

27. (P. 193.) The expression concerning the death of John at Ephesus, *παρέμεινε αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῶν Τραϊανοῦ χρόνων*, twice used by Irenæus (ii. 22. 5, iii. 3. 4), particularly in comparison with the similar assertion in regard to Polycarp (also in iii. 3. 4), allows of no other conception than that of a natural death. When at this same time Polycrates (Eus. iii. 31. 3, v. 24. 3) writes, *ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκὼς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος, οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται*, he characterises John, in the *first* place, according to John xiii. 25, as the Evangelist; *secondly*, as the high priest (as Epiph. *Hær.* xxix. 4, lxxviii. 14, characterises the Lord's brother James, an idea which probably arose in connection with the priestly origin of Mary and Salome; cf. above, p. 87); *thirdly*, as a witness and teacher, both of which he was in all the writings that bear his name, as well as in his preaching (John i. 14, xix. 35, xxi. 24; 1 John i. 1–4, iv. 14; Rev. i. 2; cf. *Forsch.* vi. 208–214). That Polycrates could have thought of *μάρτυς* in the sense of martyr, as he directly afterwards uses it of Polycarp and Thraseas, is improbable also, because, as in the case of these two, he would have placed the *μᾶρτυς* as designating the manner of John's death directly after the other titles. Otherwise he must have seen a martyrdom perhaps in the banishment to Patmos, Rev. i. 9. That prophecy regarding the sons of Zebedee, which is given in Mark x. 38 f., Matt. xx. 22 f., and which was fulfilled literally only in the case of James, gave early opportunity for explanatory interpretations, providing a Lat. fragment under Polycarp's name were genuine (*Patr. Ap.* ii. 171, with the necessary emendation *Acta Jo.* p. cxix). At all events, such interpretations were forthcoming from Origen and many later than he. On the other hand, this prophecy also gave rise to the invention of the legend regarding the immersion of John in boiling oil and his drinking a cup of poison (*Acta Jo.* pp. cxvi–cxxii). All this, and especially the silence of Irenæus, who had in his possession the work of Papias, would be incomprehensible or rather impossible, if, as has been often maintained, Papias had stated that the apostle John had been killed by the Jews. In one passage of the Chronicle of Georgios Hamartolos, about 860, where, according to all other manuscripts, he testifies to the peaceful death of

John (*ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀνεπαύσατο*), a single MS. has the direct contrary, *μαρτυρίου κατηξίωται*, and adds to this further that Papias says of John, in the second book of his work, *ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη*, by which the prophecy of Mark x. 39 was fulfilled in regard to him as well as in regard to his brother James (Georg. Hamart., ed. Muralt, p. 336, præf. xvii. f.; Nolte, *ThQSc*, 1862, S. 466 f.). De Boor, *TU*, v. 2. 170, has published from a collection of extracts, essentially the same thing in this form: *Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν.* That this MS. of Georgios is interpolated at this place, is just as certain as that in the second book of Papias there must have been something which served as a basis for the two extracts (cf. De Boor, 177 ff.). We do not possess the text. Just after this place the interpolator of Georgios has reproduced a passage from Orig. tom. xvi. 6 *in Mt.* most inexactly and with absolute incorrectness. The second excerptor shows by *ὁ θεολόγος* that he is not quoting the words of Papias. That which is common to both, namely, *Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη*, will remain as the expression of Papias. But who is the John of whom Papias speaks? Certainly not his teacher, the presbyter John of Ephesus, or an apostle John, to be distinguished from him, who possibly might have been a martyr in Palestine and never have come to Ephesus. For, in the first place, Papias knew only one John of the apostolic generation (vol. ii. 435 f.); and, secondly, in both of these cases the silence of Irenæus and all the testimony of those witnesses, among whom Irenæus is merely the clearest, would be incomprehensible. The question must, then, deal with another John, who can be no other than the Baptist: Commodianus, *Apol.* 222 (Judæi), *Johannem decollant, jugulant Zachariam ad aras*: Pseudo-Cypr. *Adv. Jud.* 2, *Johannem interimebant Christum demonstrantem.* Still more mistakenly and yet just as certainly does Theop. (Lat. ed.) *In Evv.* (*Forsch.* ii. 56, Text and Anm.) say the same thing in regard to the Baptist. Whoever thinks it improbable that Byzantine excerptors have transferred to the Apostle an expression of Papias concerning the Baptist, let him read the communication of Conybeare in the *Guardian* of July 18, 1894. The above mentioned Vardapet (above, p. 196, n. 3) calls Polycarp a "disciple of the Baptist," referring to the much older Ananias Sharkuni, who had rightly called him a "disciple of the evangelist John." Cf., besides, *Acta Jo.* cxviii, and more in detail *Forsch.* vi. 147–151.

28. (P. 193.) The last chapter of Leucius' *Acts of John* is preserved for us in what the Syriac version and the Armenian version, which is attributed to the fifth century, have in common with the Greek texts, and is confirmed not only by the silence of those who possessed the book, but incidentally also by their positive statements, *e.g.* Epiph. *Hær.* lxxix. 5, cf. *Acta Jo.* pp. xciv–cxii, 238–250, also p. 235; *Acta Ap. Apocr.*, ed. Lipsius et Bonnet, ii. part i. 215. Augustine is the oldest witness for the superstition that John still breathes in his grave and thereby lifts the surface of the earth; cf. the writer's *Acta Jo.* pp. 205, xcviii, cviii. In the same work, cf. pp. cliv–clxxii in regard to the various places where people later believed him to be buried, and the buildings connected with them.

§ 65. THE TESTIMONY OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL TO ITS AUTHOR.

John, whom we may venture to call the author of the Johannine writings, did not, like Matthew and Mark, prefix a title to his Gospel. Nor did he, like Luke, write a preface, or a dedication taking the place of a preface, in which the author, addressing the first reader or readers of his book, discussed the presuppositions and purpose of his literary work; since what is called the prologue to John (John i. 1–18) is an introduction of an entirely different sort. But in two later passages of his book (xix. 35, xx. 31), addressing his readers, John does speak concerning the reasons why he wrote, and in the first of these of his own, the narrator's, relation to the facts which he recorded. The occurrence of a "you" addressed to the readers in the midst of a narrative in which there is nothing else to indicate that it is of the nature of a communication, and to which no dedication is prefixed giving it a certain resemblance to a letter, is something unheard of in literature (n. 1). It is *the language of the preacher addressing his congregation.* This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in both passages the purpose of the written narrative is declared to be the upbuilding of the religious life of the readers. The narrative is a means used for the accomplishment of the preacher's end. It is, therefore, a sermon addressed to a definite group of hearers, or rather, since it is in written form, a definite group of readers. From this it follows at once that the readers for whom John wrote his book were Christians, with whom he was acquainted and who knew him. That they belonged to the Church is in no way rendered doubtful by the fact that Christian faith is declared to be the goal to which the readers are to be led by the testimony of John. For it is a peculiarity of the Fourth Gospel frequently to speak of a relative unbelief, and of a beginning of belief in those who in a general sense

have already become and are believers (n. 2). Furthermore, the language of the Gospel, especially xx. 31, shows very clearly that the reference is not to a first beginning of belief, but to the strengthening of already existing faith, and to the increase of the blessedness that accompanies living faith. The entire character of the book is against the assumption that it is intended to be a written sermon for the conversion of persons not yet believers. To address as "you" the indefinite and unknown "public" into whose hands the book might fall, especially a Gentile or Jewish public of this character, would show a lack of good taste quite unparalleled. With the help of the tradition (above, pp. 179 f., 194 f.) we may define the first impression of xix. 35, xx. 31 as follows: In imagination John sees the Church of Ephesus, or all the Christians of Asia, gathered about him, and in important passages of his book he addresses them directly. Under ordinary circumstances in written, as in oral, discourse the "you" which is twice used would correspond to an "I" representing the speaker. This is not only wanting in xix. 35, xx. 31, but throughout the entire book, and the question arises what substitute for it was chosen by the author who was known to the readers.

Omitting for the present the consideration of the supplement (chap. xxi. § 66), we observe that, while "I" does not occur in the prologue, "we," which includes the author, is used three times (i. 14, 16). When John compares the existence of the Logos, who became flesh upon earth, with the visible appearance of the glory of Yahweh during the flight out of Egypt and its descent upon and into the tabernacle, he immediately represents himself as one of the group of men among whom the Logos dwelt in the flesh as in a tent. Consequently he was also one of the men who beheld the glory of the Logos shining through the veil of the flesh when He dwelt among men; and, finally, he was one of those, all of whom had received from the fulness which this one personality held within itself grace upon

grace (n. 3). The use of the aorist three times in these statements, the subject of the last verb and the object of the first, make the writer's meaning perfectly clear. John does not regard himself as simply one of the contemporaries and fellow-countrymen of Jesus who saw Him occasionally and heard Him speak, but reckons himself, just as clearly as is done in 1 John i. 1–4, iv. 14, among "the eye-witnesses from the beginning"—the disciples who believed on Jesus and were in constant fellowship with Him; since Jesus had revealed His glory, not to those who had seen some of His wonderful deeds, or who had only heard of Him (ii. 23 ff., vi. 2, 14, 26, 36, xii. 37 ff., xv. 24), but to the disciples who believed on Him (ii. 11; cf. i. 51, xi. 40). To this circle the author belonged.

When first mentioned, the two disciples of John, who were the first to attach themselves to Jesus shortly after His baptism (i. 35–39), appear without names. It is not until later, and then in a very circumstantial way,—when something is to be narrated about Peter,—that we learn that one of these was Andrew, Peter's brother (ver. 40 f.). The thoughtful reader asks, "Who is the other of these first two disciples of Jesus?" One would naturally suppose that this particular evangelist, who is the only one to relate how a group of disciples was first gathered about Jesus, and who gives details about more disciples than do the other evangelists (n. 4), must have regarded these first two disciples as of equal importance. Our wonder is increased when we read ver. 41. According to the correct reading, which is to be accepted more because of its originality than because of strong external testimony, it is stated with marked emphasis that Andrew, the *first* of the two disciples, finds *his own* brother, which implies that after Andrew the *other* of the two disciples, whose name is not mentioned, also finds *his* brother, whose name is likewise unmentioned (n. 5). To everyone who can read Greek it is perfectly clear between the lines that, in

addition to the two brothers Andrew and Peter, there must have been two other brothers who left John and became disciples of Jesus. The more peculiar this suppression of the names of the second pair of brothers and the mere suggestion of an event which clearly was of importance to the author seem, the more imperative is it that we ask the reason for the peculiarity. In all four lists of the apostles the two brothers whom John mentions, Andrew and Peter, are associated with two other brothers, John and James, and the names of these four always stand at the head of the lists. It is more than conjecture to suppose that the two brothers associated with Peter and Andrew in John's account of the call of the disciples are the same as those who in the lists of the apostles without exception sustain the same relation to them. This enables us also to explain why these four names always come first. They were the first of the apostles who became disciples of Jesus. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in all four of the lists Philip occupies the fifth place, as in John, and Nathanael, who is sixth in John's account—if he be identical with Bartholomew—occupies this same position in the lists of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, being seventh only in Acts i. 13 (n. 6).

For the present we may conclude our proof of the identity of the unnamed brothers in John i. 35–41 with James and John by calling attention to the further fact that these two apostles, who, according to the testimony of all the other tradition, together with Peter stood closest to Jesus, and who are distinguished by the place given them in the lists of the apostles and by the rôle which they played in Acts (above, p. 187 f.), are never mentioned by name in the Fourth Gospel. Nor is their father, Zebedee, mentioned except in the supplementary chapter xxi. (ver. 2); and, as we have already seen (above, p. 187), even their mother, Salome, is designated as the sister of Jesus' mother without mention of her name. How are we to explain the

fact that no mention is made of the names of this family, all the members of which were so close to Jesus, and the fact that in this Gospel, in which the personal characteristics of the members of the apostolic circle are more strongly brought out than in any other, there is complete silence concerning two apostles of the first rank? It is even less possible to think of the omission of the names of the two brothers in John i. 35–41 without connecting this fact with the entire silence of the Gospel concerning James and John, than it is to think of the unnamed brothers among the first four disciples without connecting this fact with the occurrence of the names of James and John among the first four apostles in all the lists. Unless we are willing to assume a multitude of peculiar accidents and to admit that the facts to which attention has been called are a meaningless puzzle, we must admit, as the result of a purely exegetical study, that one of the two disciples whose name is not mentioned in i. 35 ff. was either James or John, and that the brother whose name is likewise unmentioned, whom one of these found and brought to Jesus as Andrew did Peter, was either John or James. But the only credible reason for the absence of the names of James and John and of the entire family in the Fourth Gospel, is the aversion of the author of this book to introducing himself by the use of "I," or by the use of his name, into the history, which to him and his readers was sacred—an aversion which is manifested in different ways by the other evangelists and the author of Acts (n. 7). It is the author of the book who introduces himself and his brother without mention of their names. The author is, or means to represent himself as being, either the unnamed companion of Andrew in i. 35–39, or the brother of this unnamed person not expressly mentioned, of the finding of whom we read between the lines in ver. 41. Which of these two it was is determined by the character of the narrative in vv. 35–39. While there is no account

of the finding of the brother by the companion of Andrew, in vv. 35–39, it is either the account of something the author experienced, or a skilful imitation of such an experience (n. 8). The unnamed person is, therefore, the narrator, who with Andrew followed Jesus at the suggestion of his former teacher, and who after hours of conversation with Jesus became convinced that He was the Messiah, and who, like Andrew, but somewhat later, brought his own brother to the newly-found teacher. It is easier still to determine whether the narrator was John or James. Not only does tradition unanimously make John the author, but it is impossible that James, who was put to death in the year 44 (Acts xii. 2), should have been the author of this Gospel, which was certainly written much later. Nor is it conceivable that a writer of a later time should have identified himself with this James who died at such an early date, and who was so little prominent after the death of Jesus, and that this identification should have been entirely without result. The author was, therefore, John, the son of Zebedee.

Since the six men, whose first contact with Jesus is narrated in i. 35–51, accompanied Him on His journey to Galilee (i. 43), and are represented as being among the witnesses of His wonderful deeds (i. 50 f.), it is self-evident that wherever in the further course of the Gospel the disciples of Jesus are mentioned (ii. 2, 11, 12, 17, 22, iii. 22, iv. 2, 8, 27–38) these disciples are meant, or at least included. This name is also applied to all those who, through their faith in Jesus and at least a temporary attachment to Him, are distinguished from the multitudes who come and go (iv. 1, vi. 60–66, vii. 3, viii. 31, ix. 27 f., xix. 38). But where "the disciples" are spoken of as the travelling companions of Jesus, or His regular followers, or His companions at table, it is made clear in various ways that those are meant whom Jesus had appointed at the beginning to share His work, whom He had attached

to Himself, and twelve of whom He had chosen to be apostles at a time not definitely indicated by John (n. 9). Where individuals belonging to this circle are mentioned by name they are always those who, from the other sources we know, belonged to the circle of the Twelve, namely, Andrew (vi. 8, xii. 22), Peter (vi. 8, 68, xiii. 6–9, 24, 36–38, xviii. 10, 11, 15–18, 25–27, xx. 2–7), Philip (vi. 5–7, xii. 22, xiv. 8), Thomas (xi. 16, xiv. 5, xx. 24–29), Judas the traitor (vi. 71, xii. 4, xiii. 2, 11–26–30, xviii. 2–9), and the other Judas (xiv. 22). When Philip and Peter reappear in the narrative, it is assumed that they are already known from chap. i. On the other hand, Thomas and Judas are introduced as if heretofore unknown. While Andrew is introduced in vi. 8 as a new figure, it is done in such a way that the reader recalls i. 40, just as he recalls i. 44 in connection with the third mention of Philip in xii. 21. Attention is never again called to i. 35–39, 41, and the two unnamed brothers. It is not until xiii. 23–25 that an unnamed person belonging to the inner circle of the disciples is once more brought into prominence, and then again in xix. 26–35 and xx. 2–10, with unmistakable reference to xiii. 23. One of the disciples reclining with Jesus at the table occupied the place at His right, which is explained by the remark that Jesus had a special fondness for him. The confidence which was a natural result of this fondness is evidenced by the fact that the disciple arose from his place, which was lower down and removed somewhat from the Lord, and, leaning on Jesus' breast, quietly whispered to Him the question about the identity of the traitor. Who is this disciple for whom Jesus showed a special love, which was distinguished from His love to all men, and especially to His disciples (xiii. 1, xv. 9, 13), not so much by its greatness or its strength as by His special fondness for the particular personality of this disciple (n. 10)? The answer of the early Church always was, "This unnamed disciple is the evangelist who is identical

with the apostle John" (n. 11). And it is difficult to understand how, if we accept the identity of the evangelist with the disciple who leaned on Jesus' breast, the identity of the same with the apostle John can be denied. According to Matt. xxvi. 20; Mark xiv, 17, 20; Luke xxii. 14, 30, no one except the twelve apostles took part in Jesus' last meal, and John itself makes it clear that it was the apostles whom Jesus had chosen for a special service, and particularly for the service of preaching, who sat with Him on the last evening at table, and that the only person among those at the table not really belonging to the circle was the apostle Judas, not some admirer of Jesus who belonged to the larger group of His disciples (n. 9). In view of the entire agreement of the evangelists as to this point, every statement to the effect that others were present at the table is to be regarded as *a priori* false, and every attempt to derive from the Fourth Gospel itself a conception in contradiction to the more explicit testimony of Matthew, Mark, and Luke is to be regarded as making mockery of the text (n. 12).

The fact that the disciple who leaned on Jesus' breast, like the companion of Andrew in i. 35 ff., is unnamed, is to be explained, as it is in i. 35 ff., by the fact that the author is speaking of himself; and what in the latter instance was inferred from the apparent identity of the two pairs of brothers who were the first disciples, with the two pairs of brothers who are mentioned first in all the lists of the apostles, namely, that the narrator was, like his brother, an apostle, follows directly from the situation in xiii.–xvii. In i. 35 ff. the only question was as to whether John or James was the narrator, which, in view of the time prior to which the Fourth Gospel could not have been written and the unanimous tradition, was decided in favour of John; and both these arguments apply in case of the unnamed narrator in xiii. 23 ff. The fact is also to be taken into consideration, that in the nature of the case the

apostle upon whom Jesus bestowed His special friendship must have been one of the three most intimate disciples of Jesus (above, p. 187). If for reasons already mentioned James is out of the question, and if Peter is excluded because in John xiii. 24 and frequently also in other passages he is associated with the unnamed disciple, there remains only the apostle John. This conclusion that the unnamed apostle in xiii. 23 ff. was John is confirmed by the fact that in John xiii. 23 ff., xx. 2–10, and, as will be shown, in xxi. 1–7, 20–25 also—possibly also in xviii. 15–18—this unnamed disciple is associated with Peter, just as was the apostle John, according to other tradition (Luke xxii. 8; Acts iii. 1 ff., iv. 13 ff., viii. 14 ff.; cf. Gal. ii. 9), even before the death of James, the son of Zebedee, who was the third among the intimate apostles of Jesus.

In xix. 26, xx. 2, the unmistakable reference to xiii. 23 makes it certain that the apostle John was among the disciples who stood near the cross and hastened to the grave; but in xviii. 15, according to the reading supported by the strongest evidence (ἄλλος μαθητής, without the article), a disciple is introduced in association with Peter, who for the time being is left unidentified. While formally it is possible to assume that here some person other than the apostle John is meant, the analogy of xiii. 23, where in the same manner, without regard to his earlier reference to himself in i. 35 ff., the apostle is introduced as merely one of the disciples, and, afterwards characterised by his special relation to Jesus, shows that this assumption, while possible, is not necessary. Certainly the unnamed person in xviii. 15 was one of the apostles, since, together with Peter, he follows Jesus from the place where Jesus was taken prisoner to the palace of the high priest. But in Gethsemane, as at the Last Supper, only apostles were present; and of these Peter, John, and James were especially near to Jesus. When it is further borne in mind that the names of personages so little prominent in

the narrative as Malchus (xviii. 10), Mary the wife of Clopas (xix. 25), and Joseph of Arimathea (xix. 38) are mentioned by name in John, and that nowhere save in the passages in which we have discovered the author himself is an apostle introduced as speaking or acting without being mentioned by name, there can be no doubt that the anonymity of the *other* disciple and apostle (xviii. 15) is to be judged by the analogy of similar passages already discussed. The *other* disciple is one of the two apostles whom the author, from principle and without exception, introduces only anonymously, *i.e.* either John or James. But the reasons which in all the other cases were decisive for John and against James are not applicable here. There is nothing in the experience related in xviii. 15–16 to indicate that it was that of the author. The apostle John could have learned this simple incident from his brother James, or from Peter. Nor have we, as in the case of xiii. 23 (xix. 26, xx. 2), a very ancient tradition—found as early as John xxi. 24—that the unnamed person in xviii. 15 is identical with the author. Consequently the unnamed person in xviii. 15 could have been some person other than the author, namely, the apostle James, the son of Zebedee; and if anyone prefers this assumption, and thinks that it explains the noticeable absence in xviii. 15 of a reference to xiii. 23, which is taken up again in xix. 26, xx. 2, there is no decided objection to this view. Not even the consideration that the apostle, who alone had the courage to press his way up to the cross, namely, the evangelist and apostle John, was probably the same disciple who ventured into the palace of the high priest, is decisive (n. 13). But hesitancy in this one instance about deciding which of the two sons of Zebedee is meant does not affect in any way the definiteness of the conclusion based on the other passages, namely, that the author is, or intends to represent himself as, the apostle John.

If the apostle John was not the author, then the author

certainly expresses in the strongest possible way his intention of being taken for John, particularly in the one passage (xix. 35) in the narrative where he imagines himself among his readers, and addresses them. The account of Jesus' death on the cross is concluded by the mention of two incidents connected with it—the fact that the soldiers, when they say that Jesus was already dead, did not, as in the case of those crucified with Him, break His legs; and that one of them pierced Jesus' side with a spear, and that blood and water flowed from the wound. That the last-mentioned fact, important as it may be in itself, is incidental in this connection, is proved by the fact that the two quotations, designed to prove that these things took place in fulfilment of prophetic utterances in Scripture (ver. 36 f.), refer only to the fact that the legs were not broken, and that Jesus was pierced with a spear, but not at all to the issue of blood and of water from His side. Nevertheless, the remark which the author inserts between the narrative and the reference to the prophecies which it fulfilled, *καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν κτλ.*, refers to the entire contents of vv. 32–34. Since it is not stated that some eye-witness of the event narrated it to others, but as the subject is "*he*, who saw it," *i.e.* the specific eye-witness who has been already mentioned and is known, and since, for grammatical reasons, and because of the contents, the women in ver. 25, and especially the soldiers in ver. 32, are excluded, the only person that can be referred to is the one man who remained loyal to Jesus, who, according to ver. 26 f., stood near the cross during the last moments of Jesus' life,—the disciple whom Jesus particularly loved, the apostle who in xiii. 23 and in xix. 26 is characterised in the same way. The readers here addressed would have recognised the well-known author (above, p. 207) as they did in i. 35 ff., xiii. 23 f. (xviii. 15 f.); they certainly did not ascertain for the first time in xix. 35 who the author was. On the other hand,

the modern reader, farther removed from the author, learns for the first time clearly in xix. 35 what can be ascertained from the earlier passages only by inference, namely, that the narrator of the story of the cross and the author of the Gospel are identical with the apostle whom Jesus especially loved. For the μεμαρτύρηκεν relates to the testimony given in the written account that precedes. It is possible that the eye-witness testified to these things orally more than once before he embodied his testimony in a narrative, and that in this passage his thought embraces both the oral and written testimony. But it is impossible to interpret the words as referring to any oral testimony whatsoever without regard to whom it was addressed. The perfect does not exclude the possibility of its reference, primarily or even exclusively, to the written testimony that immediately precedes (cf. i. 34, iv. 18, vi. 65, xiv. 29, xv. 15, xx. 31); while the presents which follow (ἐστίν, λέγει), and the statement that this testimony and word in question are designed to influence the readers addressed to believe (cf. xx. 31), prove that the reference is to the testimony which has just been laid before the readers of the book in the preceding account. As has been already remarked, the author did not write xix. 35 with the purpose in view which it may incidentally serve in our case, namely, to enable his readers here toward the end of the book to discover his identity—something which could have been done much earlier and much more simply. He wrote it rather to make his readers feel that it was an eye-witness who reported the facts which immediately preceded.

This conclusion is confirmed by the second and third statements which follow, each of which is connected with what precedes by καί. According to the regular usage of ἀληθινός in John—the retaining of which here is all the more reasonable because ἀληθής is used in the same context—the second clause means that the testimony of the

narrator is worthy of the name; it is testimony in the full sense of the word. In the broad sense any statement which corresponds to the facts may be called a testimony, but the full and original sense of the word is preserved only when one testifies to what he has seen, heard, and in general experienced (n. 14). The third clause goes farther, and says that the witness here testifying speaks the truth, which would by no means necessarily follow from his having been present when the events in question took place, and that he records this truthful account only in order that the readers, like the author, may attain to faith. This is not stated directly with the words, *καὶ ἀληθὴ λέγει κτλ.*, but is introduced by the very much disputed phrase *κἀκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀ. λ.* Even if the interpretation of the preceding clauses just given be incorrect, it is nonsensical to claim that here in one breath the evangelist claims that his account is that of an eye-witness, and at the same time distinguishes himself, the writer, from the eye-witness who is absent and no longer living (n. 15). At all events, it is a fact that the author, instead of using an "I" or a "we," that would include himself (i. 14; 1 John i. 1 ff.; Acts xvi. 10 ff.),—which formally would be in better keeping with the "you" of the address,—follows the same course as in the preceding narrative, and speaks of himself in the third person (*λέγει*, n. 7). Theoretically this makes it possible for him to use *ἐκεῖνος* of himself, the writer, or of "the writer of these things," as he might use *οὗτος*, or *αὐτός*, or *ὁ τοιοῦτος*, which in a discourse where the speaker uses the first person of himself would imply strong emphasis upon the "I" (ix. 37, cf. iv. 26; 2 Cor. xii. 3). But if the subject of *οἶδα* is the same as the subject of *μεμαρτύρηκεν* and *λέγει*, there is no reason why it should be emphasised by the use of a demonstrative, and thereby be given a certain contrastive force. The idea, however, that the author himself was conscious of the entire truth of his account,

or of his statement about being an eye-witness, would not be expressed in this way, but by *αὐτὸς οἶδεν* or (*αὐτὸς*) *ἑαυτῷ σύνοιδεν*. Nor is it possible to understand what value this appeal to the author's own conscience would have for the readers. In v. 31 f., viii. 13–18, cf. x. 25, 37 f., xiv. 11, they had read how the most guileless of men had acknowledged the insufficiency of His own testimony to Himself. Consequently they would not have understood, nor could they have allowed the exaltation of the disciple above his master and the proud appeal to his own consciousness as the decisive proof of the truth of his statement. Therefore it follows, both from the contents of the passage and from the language used, that the *ἐκεῖνος* to whom the author appeals is another and a higher one than himself. But it would be only an empty phrase, if the one to whom he appeals to bear witness to the truth of his statement were some person already dead, who can neither affirm nor deny what he says. Nor can God be meant, the only natural expression for which would be *ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν*. On the other hand, it is quite in keeping with the Johannine usage for *ἐκεῖνος* to refer to Christ (n. 16). It seems even more natural here than in 1 John; for, in the first place, John has here reached the conclusion of the earthly life of the Lord, and He is the one overshadowing figure in all the preceding narratives. John and his readers know that He who died on the cross lives in the world above; nor can there be any question in their minds that He who in His earthly life showed such wonderfully profound knowledge of the human heart (John i. 42, 47 f., ii. 25, iv. 17 f., vi. 64–71), now from His heavenly throne, to which the cross was only preparatory, knows, proves, and judges even more deeply the innermost thoughts and works of His servants upon earth (Rev. ii. 2, 9, 18, 23). In the second place, as indicated by the address to the readers, John imagines himself in the midst of the assembled congregation. Here,

however, the Christians of that time knew Christ to be always invisibly near (Matt. xviii. 20 ; 1 Cor. v. 4 ; Rev. ii. 1). In an address to the assembled congregation, a "Thou knowest that I speak the truth" (cf. John xxi. 15–17) directed to Christ passes naturally into the assurance intelligible to every member, "He, the only one, He who is exalted from the cross to heaven, He knows that His witness on earth speaks the truth, and that he does not here testify out of any feeling of self-complacency in order to represent himself as the only faithful witness among the apostles, but only in order that the readers may possess the same unwavering faith which he himself enjoys." Such an affirmation has the force of an *oath*. This is the climax of all the testimony of this Gospel to its author. This is not the place to discuss why John makes so much of this testimony, and why he lets it culminate just in this passage in an appeal to Christ, as the highest witness and judge, that has the force of an oath.

The exposition of the actual situation is of itself sufficient refutation of the attempts to make the testimony of the Fourth Gospel refer to some other person than the apostle John (n. 17). Those efforts are frequently influenced by the idea that the author refers to himself in some very mysterious manner. Again there are others who think that between the attempt to identify himself with the intimate disciples of Jesus and the consciousness that he was making a false claim, the author's attitude becomes one of wavering. To the extent that this opinion is based upon xix. 35 it must fall to the ground of its own weight, even if the preceding interpretation of this passage be incorrect. Since it is inconceivable that, at the very moment when for the first time, with the exception of the general testimony of i. 14, he unhesitatingly describes his account as that of an eyewitness, the courage and intelligence of the author should have failed him, to such an extent as no longer to render

him able in intelligible language to say to his readers that he himself is this eye-witness, *or* that he is someone else who received his information directly or indirectly from the eye-witness. If this was the actual relation of the author to the apostle John, then i. 14 is a weak attempt to deceive the readers as to the real facts, and xix. 35 is the halting confession of a false witness who is no longer able to maintain his rôle. But granted that the contradiction between i. 14 and xix. 35 can be got rid of, by proving in the former passage, with the aid of exegetical art, that it is not the testimony of an eye-witness, and by reading into xix. 35 the clear confession of the author who was not the eye-witness as to his actual relation to this person, yet the consistent silence of the Gospel concerning the apostle John and his entire family in i. 35 ff., xiii. 23 ff., xviii. 15 ff., xix. 26 f., 35, xx. 2–8 is an unsolvable riddle, or rather an unreasonable and purposeless trifling. If, as the fact that they are twice addressed would seem to indicate, the author was known to the readers, as the writer of a letter is usually known to the persons whom he addresses, the avoidance of the use of "I" and of "we" in the narrative, and his constant suppression of his own name and that of his family, is not to be considered an aimless attempt to create an air of mystery, even less so than is the similar procedure of Mark; but it is an expression of that sense of fitness which in various ways meets us everywhere in the historical literature of this time, Christian and non-Christian alike. Therefore, the only question is whether the witness of the Gospel to its author, which was clear to the original readers at once, and is so to the modern reader after a little reflection, is worthy of credence or not. The testimony of the post-apostolic Church as to the origin of the book (§ 64) does not so confirm its witness and correspond so exactly to it that it may be regarded as simply an echo of it; for, with regard to the time and place of the

composition of the Gospel, concerning which the tradition of the ancient Church gives very definite information, no clear testimony is to be derived from John i.–xx., of which the tradition of the origin of the Fourth Gospel in Ephesus late in the apostolic age might be regarded as a reflexion.

1. (P. 207.) As to addressing a person to whom a writing is dedicated, apart from the dedication itself, cf. above, pp. 81, 85, nn. 2, 10. Concerning Just. *Dial.* viii. cxli., cf. *ZfKG*, viii. 45 f. As a rule, such direct address occurs also in writings at the beginning of which there stands a dedication, but in such cases only at the end of the entire writing or at the transition from one book of a larger work to another, so that xx. 31 would be less striking than xix. 35. The address xx. 31 is not without example even in writings in which the preface has not the form of a letter of dedication (Jos. *Vita*, 76; cf. *Ant.* i., Procem. 2). On the other hand, the direct address, xix. 35, is unprecedented in historical literature. There is, of course, no parallel here with such narratives as the accounts of the death of Polycarp or of the martyrs of Lyons, which have throughout the form of epistles (*Patr. Ap.*, ed. maior, ii. 132, 162; Eus. *H. E.* v. 1. 3); the comparison lies rather with the *Passio Perpetuæ* (ed. Robinson, p. 62. 13), which, partly in Johannine forms, show that it is intended for reading in the meetings of the Church (pp. 61, 94). In other writings, as in the pseudo-Cyprian *ad Novatianum* and *de Aleatoribus*, it appears from addresses, such as *fratres dilectissimi*, that they are not treatises, but either sermons or letters.

2. (P. 207.) It is indeed said of those who are already believers, that they came to their faith through a new experience, ii. 11, 22, xx. 8, or that they should believe, xi. 15, 40, 42, xiii. 19, xiv. 1, 11, 29, xx. 24–29, or it is denied that they have the right belief, cf. iii. 2 with iii. 11 f., or viii. 30 f. with viii. 45–47; also iv. 41 f., 48–53. It is to be further noted that in xix. 35, xx. 31 is probably to be read with ℵ*B *πιστεύητε* ("may believe"), not *πιστεύσητε* ("shall believe"), and that an author who writes x. 38, *ἵνα γνῶτε καὶ γινώσκητε*, is conscious of this difference.

3. (P. 209.) The comparison of the Logos appearing in the flesh with the manifestation of the glory of God, Ex. xiii. 21 f., xxxiii. 9 f., xl. 34–38, is warranted not only by the word *ἐσκήνωσεν*, which the LXX does not employ of the Shekinah (it uses, indeed, *κατασκηνοῦν*, Num. xxxv. 34; 1 Kings vi. 13), though it is used by Aquila, Ex. xxiv. 16, xxv. 8, but also by the combination of the conceptions *σκηνοῦν* and *δόξα*, as well as by the antithesis of the חסד ואמת and the law given through Moses (vv. 14, 16, 17; cf. Ex. xxxiv. 6, 29–35); cf. also John ii. 21; Rev. xxi. 3; Ex. xxxvii. 27; Joel iv. 17. Moreover, the metaphorical use of *σκῆνος*, 2 Cor. v. 1, 4, and *σκήνωμα*, 2 Pet. i. 13 f., for the body may have occasioned the employment of *σκηνοῦν* in this place, and made the thought more intelligible to the first readers. The circle of the disciples is designated by *ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν* as the Church, in whose midst the glory of the Logos dwelt in the flesh, as in a tabernacle. But the additional *πάντες*, ver. 16, does not mean an expansion

of this circle to those who later attained to the belief, among whom the Logos had not visibly dwelt—in which case the aorist would not have been adhered to—but is explained from the contrast of the many who received, and the One from whose fulness all drew as from one single source.

4. (P. 209.) In Matt. iv. 18–22, ix. 9, x. 2–4; Mark i. 16–20, ii. 14, iii. 13–19; Luke v. 2–11, 27, vi. 13–16 we are not informed, as we are in John i. 35–51 (*al.* 52 because of the division of ver. 39), of the organisation of a circle of the disciples. We are told simply of the call of those who already believe on Jesus to follow and work with Him (vol. ii. 541 f.). The Synoptists present to us the character outlines only of Peter, the sons of Zebedee, and Judas the traitor; concerning the publican among the apostles, of whose call we are told (vol. ii. 506 f.), as also of Andrew, very little is said. On the other hand, Peter (i. 40–42, vi. 68, xiii. 6–10, 36–38, xviii. 10–27, xx. 2–10, xxi. 2–22) and the traitor (vi. 70 f., xii. 4–6, xiii. 2, 11, 18–30, xviii. 2 f.) are, at least, as prominent as they are in the Synoptics. However, it is John alone who informs us of the remarks of Philip (i. 43 f., vi. 5–7, xii. 21 f., xiv. 8–10), of Thomas (xi. 16, xiv. 4 f., xx. 24–29; cf. xxi. 2), of Andrew (i. 40 f., vi. 8; cf. xii. 22), of Judas the son of James (xiv. 22), indeed, very characteristic remarks throughout (cf. Luthardt, *Das joh. Ev.*[2] i. 78–119). The phlegmatic character of Philip, which accounts for the fact that he alone of the first disciples had to be expressly invited (i. 43) by Jesus to join the Twelve, is reflected in the cumbrous confession (i. 45), especially in contrast to the brief εὑρήκαμεν τὸν Μεσσίαν of Andrew (i. 41), which expresses no less exultation than the εὕρηκα of Archimedes. Philip doubtfully makes calculation, while Andrew immediately discovers the means at hand (vi. 5–9). He does not venture to submit the wish of the Greeks to Jesus until he has consulted the more courageous Andrew; while the latter, as is shown by the fact that he is first mentioned, is ready to make the request of Jesus in the name of them both (xii. 21). Also in xiv. 8–10 Philip still appears more than the others as the doubtful one. It would be in special keeping with this character sketch that, as Clem. *Strom.* iii. 25 declares—probably following the *Gospel of Philip*—the remark given in Matt. viii. 22, Luke ix. 60 might have been directed to Philip if the apostle, and not the evangelist Philip were meant by it (cf. *GK*, ii. 766; *Forsch.* vi. 26, 158 f., 161). The portrait of Thomas, whose name John alone translates (xi. 16, xx. 24; cf. xxi. 2), speaks for itself. Here belongs, too, the fact that only John gives an account of the characteristic remarks of the brothers of Jesus (vii. 3–10), whose attitude toward Jesus as given in the Synoptists is not at all clear (Matt. xii. 46–50, xiii. 55; Mark iii. 21 (?), 31–35, vi. 3; Luke viii. 19–20; Acts i. 14), and that he as well as Luke (i. 26–ii. 51), through important information, gives character to the picture of the mother of Jesus (ii. 3–5, xix. 25–27; cf. ii. 12, vi. 42), which is entirely colourless in the other Gospels. But it is worthy of note that throughout his narrative he calls her merely "His mother," only once "the mother of Jesus" (ii. 1), and never by her name, which Matthew uses 5 times, Luke (incl. Acts i. 14) 13 times, and Mark at least once. John lets his adopted mother also participate in the anonymity of his whole family.

5. (P. 209.) In John i. 41, ABMT^{b}XΠ have πρῶτον, also one of the later correctors of ℵS^{1}S^{3}, and a few minuscules, among which are two of

the Ferrar group (69, 346, on the other hand not 124); ℵ*LΓΔΛ and the mass of the remainder have πρῶτος. So also Sh. Moreover, there is not much more to gain on this point from the older versions. Sc Ss eliminate the characteristic passage, "and one of these disciples of John: Andrew was his name, the brother of Simon (Kepha,† Sc). And this Andrew saw Simon Kepha on that day (so Ss; only "Simon Kepha," Sc) and said to him," etc. The copyists who corrected πρῶτος to πρῶτον (ℵ^{c} from ℵ*) certainly wished to have it understood not adverbially, but as an accusative; because, to designate this deed as the first that Andrew did (cf. Matt. v. 24, vii. 5; John ii. 10, vii. 51; Rom. i. 8), would be meaningless in a connection where nothing of the further action of Andrew is told, and a closer time connection of ver. 40 f. with vv. 35–39 is not expressed at all. Moreover, the accusative (cf. Matt. xvii. 27), which would mean that Andrew, as the first of those whom he found or of all who were found, found Peter, is impossible; because, in the first place, the hypothesis, that Andrew had received and later carried out the command to seek men, would have no support in this connection, while the notion of Delff (*Gesch. des Rabbi Jesus*, 1889, S. 80), that not Jesus, but Andrew, is the subject of εὑρίσκει Φίλιππον, ver. 43, merits no refutation. But, secondly, τὸν ἴδιον would not suit such a connection; instead of this, αὐτοῦ alone would have been more appropriate. We are, therefore, to read πρῶτος. But this finds its antithesis, of course, not in Philip who finds Nathanael later (ver. 45),—about which the reader knows nothing in ver. 41, and to which his attention is not called in ver. 45,—but in the other of the two men who have been already introduced. As the *first* of the two disciples of John who had followed Jesus, Andrew finds *his* brother (cf. John xx. 4, 8; Matt. xxii. 25; Rom. x. 19). In this way only is explained the strongly accented τὸν ἴδιον, which, just as πρῶτος here, and as ἴδιος everywhere (especially in connection with ἕκαστος, John xvi. 32; Acts ii. 8; 1 Cor. xv. 23, 38), is intended adversely or distributively. Each of the two men finds his brother, but Andrew as the *first* finds *his*.

6. (P. 210.) In regard to Nathanael=Bartholomew, cf. vol. ii. 524 and vol. i. 31; in regard to the variation of the list, cf. vol. ii. 522 f. n. 1. Späth (*ZfWTh*, 1868, S. 168 ff., 309 ff.) wished to show that Nathanael is a pseudonym for the author, who, however, still wishes to pass for the apostle John. Aside from xxi. 2, where Nathanael stands next to the sons of Zebedee, the author through the use of this name would have made it absolutely impossible for the reader to identify him with the nameless disciple of xiii. 23 ff., etc., and especially to recognise in him the apostle of the wholly different name of John. The name Nathanael, which, according to the O.T., the Talmud (vol. i. 31), and Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8. 1, xx. 1. 2), has been borne by Hebrews of all times, is said to be an entirely non-Hebrew invention of the Gospel, a Grecised (!) form of Elnathan or Jonathan (S. 324, 329 f.). On the contrary, Hilgenfeld (*ZfWTh*, 1868, S. 450; cf. also *N.T. extra Can.*^{2} iv. (evangeliorum secundum Heb., sec. Petrum, etc.) 119) held firmly to his theory that Nathanael should=Matthias of Acts i. 23. The Apostolic Church Directory, which counts Nathanael among the twelve apostles, agrees in this with the correct interpretation, while its distinction of Nathanael and Bartholomew is as mischievous an invention as the distinction of Peter and Cephas and the whole catalogue of such distinctions (*N.T. extra Can.*^{2} iv. 111).

7. (P. 211.) In regard to the forms by which the authors introduce themselves in the Gospels, the Acts, and the other N.T. literature, cf. above, pp. 55, 86, n. 11. That Matthew, just as Xenophon or Thucydides, Polybius or Josephus, does not omit his name from the narrative, is fully counterbalanced by the fact that, in distinction from them as well as the other historians of the N.T., he does not in any way identify the author with the Matthew mentioned in ix. 9, x. 3, or even hint at such identification, and that he offers absolutely no sort of substitute for the I of the author which fails in his whole book. That John in the prologue speaks of himself in the first person (plural), but in the narrative in the third person, is not especially remarkable. Josephus and many others have done the same (above, p. 86). The peculiarity of John consists merely in the twofold fact that he addresses the readers in the midst of the narrative (xix. 35 ; cf. xx. 31, above, p. 223, n. 1), and that in the same narrative where, as over against the "you" of the address an "I" or a "we" would be the more natural and more correct way for an author to designate himself, he retains the third person (*μεμαρτύρηκεν, λέγει*). But this is no more grossly inconsistent with good style than when one of us signs a letter: "Hearty greetings from your old friend, X," or when, in petitions to a Minister of high rank, the latter is addressed as "Your Excellency" and "You," notwithstanding the writer of the petition, avoiding every "I," speaks of himself constantly as the "your most obedient servant"; or when a popular author writes: "Know, dear reader, that the writer of this is a grandson of the hero of his story." In ancient times, also, we find examples of the same sort of awkwardness. With the more definite *ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας* (Rom. xvi. 22), cf. *Mart. Polyc.* xx. 2, *Εὐάρεστος ὁ γράψας*, without *ἐγώ* (therefore in the third person with *ὑμᾶς . . . ἡμῖν*); also the appearance of the first and second person, even before the real greeting, which contradicts the style of the ancient form of greeting (see vol. i. 369 f. n. 1); or inscriptions such as those in Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 114, No. 36: "Apollo erected this column to his father and mother according to *your* own order."

8. (P. 212.) The passage i. 35–39 is one of the most picturesque in the Gospel. The Baptist stands with two of his disciples; his eye falls upon Jesus (35 f., much more colourless ver. 29). The brief exclamation, "Behold the Lamb of God," attracts attention, and results in action (ver. 37). At first, not noticing those who were following Him, Jesus turns around (as He hears their steps) and lets His gaze rest in contemplation upon them. In direct form of speech, question, answer, and rejoinder follow. The Hebraistic form of address is retained. The ever memorable hour of the first meeting with Jesus is exactly noted, though the reader is left to infer the contents of many hours of conversation from the *εὑρήκαμεν* of Andrew.

9. (P. 213.) In iv. 1 *μαθηταί* has the wider meaning; but *οἱ μαθηταί*, which immediately follows in iv. 2, has the narrower meaning, as, of course, is to be understood in iii. 22–iv. 38. They are those who had been drawn by Jesus into His company to work with Him, and therewith commissioned (*ἀπέσταλκα*, iv. 38, cf. xiii. 20, xvii. 18, xx. 21) His *ἀπόστολοι*, xiii. 16. The number of the baskets, vi. 13, bears witness to the number of these disciples; and where the question has to do with the distinguishing of these followers who adhered to Him from the beginning to the end as against the larger circle of the disciples

who only temporarily accompanied Him, this number is three times expressly repeated, vi. 67, 70, 71, otherwise only one other time, xx. 24. It is significant, however, that the apostle John, as well as the apostle Matthew (x. 2) and Mark, who repeats the narratives of an apostle (vi. 30), uses only once the title ἀπόστολος (xiii. 16); while Luke, who was not an apostle, makes use of it 6 times in the Gospel and about 30 times in the Acts. Their installation in office, which John no more narrates than the apostle Matthew, is designated by the former (otherwise only by Luke) as ἐκλέγεσθαι, vi. 70, xiii. 18, xv. 16, 19, while he never uses this word of an act of Jesus which had to do with other men (also ἐκλεκτός, i. 34, ℵ* Sc Ss etc., only once of the Messiah). It is, therefore, to be considered a bold stroke that F. v. Uchtritz, *Studien eines Laien über das Ev. nach Jo.* 1876, S. 222, gave to the word in xiii. 18 another meaning from that which it has in vi. 70, particularly since in xiii. 10 f., 18–21, as in vi. 70 f. (cf. xvii. 12), the same antithesis prevails between the whole of those present, whom Jesus had chosen, and the one member of this circle who forms the sad exception. The significance of Jesus' choice of all those present is given us in the thrice repeated *the twelve* (vi. 67–71); but in chap. xiii. this is expressed by the name ἀπόστολος (xiii. 16) and by the ratification of the remaining disciples in their mission, xiii. 20,—*i.e.* ἀποστολή (Rom. i. 5; 1 Cor. ix. 2; Gal. ii. 8),—which was made necessary by the desertion of the apostle Judas. Also from the close connection of xv. 16 with ver. 18 it follows that ἐκλέγεσθαι does not signify reception into the number of the believing worshippers,—which no Gospel traces back to an ἐκλέγεσθαι of Jesus,—but to choice as apostles. They are those called to be preachers, xv. 20, 26 f.

10. (P. 213.) With ἀγαπᾶν (xiii. 23, xix. 26, cf. xxi. 7, 20), φιλεῖν (xx. 2) is interchanged, as in the account of the similar relation to the brother and sisters of Bethany (xi. 3, 5, 36). The latter word is not confined to personal friendship (cf. *per contra*, xvi. 27, xxi. 15–17; 1 Cor. xvi. 22), though it is still the more distinctive expression for it.

11. (P. 214.) Polycrates in Eus. *H. E.* v. 24. 3, Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών. Similarly Iren. iii. 1. 1; Orig. in Eus. vi. 25. 9; Jerome, Præf. *Comm. in Mt.* (Vall. vii. 3). By later writers ὁ ἐπιστήθιος; cf. Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*², i. 42. The first exegete who formally states, and through appeal to John xxi. 24 establishes, what the others presuppose, namely, that the unnamed person in xiii. 23 is identical with the evangelist and apostle John, is Origen *in Jo.* (Ed. Preussen) tom. xxxii. 20.

12. (P. 214.) When the *Gospel to the Hebrews* apparently makes James the Lord's brother take part in the Last Supper (*GK*, ii. 700), it belongs to the realm of fable, if for no other reason because of the chronological contradiction which the whole narrative of the Supper would thus have with 1 Cor. xv. 7. We can no more infer from this inclusion of James in the circle of John xiii. that the redactor of this Gospel held James for an apostle, than that one who was not an apostle had taken part in the meal (cf. *Forsch.* vi. 277 f.). Still less can the master of the house in which the Last Supper took place (as Delff, *op. cit.* 83, would have us believe), be thought of as a table companion, who then is to be identified further with the young man of Mark xiv. 51; for although a friendly relation between Jesus and this house must certainly have existed, it is not to be considered too intimate a one simply because of the

question of the disciples (Matt. xxvi. 17 ; Mark xiv. 12 ; Luke xxii. 19), and because of the way in which the two disciples are to find the house (Mark xiv. 13). With these facts as well as with such positive statements as Matt. xxi. 17, xxiv. 1-3, xxvi. 6 ; Mark xi. 11, 15, 19, 27, xiv. 3, 13, 16 ; Luke xxi. 37, xxii. 10, it is an irreconcilable fancy of Delff's (S. 89, 94) that this house was the regular lodging place of Jesus. The clothing of the young man mentioned in Mark xiv. 51, and the distinction there made between him and the company of Jesus, excludes him from having had any part in the Supper. As to the actual facts in the case, see vol. ii. 491 f. Jesus does not send word to the master of the house that with him and his family, but that with His own disciples He wishes to keep the Passover in his house (Matt. xxvi. 18 ; Mark xiv. 14 ; Luke xxii. 11). Jesus and the Twelve made a household and a company at the table (Matt. x. 25 ; John xii. 6) of more than the requisite size for the Passover meal (cf. Ex. xii. 4). If, according to Jos. *Bell.* vi. 9. 3, the number of the participants might not be less than 10 (so also the Jerusalem Targum on Ex. xii. 4), but sometimes rose even to 20, yet Josephus took the number 10 as that nearest the average for a basis of his reckoning of those present at the feast.

13. (P. 216.) Here P. Cassel's *Das Ev. der Söhne Zebedäi* (1870) should be named, and his *Die Hochzeit von Cana* (1883, S. 49–64). Cassel found these two brothers suggested in i. 35 ff., and recognised in xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2 the John whose name was to some extent to be translated by ὃν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς. James was considered as the one referred to in xviii. 15. But when Cassel, against whose views up to this point there is nothing to be said (see above, p. 209 f.), distinguishes without reason (and no reason can be discovered) the witness and the reporter in xix. 35 from the eye-witness of the death of Jesus in xix. 26 f., he comes to the assertion that the ἑωρακώς, μεμαρτυρηκώς—who is designated also by ἐκεῖνος (xix. 35)—is James, and that therefore he and not John is the narrator in chaps. i.–xx. In other words, he claims that James is the actual author of the Gospel (S. 49 f.), which was written, consequently, before 44, and through the addition of chap. xxi. enlarged by his younger brother John at a date considerably after the death of Peter, but published otherwise practically unchanged (S. 52–55). The words, xxi. 24, οἴδαμεν—ἐστίν (very exactly quoted by Cassel, S. 55) are held by Cassel to be an ungenuine gloss taken from xix. 35. This is not, however, adhered to in his second work, S. 57.

14. (P. 219.) Throughout the Fourth Gospel an actual sense perception, or at least an experience comparable to this, and to be designated by this name, is posited as a presupposition of the μαρτυρεῖν, i. 34, iii. 11, 32 (v. 37), viii. 14, xii. 17 (xii. 41), xv. 27 ; 1 John i. 1–4, iv. 14 ; Rev. i. 2 ; cf. vol. ii. 155 f. n. 9.

15. (P. 219.) The Greek interpreters, in spite of the remarkable phraseology of xix. 35, have clung to the opinion that the evangelist himself is the only subject of all the verbs of this sentence (Chrys. *Hom.* lxxxv. *in Jo.*, Montf. viii. 507). It is difficult to explain the statement of Cyril of Alexandria (Migne, lxxiii. col. 677), οὐχ ἕτερόν τινα σημαίνων, on the basis of any other interpretation of the ἐκεῖνος. This remained the ruling opinion. Even Baur did not make use of the passage to establish his opinion that the author throughout the Gospel pursued his purpose to be known by the readers as

the disciple beloved by Jesus, and as John the apostle and the author of the Apocalypse, but refrained, however, from so announcing himself directly. In fact, in xix. 35 as well as in i. 14 it was rather a mere spiritual vision which the author had in mind (*Krit. Unters. über die kan. Evv.* 1847, S. 364–389). It was his pupil Köstlin (*ThJb*, 1851, S. 206–211) who, mainly from this passage, and especially from the ἐκεῖνος, first established the view that the author of John i.–xx. does not identify himself at all with the apostle John,—an identification which is first made by the author of xxi. 24,—but that he distinguishes clearly between himself, the author, and the apostle as his main authority. This was taken up by Hilgenfeld, who, however, more in the view of Baur, held that the purpose of the author was to pass for the apostle. At the same time, instead of following in the line of Köstlin and explaining xix. 35 as an uncontradictory expression of the author, who makes a clear distinction between himself and the apostle, he found in the very unnaturalness of the expression a proof that the author, who had written also xxi. 24 and thereby gave his book out for a work of the apostle, had in the determinative passage unintentionally betrayed his difference from the apostle (*Die Evv. nach ihrer Entstehung u. geschichtl. Bedeutung*, 1854, S. 341; *Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche*, 1860, S. 151 f., 403; *Einl.* 731). The discussions concerning ἐκεῖνος in John which this theory occasioned between G. Steitz (*ThStKr*, 1859, S. 497–506; 1861, S. 267–310) and A. Buttman (*ThStKr*, 1860, S. 505 ff.; *ZfWTh*, 1862, S. 204 ff.) have not helped to any clearness of exegesis. It is also of little interest to follow out the opinions of others in their wavering between the interpretations of Köstlin and Hilgenfeld. The present λέγει, with its added purpose in regard to the readers, leaves no doubt that the λέγων is the author who is here addressing the readers, and not some dead authority from whom the author directly or indirectly claims to have received the material and the spirit of his report. Such an authority does not speak to the readers in the present tense. Even if the author in a vivid representation could cite him as a witness still to be heard to-day (cf. i. 15), he could not have cited him as one addressing the readers and having their religious advancement in view. If, however, every reader had to recognize the author as the subject of λέγει, then the author was to be charged not with an ambiguous, but with a meaningless phraseology, in case we understand him as wishing to distinguish between the subject of λέγει—which is not detached from the preceding statement either by a pronoun or in any other way (possibly ὅτι ὁ γράψας ἀληθῆ λέγει)—and the subject of μεμαρτύρηκεν, and so of the εὐρακώς, and the person again indicated by αὐτοῦ. The only question there can be is as to whether ἐκεῖνος also indicates the same subject; cf. *Forsch.* vi. 183 f. and the following note.

16. (P. 220.) The "ἐκεῖνος" κατ' ἐξοχήν (Schol. on Aristoph. [*Nub.*], *The Clouds*, 195, ed. Dindorf, i. 196, compared with the "αὐτὸς ἔφα" of the Pythagoreans) is used in John vii. 11, xix. 21 (ix. 12, 28) by those who stood far aloof from Jesus, or in unfriendly relations with Him. It is also used from a disciple's point of view in 2 Tim. ii. 13, where in the preceding sentence (συναπεθάνομεν κτλ.) Christ is not named, but is only to be understood as referred to by the pronoun. In 1 John ii. 6, iii. 3, 5, 7, 16, iv. 17, it appears as a firmly established expression. The ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν, 1 Cor. xi. 11, 31 (xii. 2, 3), is formal, and the formulæ for solemn assertion in 1 Thess.

ii. 5, 10; Gal. i. 20; 2 Cor. i. 23, xii. 19; Rom. i. 9, ix. 1; Phil. i. 8 (1 Tim. v. 21; 2 Tim. iv. 1), especially 3 John 12, are to be compared with it as related in kind: To the testimony of the Church is added that of the "truth itself," *i.e.* of Christ (John xiv. 6; Papias in Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39. 3). For the truth of his own testimony, however, John does not appeal in this Epistle to his own consciousness, but to the knowledge of the recipient of the letter. Gerhard (*Harmonia Ev. ad locum*, ed. Jen. 1617, p. 874) mentions certain who have applied the ἐκεῖνος to the soldier Longinus, who ran the spear into Jesus' side; and others (p. 883) who, in appeal to Rom. ix. 1, have referred it to Christ, as the present writer has done above and in *ZfKW*, 1888, S. 594. Recently essentially the same interpretation has been advocated by H. Dechent in *ThStKr*, 1899, S. 446 ff., and Hausleiter, *Zwei apost. Zeugen für d. Jo. Ev.* 1904, S. 27. Sanday also in *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, 1905, shows himself favourably disposed towards this view, as doubtless others will be; cf. *ET*, 1905, Nov. p. 51.

17. (P. 221.) The "presbyter John," who owes his existence to the critical needs and devices of Eusebius (vol. ii. 452), served first as a suitable author of Rev., and incidentally also as author of the shorter Epistles of John. More recently the Gospel also has been repeatedly ascribed to him. This hypothesis has been developed in fullest detail by the novelist and dramatic poet Fr. v. Üchtritz [† 1875] (*Studien eines Laien über das Ev. nach Jo.* 1876), and without any consideration of this predecessor, who was far superior to him in suggestive speculations and in delicacy of treatment by the philosopher H. Delff (*Gesch. des Rabbi Jesus von Naz.* 1889, S. 67–111; *Das 4 Ev. ein authentischer Bericht über Jesus*, 1890; *Neue Beiträge zur Kritik u. Erklärung des 4 Ev.* 1890; *ThStKr*, 1892, S. 72–104). Both agree that the nameless disciple (i. 35 ff., xiii. 23 ff., xviii. 15 f., xix. 26 ff., xx. 2) is the author of the Gospel, yet not the apostle John, but the presbyter John of Ephesus. Üchtritz makes a few insufficient attempts (S. 220 ff.), while Delff considers it superfluous to demonstrate how it was possible or even probable that one who was not an apostle should partake of the Last Supper—over against the distinct statement of the Synoptics and of the Fourth Gospel itself (above, pp. 214, 227 ff. nn. 9, 12). Both leave unexplained the strange silence of the Fourth Gospel in regard to two of the three apostles who stood closest to Jesus, and as to the entire family of Zebedee (above, p. 211 f.). But both think that they can prove that the author, who appears as a member of the exclusively Galilean discipleship of Jesus (i. 35–51, cf. vii. 52; Mark xiv. 70; Acts ii. 7, in reference to all the disciples in Jerusalem) was no Galilean, but a man of Jerusalem, and did not belong to the regular following of Jesus. That this theory is wrecked by the inseparable connection of chap. i. with chaps. ii.–iv. has been already shown (p. 213 f.). Moreover, the acceptation of interpolations, by which Delff has tried to strengthen his hypothesis (*Geschichte des Rabbi Jesus von Naz.* S. 97 ff., *Das 4 Ev.* S. 11–16. If we correct the entirely faulty numbering of the verses in accordance with the reconstruction of the text given in *Das 4 Ev.* S. 30–94, the following passages are omitted: i. 1–5, 9–18, ii. 1–11, 17, 21–22, iv. 44, 46–54, vi. 1–29, 37–40, 40*b*, 54*b*, 59, vii. 39 [45–53 placed before 37, 38, 40–44], xii. 16, 33, 38–41, xiii. 20, xx. 11–18; in 1890, xix. 35–37 was also added),—affords no help as long as there remains i. 51, according to which, even without the

textually uncertain ἀπάρτι, the whole number of these newly won disciples are to be from that time onwards the witnesses of the wonder-revelation of Jesus, and as long as there is left xv. 27 (cf. xvi. 4), according to which the whole number of the table companions were constant followers of Jesus. From xix. 27, Üchtritz (S. 287) and Delff (*Geschichte Jesu*, S. 82) conclude that John possessed a house of his own, and that it was in Jerusalem (as to further fantasies of Delff, see above, p. 227, n. 12). With equal right one might conclude from John xvi. 32 that all the apostles were owners of houses in Jerusalem, and in the same night in which Jesus spoke these final words fled from His presence to their eleven dwellings. Cf. with the expression, Luke xviii. 28; Acts xxi. 6; Jos. *Bell.* i. 33. 8. Further, ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ὥρας (Matt. xv. 28, xvii. 18) is not the same as ἐν ἐκ τ. ὥρᾳ, John iv. 53; Luke vii. 21, or αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, Luke ii. 38, x. 21, xii. 12. The meaning is merely that, from the moment Jesus spoke, John fulfilled the duty of a son to the mother of Jesus, who was now, as it were, deserted—a filial care that must have appeared during the attendance upon the festival in Jerusalem in other ways, which through lack of information cannot be more definitely ascertained, as afterward it showed itself when both had returned to their residences in Capernaum (John ii. 12), whence Mary a few weeks later again came to Jerusalem (Acts i. 14, ii. 2, 7) with the other Galilean women of the company of Jesus (Luke xxiii. 49, 55), her sons and the apostles, to dwell in that city for the future, as did the apostles and brothers of Jesus. The idea that Jesus could not have committed His mother thus to the apostle John, who himself had a mother that believed in Jesus (Üchtritz, S. 204 f.), is due to the mistake of supposing that it was a question of providing John with a mother, instead of Mary with a son, who would consider her sorrow and take care of her as Jesus would have done. The natural sons of Mary were at all events not at that time the right ones for such a service (see vol. i. 104 f., vol. ii. 239 f.; *Forsch.* vi. 336 f. A. 1). Delff found support for further vagaries in xviii. 15, 16, according to which John was supposed to be a relative of Annas' (rather of Caiaphas', for he is the only one whom John designates as the high priest). But that γνωστός in the Bible, as sometimes γνωτός in the poets since Homer, ordinarily, or exclusively, designates the confidential friend, in the sense of relative, becomes no truer by repetition (*e.g.* Cremer, *Wörterb.*[7] S. 223; Baljon, *Woordenboek*, i. 447). Luke xxiii. 49 is clearly not to be thought of in this connection, while Luke ii. 44 so understood would be a useless redundancy; for that συγγενής designates the more distant, γνωστός the nearer, relative, is in view of Luke i. 61 (cf. i. 36) a groundless assertion. As in Acts x. 24, where the combination ἀναγκαίους φίλους proves that not relatives but trusted friends are to be understood (cf. the proofs in Wettstein), so in Luke ii. 44 relatives and acquaintances are placed together. Moreover, no proof that γνωστός = "relatives" can be found in the LXX. In Neh. v. 10 it is a free translation for נֶעֱבָ֫ד = servant; in 2 Kings x. 11, as is shown by the position of the *optimates* and *sacerdotes* (Vulg.) and the "and," by which these three classes are joined to the house of Ahab and the kingly princes (cf. vv. 6–8), relatives are not meant, but friends belonging to the court. No other meaning is apparent in Ps. xxxi. 12, lv. 14, lxxxviii. 9, 18. But Delff found in Polycrates of Ephesus, *circa* 195 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 24. 3, above, p. 205, n. 27), another and more definite

evidence that the evangelist belonged to the high priestly aristocracy. Inasmuch as he designates the John buried in Ephesus as the evangelist, but not as the apostle, it is claimed that he knew that he was no apostle, and this in contradiction to the conviction of his contemporary and fellow-countryman, Irenæus, of his still older countrymen, the Alogi, and of Leucius Charinus, as well as of all the other heretics and Church teachers before and after his time (above, p. 177 f.). However, his statement ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεκώς is said to bear witness to the fact that this same John, on one occasion on the Day of Atonement, without being ruling high priest, officiated in the full high priestly dress (*Geschichte Jesu*, S. 93; *4 Evangelium*, S. 9) as substitute for the real high priest, who had been hindered, or, as he puts it later, when this view is rejected (*ThStKr*, 1892, S. 93), that John was "a priest of the first high priestly rank." The aristocratic reserve which this man of rank, who had leaned on the breast of the Lord, is held to have observed toward the Church of Jesus, we may estimate by the fact that he possibly is identical with the John of Acts iv. 6 (read rather Ἰωναθας) (Delff, *Geschichte Jesu*, S. 95). He is said to have written his Gospel before the destruction of Jerusalem for the sake of his colleagues in that city (*ThStKr*, S. 83–90). That the readers are twice addressed would then probably be explained by the fact that he had invited these mentioned in Acts iv. 6 to his reception room, and had read his composition to them, according to the custom of the literary men of the time, before he gave it to the public at large. From beginning to end Delff has made simply an earnest effort to weaken by exegesis and criticism the witness found within the Fourth Gospel itself. Of the subterfuges by which Renan, Weizsäcker, Harnack, and others have thought to reach the same result, even this cannot be said; cf. *Forsch.* vi. 186–190.

§ 66. THE SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

No other historical writing in the N.T., and few historical writings of antiquity, have such a clear conclusion as does the Fourth Gospel in xx. 30 f. Having in view the entire contents of the book, which he is now bringing to its close, the author declares to the readers, whom he here addresses for the second and last time (cf. xix. 35, and above, p. 223, nn. 1 and 2), that the σημεῖα of which an account is here given, as contrasted with many other miracles which Jesus performed in the presence of His disciples not recorded in this book, were written that they might believe on Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God, and in this faith might enjoy the life which is to be had in His name. If it be insisted that this distinction between the

signs of Jesus, which are recorded in this book, and those which are not recorded, is confined to the resurrection appearances of Jesus (xx. 14–29),—of which there is no indication and which is also extremely improbable, because the word σημεῖα is much less adapted to describe these phenomena than it is the ἔργα and σημεῖα of which announcement is made in i. 51, and which forms the framework of the entire narrative (ii. 11, 23, iii. 2, iv. 45, 54, v. 20, 36, vi. 26, 30, vii. 21, 31, ix. 16, x. 32–38, 41, xi. 47, xii. 11, 18, 37, xv. 24),—then there is all the more reason for regarding chap. xxi. as a supplement to the book, added after its completion. For here also we have the account of a σημεῖον wrought by Jesus in the presence of His disciples, and in xxi. 1, 14 this is connected with the two appearances of the risen Jesus of which an account is given in xx. 19–29, which is described as a third appearance, and which, in the nature of the case, has the same purpose as the preceding accounts. If, when xx. 30 f. was written, the addition of this chapter had been contemplated, the only appropriate place for the verses would have been after xxi. 14, or rather after xxi. 23.

There is clear evidence also that the composition of chap. xxi. has its own peculiar history. In general, this chapter has the stamp of the peculiar style of the Fourth Gospel (n. 1), which makes it impossible to treat it as an appendix added by some unauthorised hand, as we do, for example, Mark xvi. 9–20 (vol. ii. 467 f.); nor is it possible to cut out even a part of the chapter as an interpolation, as we do other portions of the Gospel, the style of which proves that they are not part of the original work (John viii. 1–11; see § 69, n. 3). The relation of this chapter to the body of the book differs from that of such sections as these mainly in this, namely, that while it is possible by means of existing documents and patristic evidence to prove the absence of such sections from the books into the text of which they were interpolated, down to the Middle

Ages, so far as we know the Fourth Gospel never circulated without chap. xxi., nor is there nearly so much uncertainty in the tradition of the text of this chapter as in the case of the interpolations mentioned (n. 2). Since now, as is indicated by the address to the readers (above, p. 207), the book was intended from the first for a Church, or a group of Churches, in close touch with the author,—which necessarily required that it be read in the congregations,—it follows that chap. xxi. must have been added to the book before it was circulated outside of this small circle. For if the book had been circulated without chap. xxi., there was no power on earth which could have prevented copies of the Gospel from being read and multiplied without this final chapter. The only argument which can be opposed to this opinion is the fantastic idea, not worth refuting, that the canon of the Gospels was made by an official body, which had authority over the whole Church to withdraw from circulation and destroy copies of a Gospel already in use, and to substitute in their place the canonical recension of the same Gospel.

Chap. xxi. is therefore not to be thought of as an *appendix*, independent of the history of the origin of the Gospels, but as a *supplement*, added to the Gospel not long after it was written, and in the same region where it originated. The only interval which it is necessary to assume between the composition of chaps. i.–xx. and of chap. xxi., is that required for the feeling to arise that the supplement was necessary, which the author had not felt when he wrote xx. 30 f., and for the need to be met. On the other hand, chap. xxi. cannot be referred to the author with the same directness as chaps. i.–xx. The passage exhibits several differences from the main body of the book, which consist not so much in another style as in a different attitude of the narrator to the disciple whom Jesus especially loved and to his family. Whereas in chaps. i.–xx. all the members of this family remain anonymous (above,

p. 211 f.), at the very beginning of chap. xxi. John and James, while not spoken of by name, are clearly designated as the sons of Zebedee (xxi. 2), as is sometimes the case in the other Gospels (Matt. xx. 20, xxvi. 37, xxvii. 56; cf. Mark x. 35; Luke v. 10). This impresses us all the more as an involuntary expression of the point of view natural to the author of this account, because in its course John is again characterised by a reference to xiii. 23 without any name, as in xix. 26, xx. 2. But whereas in xix. 26, xx. 2, this is done in the simplest possible manner, merely in order to prevent any doubt as to the identity of the person in question, in chap. xxi. more emphasis is placed upon the designation. The ἐκεῖνος in xxi. 7, which is not found in the parallel passages, and especially the detailed way in which the account in xiii. 23–25 is recalled in xxi. 20, show that someone else is here writing who is no longer influenced by the fear lest he should seem to sound his own praises. In xxi. 24 it is even more clear that someone else, or rather a number of persons are speaking of the apostle and evangelist John in the third person. "This (*i.e.* the disciple concerning whom an incident is told in vv. 20–23) is the disciple that beareth witness of this (these things) and wrote this: and we know that his witness is true." From its very nature, the "we" includes an "I" and excludes the "he." For this reason it is impossible to appeal on the one hand to i. 14, and on the other to xix. 35 in support of the idea that this "we" includes the author of the book, while at the same time he is concealed behind the third person in ὁ μαρτυρῶν, ὁ γράψας. While in the prologue—*i.e.* outside the narrative sections of the Gospel—John does use "we," which, if occasion required, might have been changed to "I," just as the "we" in xxi. 24 is changed naturally into "I" in the οἶμαι of xxi. 25 (n. 3), in the narrative sections he regularly uses the third person in referring to himself, even where, in addressing his readers, the use of the first person

would seem to be more natural (xix. 35). It is true that xxi. 24, like the prologue, is not in the narrative sections of the Gospel, which makes it possible for the "we" to include the author of the book. But that in designating himself in the course of one short sentence the author should have so wavered and changed between "he" and "we" (including himself), it is impossible to assume. This abnormality is found neither in i. 14–16 nor xix. 35, consequently not in xxi. 24. It is also rendered impossible by the fact that the author of this particular Gospel is the last person to appeal to his own testimony to himself in affirmation of his truthfulness (above, p. 210 f.). We conclude, therefore, that others, who know him on the basis of their adequate experience, are here testifying to the readers of this book that the witness who speaks to them in it is trustworthy. But, like the appeal to the Lord's knowledge in confirmation of the truthfulness and pious purpose of the author in xix. 35, this testimony seems to be only an addition to the main affirmation, namely, that the disciple whom Jesus especially loved is the disciple who testifies to and wrote what precedes.

It is unnecessary to prove that what is said in xxi. 1–23 is included among the things to which he testifies (*περὶ τούτων*) and the things which he wrote (*ταῦτα*). The only question is whether the object of *μαρτυρῶν* and *γράψας* is to be confined to the contents of the supplement. This is altogether improbable. In the *first* place, while the concluding sentence of the preceding chapter, xx. 30 f., shows chap. xxi. is a supplement, there is nothing in the chapter itself to indicate that it is an independent account. The passage John xxi. 1 is connected with what precedes just as are John iii. 22, v. 1, vi. 1,—probably according to the correct reading without *Ἰησοῦς*,—while xxi. 1, 14 refer back to xx. 19–29, just as iv. 46, 54 do to ii. 1–11. While chap. xxi. is thus added as a supplement, it is really an essential part of the whole. If xxi. 24 referred exclusively to xxi.

1–23 this would necessarily be expressed, and, since vv. 1–23 describe one continuous and uninterrupted event, this could have been done by the use of περὶ τούτου and τοῦτο (cf. μετὰ τοῦτο, ii. 12, as distinguished from μετὰ ταῦτα, iii. 22). In the *second* place, if ver. 24 referred only to the supplement, every reader who understood it would ask who wrote chaps. i.–xx.; and if it was necessary to assure the readers that chap. xxi. was written by the beloved disciple of Jesus, it was even more important to make clear to them who wrote chaps. i.–xx. If this was omitted because it was self-evident, there must have been some hint to this effect in ver. 24, which could have been very simply indicated by writing καὶ περὶ τούτου and καὶ τοῦτο. That disciple is the author also of the supplement, as he is known to be the author of the entire book. In the *third* place, reference is made in ver. 25 to a multitude of books which would have to be written in order to set forth in detail all the notable things in the history of Jesus. Here, as in xx. 30, a contrast is implied to the deeds of Jesus set forth in the Fourth Gospel, and to this one book with which the readers ought to be content. Hence the person, who in ver. 24 f. is speaking in the name of a number of persons of kindred mind with himself, has in view the entire book, which here reaches its final conclusion. John xxi. 24 refers to i. 1–xxi. 23.

To this conclusion it may be objected that traces of a hand other than that of the author of the entire book are to be found not simply in ver. 24 f., but even from ver. 2 onwards (above, p. 233). From this, to be sure, it would follow that the entire supplement was added by the friends of John, who came prominently to the front in ver. 24 f. But this does not harmonise with the statement of this very verse, that John was the author of the supplement as well as of the rest of the book; or, if the statement concerning the authorship of chap. xxi. was written by another hand, there would be the same authority for the

authorship of the entire Gospel. The latter conclusion is certainly to be rejected; since from chaps. i.–xx. it has been shown (§ 65) that the apostle John is here conceived of and represented, not as an authority upon whom the author depended, but as himself the author of the book, and since, from the difference in the way in which John is referred to in chap. xxi. and chaps. i.–xx., it has been concluded that chap. xxi. is not from the same hand as chaps. i.–xx. Consequently the testimony of xxi. 24 (*ὁ γράψας ταῦτα*) agrees literally with the result of the exegetical study of these preceding chapters. This is not so, however, with regard to xxi. 1–23. At the same time there is nothing peculiar about the use of *ὁ γράψας ταῦτα* in connection with this supplement. As good a letter writer and author as Paul regularly made use of an amanuensis to whom he dictated; accordingly Peter could say that he had written a short letter to the Christians of Asia Minor just as though he had written it with his own hand, although he had not even dictated it, but, after stating what he wanted written, had left its entire composition to Silvanus (1 Pet. v. 12, vol. ii. 149 f.). As regards xxi. 1–23, this or some similar relation must have existed between John, who in xxi. 24 is declared to be the author of the supplement, and the men who in ver. 24 f. are clearly distinguished from him, providing the observations which show that this account was written by someone else than John, and the testimony of xxi. 24 are both allowed due weight. With John's consent, or even at his suggestion, persons who were near him recorded the things which he more than once had related to them, and which he certainly repeated before he wrote them down. If they were conscious of having added nothing of their own, and of having omitted nothing contained in John's communications, they could say that John was the author of this account; nor is there any apparent reason why they should have distinguished sharply between the direct

Johannine authorship of chaps. i.–xx. and his indirect authorship of xxi. i.–23. There would be occasion to charge these persons with culpable inaccuracy, which could hardly be defended against the suspicion of being intended to deceive the readers, only in case the apostle had left behind him as his work chaps. i.–xx., and after the apostle's death the author of chap. xxi. had added the supplement without his knowledge or consent. But this assumption is to be rejected not only because of the apparent candour of xxi. 24 and the naïve tone of ver. 25, but mainly because it contradicts the language of ver. 24.

The first statement of ver. 24 concerning John is not *ὁ γράψας ταῦτα*, but *ὁ μαρτυρῶν περὶ τούτων*; and not only the order of the words is significant, but the change in the tense. If *μαρτυρεῖν* here as *μεμαρτύρηκεν* in xix. 35 referred to the testimony which John gave when he wrote his book, including the supplement, the only appropriate place for it would be after *γράψας ταῦτα*. In this case also the use of *μαρτυρῶν* instead of *μαρτυρήσας* or *μεμαρτυρηκώς* would be unnatural, but might be justified on the ground that the act of writing belongs entirely in the past, while testifying by means of a book which outlives its author is continuous, lasting as long as the book is read (cf. John v. 46 with v. 39). But if these were what the writer meant, *μαρτυρῶν* would in that case have to follow *γράψας*, because the continuous testifying is the result of the preceding act of writing. When there is also taken into consideration the fact that, according to the reading, which is probably correct (*ὁ γράψας*, see n. 2), "the writer" and "the witness" are two ideas independent of each other, which it is possible to refer to two different persons, there can be no doubt that John's testifying is thought of as independent of his writing. The former still continued at the time when xxi. 24 was written; so the author writes the present, *ὁ μαρτυρῶν*: the latter

belonged to the past; so he uses the aorist, ὁ γράψας. This proves that John was still living when this was written. For, in view of the use of the aorist participle, it is stylistically impossible that the present should have been chosen in order to make vivid oral testimony of the past (cf. John i. 15, μαρτυρεῖ and also κέκραγεν), or that the present participle should be used without reference to time, —as is not infrequently the case in John's writings (*e.g.* i. 29),—because after the death of John his oral testimony quite as much as the composition of the Gospel belonged to the past.

That John was still alive when the supplement was added, follows with even greater certainty from xxi. 20–23. It is clearly a mistake to seek in these sentences the main, still less the exclusive purpose of the supplement. What precedes has independent meaning, and even without vv. 20–23 would not only be worth telling for its own sake, but would be also a real addition to the book. Just as in xx. 21–23 all the apostles are newly confirmed in the calling for which they seemed to be rendered incapable by the shattering of their faith (xvi. 32, xx. 9); so in xxi. 3–17 in a particular way, Peter who, after the traitor, yielded most to the temptations of the hours of Jesus' passion (xiii. 38, xviii. 17–27), is confirmed anew in his calling, and indeed on both sides of the apostolic office—*i.e.* as regards the task of winning men for the kingdom of God and of Christ by preaching (vv. 3–11), and as regards the office of directing the life of the Church (vv. 15–17, n. 4).

But this confirmation of Peter concludes with prophecies as to his personal fate, and indirectly also as to the fate of John, the right understanding of which on the part of the readers is manifestly a matter of concern to the narrator. In the first of these prophecies it is revealed to Peter that in his old age, as contrasted with his youth, the impulsive and intrusive character of which was still

constantly creating trouble for him (xiii. 6–10, 36–38, xviii. 10–11, 17, 25, 27),—qualities which come to view again in this chapter (xxi. 7), although not in a dangerous way,—he shall stretch out his hands like a helpless old man for support and for someone to lead him, while others shall put his clothes upon him, and even compel him to go where he does not wish to go. If this had meant that at the end of his life he was to be given over to the power of his enemies, he could not possibly have understood that the added injunction of Jesus to follow Him signified only that he was to accompany the Lord a few steps further until He disappeared from view, as in the earlier resurrection appearances. Peter prepares to obey at once the command literally ; but he could not do this without endeavouring to discover in this, as in the other commands and transactions of that day, a deeper symbolic and prophetic meaning. When Peter connected this command with the prophecy of ver. 18, and recalled the conversation of xiii. 36–38, he must have understood it to mean—if not at once, certainly as soon as he thought the matter over—that after a long life he was to follow the Lord into the other world by a violent death (n. 4). We have already seen (vol. ii. 211 ff.) that Peter did actually understand these words and xiii. 36 in this way (2 Pet. i. 14). These words of Jesus could not be taken to mean more, either by Peter or by anyone else who heard them. But in ver. 19*a* the narrator gives the first saying—which is clearly a prophecy (ver. 18)—an interpretation which no amount of reflection upon the language of the passage could of itself produce. According to this interpretation, Jesus indicated in this prophecy by what death, *i.e.* by what kind of a death, Peter should glorify God. Since the language of the prophecy does not even suggest a violent death, much less a particular kind of death, such as beheading, strangling, or crucifixion, the interpretation given by the writer of the supplement must have origin-

ated after Peter's death, being suggested by the death itself. All doubt in this point is removed when ver. 19*a* is compared with xii. 33 (cf. xviii. 32), which is in all respects parallel, and when there are recalled the express remarks of the evangelist in two instances, which are at least similar to the effect that it was not until after their fulfilment that the disciples understood the meaning of prophetic utterances and symbolic actions of Jesus (ii. 22, xii. 16; cf. vi. 61 f., vii. 39, xiii. 7, 19, xiv. 20, 26, 29, xvi. 4, 12 f., xviii. 9, xx. 8 f.). After Peter was crucified in Rome in the year 64 (vol. ii. 165 ff.), Jesus' words to Peter, which made such a profound impression upon Peter's own mind (2 Pet. i. 14), but which heretofore had remained somewhat mysterious, were called to mind. Now, in the light of what had taken place, it was no longer possible to think that in John xiii. 36, xxi. 19*b*, Jesus had meant to express only the unimportant truth that Peter would sometime die and leave the world, like all men and like Jesus Himself. Since Peter died a martyr's death, it was natural in the command to follow Him to find the suggestion to Peter that he like Jesus was to die for the sake of God and the truth, *i.e.* that he was to suffer a martyr's death. Since, moreover, Peter like Jesus was crucified, it was felt necessary to take the prophetic description of Peter's declining years in xxi. 18—especially the stretching out of his hands and arms—as a prophetic forecast of this particular manner of death (n. 4).

After the death of Peter, it seemed to the Church as if all Jesus' various prophecies about Peter's work as a fisher of men and as the shepherd of the flock, about the patience he would have to learn, about his martyrdom and the particular manner in which he was to die, had been fulfilled. Thereafter it was almost inevitable that all who were familiar with the story related in xxi. 15–22 should endeavour to interpret the saying of Jesus with reference to John as it had been interpreted with reference to Peter.

When Jesus replied to Peter, who wanted to apply to John the same command that he had received, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" and when the command to Peter was repeated with strong emphasis upon the contrast between him and John, "Follow thou me," it seemed as if this could only mean that John was not to follow Jesus in the sense in which the word of Jesus had found fulfilment in Peter's case—in other words, he was not to die a martyr's death. It seemed at least possible that John should not die at all, but live until the Lord's return, an event which makes death impossible for those of His followers who witness it. Words of Jesus like Matt. xvi. 28, Mark ix. 1, Luke ix. 27 gave this interpretation a certain justification. Especially if John survived Peter and the other apostles a considerable number of years, it was very natural to regard the long life of this apostle as proof that he was destined to live until the parousia. This view actually became current and assumed the form of a definite judgment, "This disciple shall not die" (ver. 23). But this judgment is decisively opposed by the narrator, and inasmuch as this is the last thing which he says about this event,—indeed, the last word before the conclusion in ver. 24 f. which relates to the entire book,—it is clear that the story in vv. 20–22 was told primarily to correct the false interpretation of it which had become current.

If this be so, it follows also that chap. xxi. was written while John was still living, a conclusion which has often been misunderstood and even rejected. If John died and was buried in Ephesus, this was a conclusive and final refutation of the idea that, according to a prophecy of Jesus, he was not to die, but to live until the parousia. If, notwithstanding John's death and burial, the superstition grew up that his death was only apparent, that he had secretly fled, as Nero was said to have done, and would appear again when the Lord came, all that the

author says—his account of the event which gave rise to the superstition, the reminder that Jesus did not say in so many words that John was not to die, and the repetition of the hypothetical statement of Jesus—would be an entirely inadequate refutation of the belief. The only effective argument against such a superstition would be an appeal to those who witnessed John's death, and above all a reference to the grave which was outside the city gate. If, however, at the time when the supplement was written the superstition had grown to the point where it was claimed that John, who had seemed to die and was really buried, was still living in his grave, or that the grave had been opened by a miracle and that John had escaped, against such *μῦθοι γραώδεις*, vv. 20–21 would be merely childish prattle. When ridicule and reproof failed, the only effective answer to such foolishness was spade and shovel. But there is no need for these hypothetical considerations, since it is certain that, from the time of John's death about 100 until the time of Polycrates in 190 and long afterwards, no one in Ephesus questioned the fact that John had really died and was resting in his grave like other men (above, p. 193 f.).

It has been maintained that vv. 20–23 were not intended to refute the story about John's immortality, but the claim made after John's death to the effect that *Jesus had been mistaken in His prophecy.* But who would have ventured to make such a claim? The fact that Jesus connected His prophecy about His return almost inseparably with His prophecy about the destruction of Jerusalem (Matt. xxiii. 36–xxiv. 35), and the fact that decade after decade passed after the destruction of Jerusalem without the Lord's return, furnished the strongest possible temptation for claims of this sort. But there is not the slightest evidence that between the years 70 and 170 the Church lost its faith in the parousia, much less its confidence in the truthfulness and infallibility of Jesus.

There was a disposition manifested before the year 70, even in the reproduction of Jesus' prophecies, to interpret elastically the chronological statements that seemed to relate to the parousia (vol. ii. 500 f.; cf. above, p. 158 f.); and in the decades after the year 70, men waited entirely confident of the truthfulness of Jesus, and certain that His promise of His return would be fulfilled. To be sure, before the year 70, as well as afterwards, there were, of course, weak souls whose faith in the promise, like their faith in everything else, wavered, requiring to be strengthened by argument and exhortation (Jas. v. 7–11; 2 Tim. ii. 11–13; Heb. iii. 6–iv. 11, x. 35–xii. 29); there were also mockers who despised all the prophecies of Jesus (2 Pet. iii. 3–13). But in the present instance it is not a case of frivolous mockery, or of a general weakness of faith, but of a wrong interpretation of a single saying of Jesus' which was current among the brethren,—among believers who were members of the Church,—and a wrong expectation regarding John based upon this interpretation, both of which errors could persist only until John's death. To attempt their refutation after this event would have been foolish. But it would have been even more foolish to reply to an unfavourable judgment concerning Jesus and His prophecy, without so much as intimating that there were such impious opinions in the Church, and that they had arisen because of the contradiction between Jesus' prophecy and John's death. But the most foolish thing of all would have been the refutation of such opinions by the means which the author uses. A man of any intelligence at all would have attempted the refutation of an unfavourable opinion regarding Jesus, which was based upon an alleged contradiction between a saying of His and the later course of events, only in one of three ways. It would have been necessary for him *either to deny* outright that Jesus had said what was attributed to Him and was declared to be a false prophecy; or, if Jesus

really did speak the word which was interpreted as an unfulfilled prophecy, to prove that this interpretation was false, which could have been accomplished only by giving *another* definite *interpretation* of Jesus' words; *or*, if this was impossible, he would have to show that this undeniable and perfectly clear prophecy was fulfilled by *facts* which his opponents had not properly appreciated (n. 5). The author does none of these things. He does not deny that Jesus spoke the word the meaning or fulfilment of which was in question; he mentions no fact which could be considered its fulfilment; he does not oppose a wrong interpretation of the word of Jesus in question by another which could satisfy the reader. The only objection which he makes to the widely current interpretation of the saying is, that it does not correspond to the language used. It varies in two ways: (1) It takes for granted that "to tarry until the Lord comes" is equivalent to "not to die"; (2) it overlooks the hypothetical character of the saying and makes out of it an unconditioned affirmation.

But this reply, which would have been so foolish if John had been dead for ten or thirty years, is natural and to the point if it was written in the interval between the death of Peter and that of John. Just as the crucifixion of Peter made possible a clear and certain interpretation of the two sayings of Jesus about him (vv. 18, 19),—as was true also in the case of other significant or enigmatical words and deeds of Jesus (ii. 19, 22, xii. 14–xvi. 32 f.),—so the author of chap. xxi. and John who stood behind him desired that a final judgment about the saying of Jesus referring to John be withheld until the Lord had made good His word by deeds. Different possibilities were conceivable. What Jesus had promised in a purely hypothetical sense could actually happen in exact keeping with its language, *i.e.* the Lord might return before John's death. It was also possible that John might die before the parousia. In the latter case, the Church found it

necessary either to be satisfied with the belief that Jesus had spoken of a possibility which was not expected to be realised, simply in order to rebuke Peter, and to safeguard the freedom of His action, or to take the saying about Jesus' coming in an elastic sense, interpreting it in the light of events, as they had already learned to do in the case of Matt. xvi. 28. In this particular instance they would have to refer it to a single event of the last time connected with the parousia, namely, to the destruction of Jerusalem, which would make Jesus' prophecy mean that Peter would die before the year 70, John not until after this date.

We reach accordingly the following conclusions as the result of a purely exegetical study of chap. xxi., particularly of vv. 18–23 and ver. 24: (1) The supplement, chap. xxi., was written subsequent to the death of Peter, but while John was still living; (2) it was not written by John with his own hand, but by persons closely associated with him who composed this account with John's consent, probably at his suggestion and upon the basis of his oral statements. It was added as a supplement to the completed Gospel, and from that time onwards remained an inseparable part of it. (3) These same persons testify that John is the author of the entire book, making their testimony cover also the supplement, without expressly saying that John's authorship of chap. xxi. was indirect, as is affirmed in (2), but without in the least concealing this view. Proposition (3) agrees with the testimony of chaps. i.–xx. concerning itself (§ 65) and the unanimous tradition (§ 64); but in view of objections to this threefold witness to the Johannine authorship of the Gospel, the trustworthiness of the statement remains to be tested (§ 69). Proposition (2) is not confirmed by a certain tradition which is independent of the text of the supplement. The stories of the teachers of Clement of Alexandria and the stories of the Muratorian Canon, as well as

the manner in which later writers tell of the amanuensis of whom John made use in the composition of his Gospel (above, pp. 178 f., 196 f., nn. 4–6), may be echoes of the fact that the friends of John had a part in the completion and the publication of the Fourth Gospel. But proposition (2) does not require the confirmation of external tradition, since it is proved absolutely by xxi. 24 and confirmed by observations on xxi. 1–23 (above, p. 233 f.). The fact that there is no clearer evidence in the tradition for proposition (2) is satisfactorily explained by the circumstance that the supplement itself, in the same sentence in which it is clearly indicated that it was written by friends of John, speaks of John as the real author of the supplement as well as of the Gospel. It is also explained by the fact that proposition (1) was firmly held by the tradition. Irenæus calls John not only the author, but also the publisher of his Gospel (n. 6); and Papias testifies even more emphatically, and with unmistakable reference to chap. xxi., that the Gospel was published and given to the Church by John while he was still living (n. 2). Then there is the added fact that everywhere and always the Gospel was transmitted and circulated with chap. xxi. attached, which would be inconceivable if chap. xxi. was added to it after the author of chaps. i.–xx. had published this book which he had written for the Church, and subsequent to his death. If this were the case, we should expect the same or similar phenomena in the tradition of the text that we find in the case of Mark xvi. 9–20. Finally, as has been shown, xxi. 18–23 is meaningless the moment it is assumed that this account was written after the death of the disciple whom Jesus particularly loved. In view of all these considerations, it may be said to be established beyond the possibility of critical doubt that chap. xxi., as well as the entire Gospel, was written and put into circulation before the death of Jesus' long-lived disciple, John of Ephesus, *i.e.* before the year 100.

1. (P. 233.) Eberhardt, *Ev. Jo. cap. 21*, 1897, gives on S. 7–19 a review of the criticisms which have been made of this chapter, and in the intervening comment a varied assortment of remarks in regard to its language as compared with that of chaps. i.–xx. Much more thorough is the work of Horn, *Abfassungszeit, Geschichtlichkeit und Zweck von Ev. Jo. c. 21*, 1904. Words and phrases which are found elsewhere only or almost only in John are (A = chaps. i.–xx., B = chap. xxi.) : *φανεροῦν ἑαυτόν*, *φανεροῦσθαι*, B i. 14 (3 times, A 6 times ; elsewhere only in Mark iv. 22, and then without reference to Jesus, and twice in the ungenuine supplement, Mark xvi. 12, 14) ; *ἡ θάλασσα ἡ Τιβεριάς*, B 1 (similarly only in A vi. 1) ; *ἐκ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ δύο*, B 2 (just so A in i. 35 ; cf. ix. 16, xii. 42) ; *ὀψάριον*, B 9, 10, 13 (again only in A vi. 9, 11; for this in the parallels we have *ἐχθύς*) ; the asyndeton *λέγει αὐτοῖς*, *αὐτῷ* with and without an expressed subject, B 3 (twice), 6, 10, 12, 15, 16 (3 times), 17 (twice), 22 (very frequently in John alone, sometimes in Matt. See vol. ii. 591, note 7) ; also *λέγει οὖν*, B 5, 7 (A vii. 6, xii. 4) ; further, in general a more abundant use of *οὖν* (B, 8 or 9 times in the whole of Mark, certainly not more than 7 times ; on the other hand, in A oftener than in Matt., Mark, Luke, and Acts together). *ἀμήν*, *ἀμήν*, B 18 (elsewhere only A) ; interchange between *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν*, B 15–17 (cf. A xix. 26 with xx. 2). Compare the entire sentence B 19 with A xii. 33 ; further, *τοῦτο ἤδη τρίτον*, B 14, and *πάλιν δεύτερον*, B 16, with A iv. 54 ; *ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν διακοσίων*, B 8, with A xi. 18 ; also B 4*b* with xx. 14. Also in B as in A, Jesus is designated regularly by His personal name (13 or 14 times), and within the narrative, merely in view of a former remark of the disciples and from their standpoint, by *ὁ κύριος* (xxi. 12 ; cf. ver. 7). The latter occurs in A only in iv. 1 (?), vi. 23, xi. 2, and in xx. 18, 20, just as in xxi. 12. Cf., on the other hand, Mark xvi. 19 and vol. ii. 476. Further, "Simon Peter" is given in B 5 times, in A 12 times ; as "Son of John" only in B 15–17 and A i. 43 ; Thomas called Didymus B 2, otherwise only A xi. 16, xx. 24. Only in B 2 and A i. 46 ff. is Nathanael mentioned ; but here for the first time—that which helps us to understand the connection of ii. 1 with i. 46 ff.—his origin from Cana is stated, and in a form which, both because of the superfluous addition *τῆς Γαλιλαίας* (cf. ii. 1, iv. 46) and in view of the *ἀπό* (i. 45, 46, xi. 1, xii. 21, xix. 38, otherwise only in Matt. xxvii. 57 ; Mark xv. 43 ; Luke xxiii. 51), is genuinely Johannine. The *παιδία* used once in address in B 5 (cf. 1 John ii. 14, 18) with the once used *τεκνία*, A xiii. 33, is of no consequence ; but the *ἀρνίον*, B 15 (Rev. 29 times instead of *ἀμνός*, A i. 29), and *προβάτιον*, B 16, 17, instead of *πρόβατον* (A x. 1–28), are full of significance. The interchange between lamb and sheep, however, is plainly only an interchange, just as that between *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν*, and the diminutive forms have reference to the need of protection and care of the flock which is given into the charge of the shepherd. For the use of *οἱ ἀδελφοί*, B 23,—instead of which *οἱ μαθηταί* (thus Ss) would have been misleading, since the latter would have been understood of the apostles while the former designates the members of the Church,—there would have been absolutely no opportunity in A, except perhaps in the prologue, where there was, however, no urgent need of it. Naturally xx. 17 is no parallel. 1 John iii. 14, 16 ; 3 John 3, 5, 10, however, offer good comparison. The *πρωΐας γινομένης* or *γενομένης*, xxi. 4 (cf. Matt. xxvii. 1), would have been out of place in xviii. 28, xx. 1, because the previous context does not inform us that some-

thing had happened in the night before. But from the point of view of style, ὀψία ἐγένετο, vi. 16, is quite similar.

2. (Pp. 234, 239.) To the testimony of all the Greek MSS. and of all the old versions (also Ss, though Sc. is defective), is to be added the above mentioned statement of Papias, pp. 178, 196, n. 4, which is intelligible only if the Fourth Gospel was already supplied with the supplement, which through ver. 24 could make it appear as if not John himself, but others after his death, had published the Gospel. It is also noteworthy that Tatian in the *Diatessaron* has worked up the substantial contents of chap. xxi. (*Forsch.* i. 218), and that, following the combined testimony of the Arabic and of the Latin *Diatessaron*, he concluded his work with John xxi. 25 as he began it with John i. 1 (*GK*, ii. 554). What is said above on p. 234 of the whole chapter holds also of ver. 25, which Tischendorf has excluded from the text. The former opinion that this verse is wanting in Codex 63 at Dublin, which formerly belonged to Usher, has been refuted by Scrivener, more thoroughly by Gwynn (*Hermathena*, vol. viii. No. 19, 1893, pp. 1–7). The latter has shown in the same article, pp. 7–17, on what a weak foundation Tischendorf's opinion rests, that ver. 25 and the signature of the book in ℵ were not written by the first hand, but by the hand of the contemporary corrector. In fact, Tregelles, who had seen the Dublin codex, opposed Tischendorf's view, while the spelling κατὰ Ἰωάννην instead of Ἰωάνην, which is peculiar to the corrector (ℵ^{a}), is decisive. There is, therefore, no manuscript evidence against ver. 25. A scholiast also, who explains it as a marginal note which had gradually worked into the text (in Wettstein *N.T.* i. 964, and Matthaei, *Ev. Jo.* p. 354. According to the Cod. Vatic. Regin. 9, fol. 197*b*, in Mai, *N. patr. bibl.* vii. 1. 407, this was Theodore of Mops.), bears witness that ver. 25 is found in all MSS. But if the case were otherwise, every critic would have to hold that the simple hyperbole of the expression had induced pedantic writers to expurgate it. As Tatian in the *Diatessaron*, so also the probably still somewhat older *Acts of Peter* have taken ver. 25 into account; for if the ἃ ἐχωρήσαμεν ἐγράψαμεν to which Peter there gives expression (ed. Lipsius, p. 67, 2: preserved in the Greek by Isidorus of Pelusium; cf. *GK*, ii. 848 A. 2, 849 A. 2, 851) both in the name of the other apostles and especially of the sons of Zebedee, is based primarily upon 1 John i. 1–4, still the expression ἐχωρήσαμεν which is not found in the Epistle passage, and which in the *Acts of Peter* is at once taken up again in χωρητικῶς (*capaciter*), proves that there is reference at the same time to John xxi. 25. Origen (*in Jo.* tom. xiii. 5 f., xix. 10, xx. 34; cf. Eus. *H. E.* vi. 25) and Isidorus, who through Jewish polemic against John xxi. 25 had his attention called to the passage of the *Acts of Peter*, and also Bengel, all understood χωρῆσαι to concern the intellectual comprehension. Leucius both in the *Acts of John* and the *Acts of Peter* had already given a similar interpretation, only that at the same time he connects it with the uncertainty and incompleteness of the sense perception of Jesus' being which was conditioned by the mutability of His bodily appearance. That Theodore of Mops. pronounced ver. 24, or ver. 25, or the entire chapter as spurious, is pure myth. Where Mill (*N.T.* 1707, Proleg. p. xxix) obtained his note in regard to Theodore which Eberhart, S. 8, so remarkably misinterpreted, the present writer has no knowledge. According to the Syrian Ischodad, *circa* 850 (cod. Sachau, 311 fol. 163; cf. Goussen, *Stud. theol.* i. p. 111), Theodore would have eliminated John

v. 4 and xxi. 25 from the text. Barhebræus (in *Ev. Jo.*, ed. Schwartz, p. 24) repeats this statement, but refers this opinion to people generally (*φασίν τινες*) instead of to Theodore. According to the Syriac translation of Theodore's commentary on John, with whose conclusion Prof. L. Abel acquainted the present writer by a copy of the Cod. Sachau, 217 fol. 280^{a}, at Berlin, Theodore adds to the text of xxi. 24 and 25 given in full by him nothing further than this: "These are sentences (פתגמא) which are not from John, but (belong) to someone else. And here we conclude the seventh book, with which this writing (that of the commentary on John) ended and was completed." It follows from this that Theodore did not at all dispute the Johannine authorship of xxi. 1–23, but merely, as a good exegete, had concluded from the plural *οἴδαμεν* that ver. 24 and with it ver. 25 were not written by the hand of John himself, but by that of some unknown person. In the Cod. Syr. 308 at Paris, upon which the printed edition is dependent (Theodorus Mops., *Comment. in Ev. Jo. versio syr.*, ed. Chabot, Paris 1897), the concluding sentence (p. 412) runs literally as follows: "But these sentences from *ἔστιν δὲ καί* onwards, and up to this point, *the Commentator* says, are not by John, but by another, whoever that may be." The writer of this MS, forgets his rôle when he speaks of Theodore, who by the Syrians bears the honorary title of "the commentator" as of another person, probably in order to entirely remove from himself the responsibility of this critical remark. At the same time, however, he confines the criticism expressly to ver. 25; while Theodore, according to the original text of the Berlin MS., wished to have it referred to vv. 24 and 25. The texts for vv. 24–25, which have come down to us, show no greater fluctuations than other undoubtedly original passages. A *καί* before *μαρτυρῶν* (B, Orig. *in Jo.* xxxii. 13, ed. Preuschen, p. 461. 9, and Cyril) might be genuine, and it might be correlative with the following *καί*, which Origen, however, discards. Only in that case we could not read *ὁ* before the second *καί* (א^{a} Cyril, etc.) or after it (BD). Probably, however, B, which has in part Origen and in part D and good Latin witnesses on its side, has the original wording: *ὁ καὶ μαρτυρῶν π. τ. καὶ ὁ γράψας ταῦτα.* From Ss ("who bore witness of this and wrote this") we cannot infer a reading *μυστυρήσας.* Just as little critical value has the free translation of Ss in ver. 25 ("and many other [things] Jesus did, which, if they were written down one by one, the world would not be enough [have been big enough] for them"). It gives evidence of the tendency to displace the real and tangible conception, which has been vouched for by *τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία* by the interpretation which has been shown to be very early. The only doubt can be whether we are to read the hard *ὅσα*, but which just on that account demands especial notice, instead of *ἅ* before *ἐποίησεν*, and whether *χωρήσειν* or *χωρῆσαι* is the correct reading.

3. (P. 235.) Inasmuch as of those who in xxi. 24 testify to the writing of the book by the disciple whom Jesus loved, and who witness to his truthfulness, only one actually penned the statement, the change from *οἴδαμεν* to the singular *οἶμαι* cannot appear strange, especially since the latter expression, like *οἶδα, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, opinor*, and other similar ones, had come to be almost an interjection. The whole circle of those in whose name the writer of these lines speaks, guarantees the testimony of ver. 24; but to make all of them responsible for the very subjective judgment contained in ver. 25 would be unnatural.

4. (Pp. 240, 241.) The symbolical meaning of the draught of fishes, which at the same time was full of a promise of blessing, could not have remained secret to such readers as knew the traditions in Matt. iv. 19, xiii. 47; Mark i. 17; Luke v. 10, and, least of all to Peter, if in this passage as in the others actual words and deeds of Jesus have been reported. The disciple John, who had been an eye-witness of Peter's former draught of fishes, recognised the Lord by this one (ver. 7). On the other hand, the number 153 (ver. 11) as well as the number 200 (ver. 8) and the numbers in i. 39, ii. 6, 20, iv. 6, 18, v. 2, vi. 7, 9, 19, xi. 18, xii. 5 elude every reasonable allegorical or cabalistic signification, in spite of the frequent attempts which have been made in this direction, *e.g.*, by Theophilus, Latin version, *Forsch.* ii. 84=Augustine, *Tract.* cxxii. *in Jo.*; by Ammonius (Cramer's *Catenæ*, ii. 408); Severnus Antioch. (*Cat. in Jo.*, ed. Corderius, p. 438); Jerome, *ad Ezk.* xlvii. 12 (Vall. v. 595), with appeal to the ἁλιευτικά of the poet Oppianus: *CLIII. esse genera piscium*, which Hilgenfeld, *Einl.* 717, further applies to the men who are to be won from the heathen peoples, as if John had said anything about the different kinds of fishes, or could have represented Peter as primarily the apostle to the heathen. Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie*, S. 62, found that the name Simon Bar Jona Kepha, written in Hebrew (כפא, however, instead of כיפא) and resolved into its value in figures, yields 153. The only unfortunate thing is that the author of John xxi. 15–17 as well as of i. 42 does not call the father of Peter Jona, but Jochanan. The symbolic meaning of the draught of fishes in Matt. iv. 19; Mark i. 17 is connected with Peter and Andrew, in Luke v. 10 with Peter alone. In xxi. 6 the command falls upon the seven disciples of ver. 2 (cf., however, also Luke v. 4, χαλάσατε, with ἐπανάγαγε, and v. 5, χαλάσω), but Peter occupies the entire foreground in xxi. 3, 7, 11, so that the predictive meaning of the incident concerns him primarily. Moreover, according to Matt. xvi. 17–19 (of which the reader of the Fourth Gospel is reminded by i. 42); Luke xxii. 32; John x. 9 (where men are introduced, who through the interposition of Jesus receive the office of shepherd in the Church), the allegorical meaning of the three times repeated injunction of vv. 15–17 could not be any more doubtful for Peter than for us. More in agreement with the command in ver. 6 than with that in vv. 15–17 is that in ver. 19, so far as it refers to a definite outward act, which immediately is to and actually does ensue. But the deeper predictive meaning is excluded thereby as little here as in ver. 6. As surely as Peter must have been reminded by the thrice asked question vv. 15–17 of his thrice uttered denial (xiii. 38, xviii. 17, 25, 27), so certainly must the ἀκολούθει μοι have called to his mind the conversation of xiii. 36 f.—especially after the prophecy in ver. 18 had pointed out to him his future life up to old age. Furthermore, the reader, to whom the narrator in ver. 19*a* had explained this prophecy as relating to the death of Peter, could have understood the ἀκολούθει μοι, without detracting from its most probable and proper meaning, as referring to nothing else than to Peter's following into death and the invisible world. It is evident from ver. 20 f., however, that Peter himself at once grasped this meaning more or less clearly. Whether in connection with it a recollection of the prophecy in Matt. xx. 23, Mark x. 39 assisted him, cannot with certainty be determined. Only when in his following of Jesus, which was the point in question here, he recognised a symbolic expression of that following

of which Jesus in xiii. 36 f. had spoken, namely, an accompanying and following of Him into the other world, through which for him the time of the painful separation from Jesus was shortened, only then could he perceive in this a privilege and an honour, a share in which he could wish to have given also to his fellow-disciple John who stood so close to Jesus. For no proof is needed that this is the meaning of Peter's question as to John in ver. 21, and that Peter in the following of Jesus, which he had before desired, but which was now proffered him, and at the same time foretold of him, saw no punishment, that in his jealousy for his rival he wished him to share. In a Gospel which contains words such as xii. 26, xiii. 36–xiv. 6, xvi. 16–22, and in a period of the history of Christianity in which words such as Phil. i. 20–23; Rev. xiv. 13; Ign. *Rom.* ii.–vii., were written, the latter meaning would have been a blasphemy and an absurdity beyond all comprehension. The second draught of fishes, as the first, had led Peter to the most humble self-abasement (cf. Luke v. 8); and whatever remnants of a false ambition might have been present in him, must have been entirely stifled, at least for the moment, by this conversation of vv. 15–17, which put him again in his place as leader, and yet at the same time painfully reminded him of his weakness (ver. 15, *πλέον τούτων*; ver. 17, *ἐλυπήθη*), and also by the prophecy of ver. 18, which was not lacking in censure. The interpretation of ver. 18 in the light of ver. 19*a* is similar, not only in form but also in substance, to xii. 33. As that word concerning the lifting up from the earth (xii. 32) by its context expresses first of all the thought of the removal from the earth to heaven (xii. 23, 34–36, iii. 14, vi. 62, viii. 21–28), and was only recognised after the crucifixion of Jesus as a predictive indication of this definite kind of death in which the one about to die is raised from the earth (xii. 33, xviiii. 32), so xxi. 18 gave Peter, and, as long as Peter lived, the reader no definite information concerning the apostle's death, while it was only through combination of ideas that Peter himself came to base upon this statement, among other things, the expectation of a violent death (vol. ii. 211 f.). Inasmuch as he remained active in the service of the truth until his old age, he, as Paul in Phil. i. 20, ii. 17, 2 Tim. iv. 6, must have connected with this the hope that his violent death would be a martyrdom, and so redound to the glory of God. But John xxi. 19 goes beyond that; for *ποίῳ θανάτῳ* here, as in xii. 33, xviii. 32, points to a definite kind of death, in fact, here as there to the same kind of death—the crucifixion; for even if we did not possess historical information concerning the crucifixion of Peter, we would not be able to think of anything but the crucifixion, if any hint of a definite kind of death is given in ver. 18. The point of comparison lies in the stretching out of the hands, the extending of the arms; cf. Epict. *Diss.* iii. 26. 21 (in the address to the man who feared to become poor): *δέδοικας μὴ οὐ σχῇς . . . ἄλλον τὸν ὑποδήσοντα, ἄλλον τὸν ἐνδύσοντα, ἄλλους τοὺς τρίψοντας, ἄλλους τοὺς ἀκολυθήσοντας, ἵν' ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ ἐκδυσάμενος καὶ ἐκτείνας σεαυτὸν ὡς οἱ ἐσταυρωμένοι Τρίβῃ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν*; with reference to Artemidoras, *Interpretation of Dreams* (Ὀνειροκρίτικα), i. 76, see Horn, S. 93.

5. (P. 246.) It is instructive to note the comparison of the martyrdom of the sons of Zebedee,—a prophecy not given even in hypothetical form (Mark x. 38 f.; Matt. xx. 22 f.),—and the attempt to bring it into agreement with the biography of John (cf. above, p. 205, and *Acta Jo.* 199. 20–200. 5,

201. 4, 207. 2, 237. 27; *Act. Ap. Apocr.*, ed. Lipsius et Bonnet, ii. part i. 156. 13 ff.); and above, p. 195 f.

6. (P. 248.) Iren. iii. 1. 1; see the text, vol. ii. 398, n. 7. If the expression used of John (καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον)—as distinguished from that previously said of Luke, and more plainly than the expressions used of Matt. and Mark—itself asserts not only the writing, but the formal publication of the Gospel by John, so does the context completely prove that Irenæus had no thought of a merely indirect Johannine origin of the Gospel. According to Irenæus, the fourfold Gospel originated with apostles—the second and third with Peter and Paul through the agency of Mark and Luke, the first and fourth direct with Matthew and John. Moreover, the legend which tells of certain assistance of others in the writing of the Fourth Gospel, nevertheless emphasises the fact that John himself wrote the whole book (Can. Murat. line 13 ff., "Revelatum Andreæ ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Joannes suo nomine cuncta describeret").

§ 67. THE RELATION OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL TO THE EARLIER GOSPELS.

The view that the Fourth Gospel was written for a Christian church, or for a group of such churches, which cannot be said in any way of Matthew and Luke, and only with limitations of Mark, is corroborated by the observation forced upon us as soon as we read the Gospel, that John takes for granted a considerable degree of acquaintance with the gospel history on the part of his readers. The question arises whether this knowledge was derived from the unwritten Gospel which they heard from their missionaries (§ 48), or from books in circulation among them. The tradition makes John write his Gospel in his old age, and later than Matthew, Mark, and Luke (above, p. 178 f.), and for this very reason favours the latter supposition. We have also the account of the teachers of Clement of Alexandria, that John wrote with the three older Gospels consciously in view and with the purpose of supplementing the same on the theological side (above, p 197, n. 5). Moreover, it has been shown that Mark's Gospel was the subject of earnest discussion among the friends of John at Ephesus (vol. ii. 438 ff.), and that in the same region the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew was

interpreted orally in the church services for a long time, until the translating of the Gospel into Greek rendered this unnecessary (vol. ii. 510 ff.). There is no certain starting-point in the tradition for the determination of the chronological relation between these facts and the composition of the Fourth Gospel. It is possible, however, that our Gospel of Mark was much read in Ephesus, that the Aramaic Gospel of Matthew was interpreted orally there, and that even the Greek translation of it had been made prior to the time when John wrote. In fact, Luke's work may have been known in Ephesus at this time (above, p. 159). Since, moreover, the preceding investigation has not confirmed any of the conjectures concerning lost documents which Matthew and Mark made the basis of their works, and since, with the exception of Mark, there is no trace of the wider circulation of the older attempts to produce a gospel history with which Luke became acquainted in the course of his investigations, we infer that our Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke are the writings from which John's readers may have derived the knowledge of the gospel history which he takes for granted they possessed (n. 1).

No one of the Gospels shows from the outset so clearly as does the Fourth Gospel the lack of any attempt to furnish readers who may not be as yet familiar with the subject a history which could be understood out of its own material. Without any introductory words acquainting the readers with the person and work of John the Baptist (n. 2), the Gospel begins (i. 19), in striking contrast to the other Gospels, with an account of an official embassy from the Jews of Jerusalem, which presupposes that John had been carrying on an important work for a considerable time; as a matter of fact, we learn incidentally (i. 25, 26) that he had been engaged in baptizing with water.

Whence John obtained that knowledge of the person of the Messiah—who had already made His public appear-

ance—which he shows in reply to a question put to him at the time by the Pharisees (n. 2), the reader first learns from the following narrative, in which John applies to Jesus as He was approaching him, a testimony spoken earlier concerning Him, while still absent, and explains (i. 29–34) from a definite experience his knowledge of the high dignity of Jesus, which had already been attested by the earlier testimony and at the time it was given. Even if there were no thoroughly characteristic words recalling the account of the baptism in Matt. iii. 13 ff.; Mark i. 9 ff.; Luke iii. 21 f., every reader would understand from the way in which John twice recalls the fact, that his mission was to baptize with water (vv. 31, 33),—which otherwise would be without point in this connection, —that John as he concluded the act of Jesus' baptism had seen the sign which God had revealed to him as the sign of Him who should baptize with the Spirit, namely, the visible descent of the Spirit from Heaven, in the form of a dove which rested upon Jesus. From these statements of John we conclude that his baptism of Jesus preceded not only the scene recorded in vv. 29–34, but also the testimony in ver. 26 f., and the still earlier testimony to be distinguished from that of ver. 26, to which the Baptist refers in ver. 30. After His baptism, which took place some time prior to the events recorded in i. 19 ff., Jesus came again to Bethany where John was baptizing, before His return to Galilee (i. 43), which continued to be His home (i. 45) notwithstanding His presence in Judea. Anyone familiar with Matt. iv. 13–17 ; Mark i. 9–11, or Luke iii. 21–22, iv. 1–14, recognizes at once that this interval between Jesus' baptism and His return to the Jordan was the forty days of His temptation. Without acquaintance not only with the general outlines, but also with numerous details of the synoptic accounts of the work of the Baptist and of the baptism of Jesus, the entire narrative in John i. 19–34 is unintelligible (n. 3).

It is consequently inconceivable that the author should have written in this way without consciously taking it for granted and without being certain that his readers were in the possession of such knowledge.

This appears in a particularly striking manner in iii. 24. No intelligent writer could communicate in this form to readers, who did not as yet know that the work of the Baptist was brought to an end by imprisonment, a fact of which he relates nothing either in what precedes or in what follows (cf. *per contra*, Matt. iv. 12, xi. 2, xiv. 3; Mark i. 14, vi. 17; particularly, however, what is said by Luke, who is a real historian, Luke iii. 19 f., vii. 18). Nor would mere acquaintance with the fact on the part of the readers be sufficient to render the sentence intelligible. For, since it is impossible that a man could not be engaged in a public work of baptism and preaching and surrounded by his disciples, as indicated in iii. 25 and iii. 25–iv. 1, and be suffering at the same time the imprisonment from which he was never to be released, it is self-evident that this statement was not made on John's account. Least of all could it be intended to explain the statement about his continued public work. The remark is intelligible only if John presupposed on the part of his readers a clear idea of the relation between Jesus' public work and John's imprisonment—a relation with which his account did not seem to harmonise. Although such a conception was not required by Luke's account (above, p. 106 f., 167 f.), it was an inevitable inference from Mark i. 14 and Matt. iv. 12; since both of these evangelists make all of Jesus' public work, which they describe, follow the arrest of the Baptist. Christians who had a definite idea of the course of the gospel history which they had derived from Mark or Matthew could read John i. 19–iii. 21 with the feeling that here were important facts of which they had known nothing heretofore. When, however, they came to iii. 22–iv. 2, which contained an account of the contempor-

aneous activity of Jesus and of the Baptist, the new account may have, indeed it must have, seemed to contradict their familiar conception of the course of the history. The statement in iii. 24 was intended for the information of such readers, possibly also designed to offset their wrong impression. The writer says to them in effect: "You must understand that what is here related took place before the imprisonment of the Baptist; it was not until after this event that Jesus began the work with which you are familiar, which was then confined chiefly to Galilee." This remark, which is intended for the information of his readers, is inserted at this particular point where it is necessary, in order to make the narrative clear to those acquainted with Mark and Matthew; it is, however, related to the entire contents of i. 19–iv. 54, for Jesus breaks off the work which He had begun and withdraws from Judea to Galilee, in order not to interfere with the Baptist's work so long as God permits it to be carried on, and in order to avoid the appearance of rivalry with His Forerunner (iii. 25–iv. 3). It would never occur to readers such as John had in mind—readers familiar with the synoptic tradition, and others of common intelligence —to identify this journey of Jesus from Judea to Galilee, which was undertaken because of the continuance of the work of the Baptist, with the journey from Judea to Galilee which Jesus made after the arrest of John (Matt. iv. 12; Mark i. 14). This unlikely combination of events was made altogether impossible by the fact that, according to the synoptic accounts, this journey marked the beginning of a prophetic work on the part of Jesus which moved the whole of Galilee, whereas in John there is nothing to indicate that Jesus resumed in Galilee the work which He had broken off in Judea. Nothing is recorded in iv. 43–54 concerning teaching and baptism on the part of Jesus, and nothing is said of His activity as a miraculous healer. Only a single act of healing is re-

corded, which was wrung from Jesus against His will (iv. 48); and in this instance the parallelism between this miracle and that in Cana (iv. 46, 54) is twice pointed out, showing it to have been a revelation of Jesus' glory which was just as isolated and just as premature as was the latter event (ii. 4), and just as much an exception to the rule which Jesus observed at this time of refraining from public work. It is just here, in connection with this stay in Galilee, that John represents Jesus as formally establishing this rule, for he gives as the motive of this journey to Galilee a saying of Jesus'—when spoken need not be considered here—from which no exegetical sophistry can derive any other meaning than this, namely, that Jesus went to Galilee at this time because He was convinced—and as occasion demanded, expressed the conviction—that in His native Galilee He was less likely to receive such recognition as He had received in Judea and even in Samaria, as He passed through it on His hasty journey to Galilee (n. 3). It was not His intention, therefore, to change the scene of His labours from Judea to Galilee, which would not have relieved in any way the unfortunate state of affairs which had caused His withdrawal from Judea (iii. 26, iv. 1), but He designed to remain in retirement so long as it pleased God that the Baptist should remain at liberty and continue his work. When Jesus appears again in Jerusalem at a feast (v. 1), this period of waiting is at an end; because now He speaks of John as a light which was no longer burning and shining (v. 35). Readers, such as were presupposed in iii. 24, knew that when in the narrative Jesus appears again in Galilee after this visit to Jerusalem (vi. 1 ff.), the time is that following the arrest of the Baptist, to which period the older accounts were almost exclusively confined. And their expectation is confirmed by the very first incident which John records after this reappearance in Galilee (vi. 3–13). Here they find a portion of the older tradition

with which they were familiar (Matt. xiv. 13 f.; Mark vi. 31 ff.; Luke ix. 10 ff.), and this is the first instance where John gives essentially the same account as was found in the Synoptics.

Here there comes to light with great clearness the general presupposition on which the Fourth Gospel was based. The readers are introduced at once to the climax of Jesus' Galilean ministry, of which not only is nothing said in what precedes, but for which, rather, there is no place before v. 1, and consequently no place before vi. 1. As the imperfects in vi. 2 indicate, on account of His numerous deeds of healing, Jesus is followed constantly in Galilee by great throngs. The enthusiasm of the people is roused to a dangerous pitch (vi. 14 f.). As we learn in a purely incidental way in vi. 67–71, the twelve apostles have been for a long time already chosen. A harsh saying of Jesus brings about a crisis among the disciples less intimately attached to Him; from this moment the movement, now at its culmination, begins to decline (vi. 6–66). The ebb continues, so that half a year later (cf. vii. 2–9 with vi. 4) Jesus' brothers, in view of the decrease of His popularity in Galilee, urge Him now at last to reveal Himself before the whole world in Judea, where it was alleged that He had won so many followers (vii. 3, cf. ii. 23, iii. 26, iv. 1, 45). There is an interval of at least six months between v. 1 and vi. 4 (n. 4), and according to John's account this period was occupied by a work which moved the whole of Galilee, or more specifically, by the whole series of events which, according to Matt. iv. 12–xiv. 12; Mark i. 14–vi. 30; Luke iv. 14–ix. 10, took place in the interval between the arrest and the execution of the Baptist. Then follows another six months, from the Passover which, according to vi. 4, took place shortly after the events recorded in vi. 3–71 until the feast of Tabernacles in vii. 2, to which John gives only a single

sentence, vii. 1. Nor was this six months a time of retirement, like the period beginning with iv. 43 (n. 3); for at its close Jesus' brothers do not find fault with Him because He had begun His work on a large scale in Galilee and then given it up again, but because He did His works in Galilee instead of in Judea and Jerusalem. We have, therefore, at least one full year of important prophetic work in Galilee which John passes over in silence, with the exception of the one connected account in vi. 3–71 and the general hints of vi. 2, vii. 1; although he not only betrays knowledge of the events which he passes over, but indicates their significance. There is no comparison between this procedure and that of the Synoptists, who also sometimes mention single events about which they know, without giving a full account of them (Matt. xi. 21, xxiii. 37, above, p. 170 ff.). John's procedure at this point, where for the first time his narrative comes into touch with the great current of the synoptic account (vi. 1–vii. 2), can be explained only on the assumption that his readers were fully informed about all the events which took place during this great "year of the Lord" in Galilee (Luke iv. 19, above, p. 169). Where, however, he does have occasion to bring before the readers again in full the account of a particular event which is recorded also in the older Gospels (vi. 3–13),—in order to add to it the account of other and new incidents and discourses, closely connected with the event (vi. 14 f., 23, 26–71), which he had to give, he shows again, as in the history of the relations between Jesus and the Baptist (above, p. 256 f.), by the addition of various details which cannot be explained as due to the influence of a poetic or didactic idea, that he has at his command independent knowledge of the situation (n. 5).

A new aspect of the relation between John and the Synoptists comes to view in John xi. 2, 3. Inasmuch as x. 40 refers back to i. 28, where Bethany (not Bethabara)

on the east bank of the Jordan is mentioned as the place in which John began his baptism, it would not be at all unnatural, in the passage immediately following, where another Bethany near Jerusalem is referred to (xi. 1, 18), if in some way the latter place were distinguished from the former. The fact, however, that Bethany in Perea is not mentioned again by name in x. 40–42, renders such a geographical notice unnecessary. But even if it were, what a remarkable designation is that given in xi. 1. Instead of saying that the Bethany mentioned in this verse was situated near Jerusalem (ver. 18), John calls it "the village of Mary and her sister Martha." It is not until ver. 2 that the reader learns that the two women are the sisters of Lazarus; and even if it had been possible to infer this earlier, it must have impressed him as peculiar that the place which is mentioned as Lazarus' home is described not by his name, but as the village of Mary and Martha. Neither designation, however, is suited to distinguish the geographical location of the one Bethany from that of the other. The passage is intelligible only if we assume that the readers were already acquainted with a "village of Mary and Martha." In this case it would be of interest to them to learn, what they had not known before, that the Bethany where Lazarus lived and where he was now sick was the "village of the sisters Mary and Martha" of which they already knew. Manifestly the readers were in the same position in which we find ourselves to-day. From Luke x. 38–42 they knew, as do we, of a village in which two sisters, Mary and Martha, possessed a house; but that this village was called Bethany, and that it was the same Bethany where also a certain Lazarus lived, they learned, as do we, for the first time when they read John xi. 1. Before, however, informing his readers concerning the relationship of Mary and Martha to Lazarus (ver. 2*b*), who up to this time has remained unknown to them (xi. 1, τίς), the writer arouses further interest in the persons who

appear in the narrative which follows, by indicating that Mary was the woman who had anointed the Lord with oil and wiped His feet with her hair. This incident was to be narrated with ample detail in its historical connection, xii. 1–8. But unless informed from other sources, the reader could not know this beforehand, and would necessarily understand xi. 2 incorrectly to mean that the anointing had taken place before the time of xi. 2, just as vii. 50, xviii. 14, 26, xix. 39 are to be taken as references to events which had happened and which are recorded earlier in the book, namely in iii. 2, xi. 50, xviii. 10. Here, however, where, as xii. 1–8 shows, the narrator has no intention of being so understood, he nevertheless refers to an anointing of Jesus with oil by a woman, just as though he himself had narrated the incident earlier. He takes for granted, therefore, that his readers are familiar with the details of the incident from other sources, and the new thing which he relates is the fact that this woman is identical with the Mary who has just been mentioned. Consequently the readers must have known, as we do, either from Matt. xxvi. 6–13, Mark xiv. 3–9, or from Luke vii. 36–50, the story of an anointing such as John took for granted they knew, *i.e.* one in which the act was narrated without the name of the woman being given. But comparison with John xii. 1–8 shows that John had in mind Mark xiv. 3–9 = Matt. xxvi. 6–13, not Luke vii. 36 ff.; and here again his account resembles that of Mark so closely, both in subject-matter and in language, that it is most natural to suppose that Mark was consciously made use of by John (n. 6). Here, as in the account of the feeding of the five thousand, John represents one disciple as saying what Matthew and Mark represent the disciples as saying collectively. Neither does he hesitate to report the most significant saying of Jesus in a form differing widely from that of the other accounts (ver. 7),—a form which, at a comparatively early date, seemed to pious

readers objectionable, because, as John reported the saying, it had the appearance of being a prophecy which was not fulfilled (n. 6).

Up to this point two things seem to have been established, or shown to be extremely probable. (1) John takes for granted on the part of his readers a comprehensive knowledge of the gospel history. This knowledge includes not only the main outlines of the Gospel and the facts of great religious importance which would necessarily be brought out in the mission preaching, but also many separate stories which sometimes may have been narrated orally, but which could not have been parts of a uniform tradition in general circulation. (4) He is not only himself acquainted with the synoptic Gospels, especially with Mark, apparently also with Luke, but he presupposes this knowledge on the part of his readers. This is proved by the fact that throughout his Gospel he utilises the synoptic narratives, sometimes by connecting his own account directly with the same on the presupposition that they are known, sometimes by taking for granted that some event there recorded had happened which he does not repeat, sometimes by guarding the readers against possible misunderstanding of the synoptic accounts, or by informing them for the first time of details which had become effaced in these accounts, or by correcting slight inaccuracies which had crept into them. On the whole, however, the synoptic accounts are confirmed both by what John repeats and by what he does not report but takes for granted as having happened and as being known.

Assuming that these facts suffice to prove that John's omission of material found in the Synoptics, which in itself is important, is no proof either that he was ignorant of the same or that he disapproved of it, we may pursue this line of inquiry still further. In passages like i. 19–34, iii. 24, vi. 1–21, xi. 1 f., xii. 1–8, the reader is reminded constantly of the synoptic accounts, and nowhere does he get

a conception of events essentially different from that which he finds in the earlier Gospels. Just as in the case of the most important facts of the gospel history, as, for example, the whole of John's baptismal work, Jesus' baptism by him, the imprisonment of the Baptist, the healing of multitudes in Galilee, and the choice of the apostles, the reader finds his previous conception directly confirmed by the fact that John does not undertake to give a new and different account of these facts; so he discovers with regard to numerous other instances to which John less clearly refers.

Without claiming anything at this point as to the purpose of the Fourth Gospel, we may call attention to the patent fact, which the author himself brings out very explicitly in xx. 30 (xxi. 25), that what he records is selected from a mass of material at his disposal. In a degree unparalleled by any other evangelist, he abandons all attempt at completeness in the narrative in the history, and consequently disregards entirely an external pragmatic treatment of the history. In the case of the "year of grace in Galilee" this is self-evident, and likewise in the case of the beginnings of the history of Jesus. We have seen how the curiously chosen beginning of his narrative in i. 19 does not exclude the accounts in Matt. iii. 1–4, 11; Mark i. 2–13; Luke iii. 1–iv. 13, nor lessen their importance, but rather presupposes them (above, p. 256). Quite as little does this beginning exclude or disparage the accounts in Matt. i.–ii.; Luke i.–ii. Just before it is said that the Logos became flesh, who, because of the incarnation, is called the only-begotten Son of God (i. 14), it is stated (according to the text still accepted) very explicitly how those for whom Christ has won the right and possibility of becoming children of God, and who are now believers on the name of Christ, become children of God. If the reader were unacquainted with the traditions in Matt. i. and Luke i., possibly the fact

that the simple thought that we become children of God not by a natural, human birth, but by a working of God which may be figuratively described as begetting or birth (cf. iii. 3–8), is expressed by three negative and one simple positive statement, might excite only surprise, especially, however, that the will of the man as a factor in the begetting and birth of the child of God is excluded, whereas in natural birth the woman as well as the man is a factor, and besides the use of the plural *αἱμάτων*, suggests the inclusion of both the man and the woman. On the other hand, for readers such as those whom John addressed—who belonged to the Christian Church and were familiar with the traditions of the beginning of Jesus' life—the mystery was solved at once when it was observed that John described the birth of the children of God according to the analogy of the birth of the only-begotten Son of God, who is this in the fullest sense, and from His incarnation onwards. How inevitably Christian readers discovered in the passage reference to the begetting and birth of Jesus without the mingling of the blood of two human beings, and without the concurrence of fleshly desire and of the will of man, would be shown in the history of the text, if in ver. 13 *οἳ . . . ἐγγενήθησαν* were the original reading, from which in the second century the reading *ἐγγεννήθη*, without a connecting relative (*οἵ* or *ὅς*), may have arisen and been widely spread abroad in the Churches. There are, however, strong reasons for the originality of this latter reading. For John would then have expressly acknowledged the traditions in Matt. i. and Luke i., and all the more have presupposed readers who knew these traditions and believed them to be true (n. 7).

After having put before his readers in i. 19–xi. 57 material which, with the exception of vi. 1–13 and occasional references to what they knew from other sources, was entirely new in the account of the last days

of Jesus' life, John was under the necessity either of remaining silent altogether or of repeating what was already known from various sources; for, like the earlier Gospels, the missionary preaching and all the oral traditions concerning these days must have contained a full account of everything connected with the death and resurrection of Jesus. Nevertheless, in this section also the author of the Fourth Gospel follows the same eclectic method, and makes no effort to conceal the fact. Here it was impossible for a reader of any intelligence at all to conclude from John's silence regarding facts which were important in themselves, and which still survived in the tradition, either that the events had not taken place or that they were not accepted by John as true. From xii. 1, 12 the reader learns that a number of days intervened between the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem and His death; but only one event, xii. 20–36, which took place during these days, and one short discourse, xii. 44–50, the time and place of which is not even indicated, are recorded. It is also necessarily presupposed in xii. 35 f. that Jesus did not in any way withdraw Himself from the people, but rather testified to them of Himself by His teaching and His deeds. After all the conflicts between Jesus and the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, of which John especially gives us a full account from ii. 18 onwards, it must have been perfectly clear to everyone that collisions of this character could not be avoided during His last visit to the city. The fact that John passes all these events by in silence without even so much as such general remarks as are found in Luke xxi. 37 f., which would give the readers an idea of Jesus' life during these eventful days, of His place of residence, and of His works and discourses, is to be explained only on the supposition that they were sufficiently informed regarding these particular facts (Mark xi. 12, xiii. 37; Matt. xxi. 12–xxv. 46; Luke xix. 47–xxi. 38). In contrast to the

scanty account of this part of the history, we have detailed reports regarding the last hours which Jesus spent with the apostles (xiii. 1–xvii. 26). But this narrative would be quite unintelligible to readers unacquainted with at least the main features of the history of the last night of Jesus' life. It is not until well on in the narrative that such readers would become aware that it was the last evening which He spent with them and the night before His arrest (xiii. 32, εὐθύς; xiii. 38, xiv. 25–31, xvi. 32, xviii. 1 ff.). Without statement as to place or time (xiii. 1, n. 8), an account is given of what took place during a meal of which Jesus partook with His disciples. That Judas' betrayal of Jesus, which is referred to at an earlier point in the narrative (vi. 64, 70 f., xii. 4), and again in xiii. 2, 18–30 (xiv. 22), xvii. 12, as if it were already known, was the outcome of an arrangement with the authorities, is not indicated either here or anywhere else, not even in xviii. 2, where the progress of the narrative requires that it be presupposed. It must be taken for granted, therefore, that this fact was known.

If, as all the tradition from 1 Cor. xi. 23 onwards affirms, Jesus instituted the Christian sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the occasion of His last meal (vol. ii. 380, No. 7), the idea could occur to no Christian writer that, by passing by in silence this event, which was of such great importance in Christian worship, he could banish the same from the consciousness of the Church for which he wrote (above, p. 208 f.). And the later he wrote and the more deeply the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which depended upon this act of Jesus, became ingrained into the custom of the Church with the lapse of time, the more impossible would it be for him to entertain such an idea. If the writer had not taken it for granted that his readers were fully informed concerning this part of the history, he could not have passed this event by in silence, nor could he have written chaps. xiii.–xvii. in their present

form. The same is true of chaps. xviii.–xx. The omission of the account of Jesus' struggle in prayer in Gethsemane and of Judas' kiss in xviii. 1–11, and the introduction into the picture of a number of features which are not found in the Synoptics (the names of Peter and of Malchus, the co-operation of the Roman cohort, and the conversation between Jesus and those sent to arrest Him), are quite in keeping with what we have observed in sections previously discussed, which are formally parallel to accounts in the Synoptics. Here, however, is to be especially observed that John does not omit important facts which the parallelism between portions of his account and that of the Synoptics would naturally lead him to relate without elsewhere supplying a kind of substitute for them,—a fact which was found to be true also of Luke in relation to Mark (above, p. 102 f.). The essential contents of the story of the agony in the garden (Matt. xxvi. 37–45; Mark xiv. 33–41; Luke xxii. 41–46; Heb. v. 7, vol. ii. 362, 380), which John omits, are given in connection with an event recorded by him alone in xii. 27. There is no account of the institution of the Lord's Supper; but in vi. 26–65 is found a discourse which the original readers could construe only as a prophecy fulfilled by the observance of the Supper in the Church, and which was actually so construed (n. 9). Peter's great confession (Matt. xvi. 16; Mark viii. 29; Luke ix. 20) is replaced by another having the same significance, but different in form, and found in a different connection (John vi. 69). For the missing story of Jesus' birth there is a brief but significant substitute in i. 13 f. (above, p. 265 f.), and in place of the account of His baptism, John offers i. 32–34. In all these instances John's statements and narratives are independent. An author who, on the one hand, shows by such chapters as iii. 1–v. 47, vii.–xi., xiii.–xvii. that he has a large amount of material at his disposal not used in any form by the Synoptists, and that he knew

also how to arrange the same, and who, on the other hand, does not hesitate to repeat without essential modification what the Synoptists had written earlier (vi. 1–13, xii. 1–18, xviii. 1 ff.), is above the suspicion of having produced these and other accounts (n. 10) with the help of his imagination and by recasting the material furnished him by the Synoptics.

In the history of the Passion, repetition was unavoidable; but here also John writes with the same conscious reference to the Synoptics. Accepting the text of the older MSS., modifications of which are easy to understand and therefore to be rejected (n. 11), John in xviii. 13–28 distinguishes between a transaction in the house of Annas and a later hearing in the house of Caiaphas. The express statement that the former of these hearings took place first (xviii. 13, *πρῶτον*), and the omission of all account of the second hearing, with only the insertion of the account of Peter's second and third denials between the notice of Jesus' deliverance into Caiaphas' hands by Annas (ver. 24) and His handing over to Pilate by Caiaphas (ver. 28), would be incomprehensible on the part of an author who was giving the history of these events without reference to other accounts with which the readers were familiar. For it is altogether self-evident that what is first recorded and what immediately follows the account of the arrest took place first; and everyone understands that what took place in the house of Caiaphas, whose position as ruling high priest is strongly emphasised in vv. 13 f., 24 as earlier in xi. 49–51, must have been more important than the hearing before Annas, to whom John ascribes no official position whatever, and whose participation in the trial he explains merely on the ground of his relationship to the high priest (ver. 13). When, nevertheless, John expressly affirms that the hearing before Annas took place first, and then passes by without a word the latter event, concerning which he had aroused their attention in ver. 24, it can only

be because he wrote with other accounts in view which seemed to make the first statement necessary and allowed him to pass the other by. Mark xiv. 53–65 and xv. 1 and Matt. xxvi. 57–68, xxvii. 1, agree in distinguishing between what took place during the night in the dwelling of the high priest and a session of the Sanhedrin held in the early morning; and both Gospels place the decisive hearing and the death sentence of Jesus in the night assembly. Matthew differs from Mark only in calling the high priest, before whom the hearing by night took place, Caiaphas, and in stating (xxvii. 1) that the decision in regard to the execution of Jesus was made at the morning sitting. There is no reference to this in Mark xv. 1. Luke is similar to Matthew in this latter variation. He makes no mention whatever in xxii. 54 ff. of a hearing by night before the Sanhedrin, and, on the other hand, places the decisive hearing in the official session of the Sanhedrin, which was held in the morning (xxii. 66–70). It is evident that the tradition was uncertain with regard to the different steps of Jesus' trial. It was the special mission of the disciple who was known in the household and the court of the high priest, and who, therefore, was not compelled like Peter to remain without in the court, but could enter the inner rooms of the house which were used for the trial, to make this clear. Since John says only that Peter remained in the court, he himself must actually have gone within, and so have gained a more exact idea of the course of events than was possible for Peter, especially since the latter was very much occupied with his own affairs and became confused (n. 11). Consequently, whether the disciple in xviii. 15–16 was John himself or his brother James (above, p. 216), John was able to correct the error, which is expressed in so many words only by Matthew, but which was probably shared also by Mark and Luke, namely, that Jesus was led at once upon His arrest to Caiaphas. Not to Caiaphas, says John, but *before* and *first* to Annas (ver. 13). With

this error which John thus corrects was connected another, expressed by Matthew and Mark, but corrected by Luke, namely, that witnesses were examined at the hearing held during the night, and the sentence of death passed as if it were a regular court. Here John agrees with Luke, since what he relates about the transaction in the house of Annas is only a preliminary hearing of Jesus; there is no decision, and the whole lacks the character of a judicial procedure in which a case is pressed to an issue. But such a trial was the necessary presupposition of the appearance of the members of the Sanhedrin before Pilate (John xviii. 30, xix. 7; Matt. xx. 18; Mark x. 33; Acts xiii. 27). This was not held at night before Annas, but in the early morning before Caiaphas. John is aware of this, and notices also the transference of Jesus to Caiaphas (vv. 24, 28), but omits an account of what took place during this trial, because in the nature of the case neither he nor his brother was present at the meeting of the Sanhedrin, and consequently he had nothing to add to what the readers already knew from Mark or Luke or Matthew, or from all three of the synoptic Gospels. While in this instance John clearly shows himself acquainted with the older tradition and reveals his definite purpose to arrange his own account with reference to the earlier synoptic narratives, the reference of πάλιν in xviii. 40 to previous participation of the crowd in the trial by loud cries, of which, however, nothing is said in John, may be unintentional. But it is evidently an echo of Mark xv. 8, 11, 13. In general, it may be said that the sudden appearance of Barabbas in John's narrative is to be explained only on the supposition that the story was familiar to the readers, but could not well be passed over by John in silence. This is true also of xx. 2, although in the previous verses we read only that Mary Magdalene came to the grave and saw that the stone was rolled away; nevertheless, when she comes to Peter and John she says to them that someone has taken

the Lord's body out of the grave, which no one could know without having convinced himself that the tomb was empty. Moreover, in declaring her uncertainty as to the place where the body has been laid, she does not use *οὐκ οἶδα*, as in ver. 13, but *οὐκ οἴδαμεν*. It is thus presupposed that others besides her had had essentially the same experience, and had discussed with her the question as to where the body had been removed. But the others must have seen more than she did, *i.e.* they must have inspected the tomb and have found it empty. In short, while on the one hand John's account presupposes the narrative in Mark xvi. 1–5 (Matt. xxviii. 1. 5–6; Luke xxiv. 1–10), on the other hand it differs from this account, in which the distinctions had become obliterated, by indicating that Mary Magdalene came only as far as the grave, but did not enter it. In the meanwhile, however, she had spoken with the other women who had gone into the grave. The lack of skilful historical narrative in John which we notice here and elsewhere is more than offset by the evidence of his dependence upon the synoptic narrative, especially upon Mark. Indeed, this lack of skill is the very means by which dependence upon the Synoptics is brought clearly to light.

It is from this point of view that an answer is to be given to the much debated question as to how John's idea of the chronology of the Passion history, *i.e.*, of the time relation of the last meal and the crucifixion to the Jewish feast of the Passover of that year, is related to that of the Synoptists. This was one of the main questions at issue at the time of the disputes about the proper date for the celebration of the Christian Passover which arose between 165 and 170 in the Churches of Asia Minor, and which after 190 were continued between the Churches of Rome and Ephesus (n. 12). With only rare exceptions, such as Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis (about 170), the Churches and bishops of the province of Asia had at the time of

these disputes been for a long time Quartodecimans (τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῖται), and they continued to remain such during the third century, *i.e.*, they observed the Christian Passover, which consisted of a special celebration of the Eucharist after a fast, on the day and at the hour of the Jewish Passover meal on the evening of the 14th of Nisan. In support of this practice they appealed to the example of the great saints of the Church of their province, the apostle John of Ephesus, Philip of Hierapolis, and also the bishops and martyrs of the post-apostolic age. They appealed also to "the Gospel," particularly to Matthew, according to which Christ on the evening before His death observed the Jewish Passover at the time prescribed by the law. *i.e.*, the evening of the 14th of Nisan, and on this occasion instituted and celebrated the Christian Passover or Eucharist. Inasmuch as they claimed to have the authority of "the Gospel," *i.e.* the four Gospels, and in general of the entire Scripture on their side in this question, they must have been of the opinion that John and Matthew were in agreement on this point. Their opponents also took for granted that under all circumstances the Gospels must agree with one another and that they did actually so agree; but on the authority of John, especially of John xviii. 28, they claimed that Jesus partook of His last meal, which they regarded as in no sense a Jewish Passover meal, on the 13th of Nisan, and died on the 14th of Nisan as the true Passover lamb.

How the original representatives of these two opposing practices and exegetical views found support in detail in the texts for their common principle, namely, that the four Gospels are in harmony with one another, we are unable to determine positively from the literature which has come down to us, and which consists merely of scanty fragments. The view of the Johannine account which the opponents of the Quartodecimans (Apollinaris, Clement, Hippolytus) maintained has become the dominant view

also in modern times. The Tübingen school made this one of their principal arguments against the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel. They maintained that the anti-Quartodecimanian Fourth Gospel could not have been written by the apostle John, who according to trustworthy tradition was himself a Quartodeciman in practice; in fact, that one of the reasons for the composition of the Gospel and its ascription to the apostle was to give support to the anti-Quartodecimanian manner of observing Easter (n. 13). This view was extreme, and may be dismissed in a few words. In the *first* place, if this were the writer's purpose, then he must have been devoid of intelligence. For he leaves the character of Jesus' last meal entirely indefinite (xiii. 2) and says nothing about the institution of the Lord's Supper, thus leaving entirely untouched the chief point of dispute in the Easter controversy of the second century. Nor does he anywhere inform his readers expressly regarding the time relation between the separate acts of the Passion and the various parts of the Jewish Passover, and his own definite view regarding this relation which is thought by many to contradict that of the Synoptists comes out only in an incidental way. A man who conceived the bold idea of setting aside the view regarding the most important part of the gospel history which had prevailed up to his time and upon which the method of celebrating Easter in the Church of Asia was based, must have attempted to do so by an out and out denial of the correctness of the prevailing practice, and by positively claiming in the appropriate place at the beginning of the history of the Passion the correctness of the opposite practice. The later he wrote and the more deeply the practice which he antagonised had become rooted with the lapse of time through the influence of literature and of Church usage, the more positive must have been his denial. The employment of such entirely inadequate means as it is claimed that the

writer used to accomplish his purpose resulted in the complete failure of his attempt in the immediate region where the Fourth Gospel originated: for, with the exception of the isolated case of Apollinaris, the Church of Asia Minor remained Quartodecimanian until within the fourth century. In the *second* place, even if John did observe Easter in Ephesus according to Quartodecimanian practice, we have no right to assume that at this early date he was influenced by the same considerations and arguments which the Quartodecimans advanced in the disputes between the years 165 and 200 when their time-honoured custom was attacked. That the conception of Christ as the Paschal Lamb of His Church is entirely independent of the alleged view of John that Jesus died on the 14th of Nisan, before He could have partaken of the Passover meal, is proved by Paul; since he expresses the idea even more clearly than the author of the Fourth Gospel (1 Cor. v. 7), although he is familiar with the fact that Jesus observed the Jewish Passover on the night of His arrest, and on this night instituted the Lord's Supper (above, vol. ii. 380 under no. 7). The conception of Christ as the Paschal Lamb which is found throughout the N.T. is in no way based upon this alleged coincidence of the hour of Jesus' death with the time of the slaying of the Passover lamb, but was involved in the view that redemption under the new covenant was the counterpart of the deliverance from Egypt, and found merely a natural point of connection in the fact that Jesus died at the time of the Jewish Passover, and not, for example, during the feast of Tabernacles (John vii. 2–10). In a similar way the Quartodecimanian observation of Easter was not dependent upon the chronological details of the Passion, *e.g.*, upon the fact advanced by the later Quartodecimans that Jesus observed the Passover and instituted the Lord's Supper on the 14th of Nisan, for the reason that the observance of the Lord's Supper by the Church and the Christian

Passover—for that is what the special yearly celebration of the Eucharist really was—is not a memorial celebration of the institution of the Lord's Supper, but the celebration of the redemption of the entire Church by Christ,—an antitype of the Jewish Passover meal.

In just the same way the method of observing Easter in the West, opposed to that of the Quartodecimans, is not dependent upon the exegetical opinion of Apollinaris or Clement regarding single passages in the Fourth Gospel, since Irenæus, Origen, and Tertullian observed Easter after the manner customary in the West, without on that account denying that Jesus observed the Passover on the evening before His death at the time prescribed by the law, and, consequently, without denying that the earliest possible date for His death was the 15th of Nisan (n. 14). The Quartodecimanian observance of Easter may have been introduced into the province of Asia by Paul or his disciples (Timothy, Epaphras, and others), and John may have adopted the method of Easter observance which he found already existing in Ephesus, without regard to our view of the details of the chronology of the Passion history; since the fact that Jesus had partaken of His last meal with His disciples at the time of a Jewish Passover feast, the fact that He had suffered death and had risen from the dead, and that by choosing this time for His redemptive acts He had represented Himself as the Paschal Lamb of the new covenant, and His work as the antitype of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, were facts established beyond all question and independent of chronological details. If John did hold a view of the date of Jesus' death different from that held by Paul and the Churches from Antioch to Corinth, by the Synoptists and the different circles who reproduced their tradition, the possibility that this would have influenced him to oppose the custom in vogue in the Churches of the province of Asia was rendered less by the fact that in

Palestine he himself, like all his companions, had lived according to the law which required the yearly celebration of the Jewish Passover, but which in the case of Christians could not terminate without the celebration of the Christian Passover meal, namely, the Eucharist. Consequently, John's Quartodecimanian practice in Ephesus is no proof whatever that this John connected the different stages of the Passion history with the different days of the Jewish feast of the Passover, and so argues nothing against his authorship of the Fourth Gospel, even if this should be found to present a view of the chronology of Jesus' Passion differing from that of the later Quartodecimans. The belief still prevalent that this is actually the case, has influenced many who are convinced that the Fourth Gospel was written by the apostle John, or at least by an eye-witness of the Passion history, in some instances to form conclusions regarding the Synoptists which deny all connection between them and first hand information; in other cases, to make bold conjectures concerning the facts in the case designed to remove the alleged contradiction between John and the Synoptists (n. 15).

There is, however, no occasion whatever to dispute the fact that all three Synoptists report, without the least evidence of uncertainty about the matter, Jesus' observance of the Jewish Passover at the time prescribed by the law, namely, on the 14th of Nisan, His crucifixion on the 15th of Nisan, *i.e.* on Friday, and His resurrection on the 17th of Nisan, which fell on a Sunday. According to the preceding investigations (§§ 48–63) this is attested by the apostle Matthew, by Mark, who drew his account principally from the oral discourses of Peter, and in whose home Jesus partook of His last meal, and also by Luke, who had been a member of the Church in Antioch since about the year 40, and who also had abundant opportunity to inform himself of the details of the gospel history

from members of the original Church, of which opportunities he made good use. But even if these results of the investigation of the first three Gospels were less certain than they seem to the present writer to be, it would nevertheless remain true that we have to do here, not with the opinion of three individual writers, but with three representatives of a tradition which before the year 80 had spread from Palestine to Rome with ramifications in many directions.

To this must be added Paul's testimony, who publishes the same view in the year 57 (vol. ii. 380, no. 7), and declares that at the time when the Corinthian Church was founded (52–54 A.D.) he had imparted to the Corinthians the history of the institution of the Lord's Supper—in the account of which his opinion comes clearly to view—just as he had received it by tradition from the Lord (vol. ii. 384, n. 6). Therefore he must have found this view dominant not only in the Church of Antioch between the years 43 and 49, but also in the Church in Damascus between the years 35 and 38. In view of this fact, it seems impossible that an eye-witness of the Passion should have held a view regarding the question as to whether Jesus' last meal, when the Lord's Supper was instituted, was a Passover meal, and as to whether Jesus died on the 14th or 15th of Nisan, differing from the tradition which universally prevailed after the year 35, and which was necessarily repeated whenever the chief features of the Passion history were related, and whenever instruction was given regarding the institution and significance of the Lord's Supper. A writer who advanced such a view, and at the same time claimed that he occupied a place at Jesus' side during the last meal and stood under His cross, would be at once convicted of falsehood, both as regards his claim and his view of the time of Jesus' last meal. If the Fourth Gospel dates the chronology of the Passion a day earlier—in this way changing the character of

essential features of this most important part of the gospel history—then the Johannine authorship of the record will have to be denied, not because he was a Quartodeciman, but because of the close relationship which this disciple sustained to Jesus. But is it true that the Fourth Gospel does date the Passion a day earlier?

This question cannot be correctly answered if one denies what was established above (p. 255 ff.), namely, that John wrote for Christians who were familiar with the tradition represented in the Synoptics, and especially with Mark, in consequence of which he treats this tradition throughout as a history which the readers believed and which is essentially trustworthy; that in some instances he passes over very important parts of this history without thereby implying any doubt as to its importance or truth; that in other instances he incidentally takes for granted that events have happened and are known (*e.g.* vi. 2, 70); and finally, that in cases where he does find the synoptic account misleading (*e.g.* iii. 24), or actually inaccurate and incorrect, he simply supplies another account out of his own fuller knowledge (*e.g.* xii. 7), or corrects it in so many words (*e.g.* xviii. 13). In the light of these facts it must be self-evident that if John had held the synoptic accounts, or, rather, the tradition universally current in the early Church regarding the character of Jesus' last meal and the time relation of His death to the celebration of the Jewish Passover, to be incorrect, he must either have corrected the same expressly, clearly, and in the appropriate place, or have omitted all corrections, and have replaced the synoptic accounts by another account. An eye-witness of the events would certainly not have lacked the courage to make such corrections, and a pseudonymous writer, who intended by his invention to oppose or to correct the account which had been heretofore believed and upon which Church usage was based (see above, p. 275 f.), must

have summoned it to action. But there is nothing of this spirit in the Fourth Gospel. The author does not show any disposition to instruct his readers concerning the relation of the last events of Jesus' life to the Jewish Passover; he only uses this relation to explain a few occurrences. On the other hand, he does lay a good deal of weight upon the fact that Jesus died on a Friday and rose from the dead on a Sunday (xix. 14, 31, 42, xx. 1, 19, 26), evidently because the Christian arrangement of the days of the week was based upon this presupposition (Rev. i. 10; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Acts xx. 7). But in this John agrees entirely with the Synoptists. Even as early as vii. 8 (cf. vv. 1–6) the attentive reader is prepared by what is there said to expect that Jesus will not end His career at the feast of Tabernacles, but at a later feast, which is definitely in mind. In xi. 45–53 his attention is directed to the near approach of Jesus' death; in xi. 54–57, to the nearness of the Passover. The date of His arrival in Bethany, xii. 1, is reckoned with reference to the Passover (n. 16). Since, however, in the case of the six days which follow the transition from one to the other is indicated in only a single instance (xii. 12), it is impossible for the reader to assign the events recorded in xii. 20–xviii. 27 to the particular days on which they took place; but if, like the first readers of the Fourth Gospel, he already has a definite view of the course of events during the last days, he finds nothing in John which contradicts it, certainly not in xiii. 1.

When this passage is correctly understood (n. 8), the very most that can be inferred from it is that everything related in xiii. 2–xx. 29 took place during the Passover which began some time during the course of the 14th of Nisan; and when the reader observes, as he must do at once, that what is recorded in xiii. 2–xviii. 27 took place on the last evening and the night before Jesus' death, this preconceived idea that the meal mentioned in

xiii. 2 ff. was the Passover meal could only be confirmed, especially since the omission of the article before δείπνου γενομένου, xiii. 2, was an appeal to the reader's previous knowledge of the history of the last evening of Jesus' life, and the verse contained not the slightest hint of any intention on the writer's part to inform his readers more fully regarding the time and character of this meal.

Readers such as John had in mind could not infer, even from xiii. 29, that the feast was still to take place, and had not begun already at the time of xiii. 2. The first passage which could lead them astray was xviii. 28. But as a matter of fact, so far as we know, the author's own disciples and the Church of the province of Asia were not misled by the verse, and it was not until the middle of the second century that several scholars came to the conclusion that, according to John, the Passover meal had not yet been celebrated on the morning of the crucifixion, —a view, opposition to which to-day is almost an act of impropriety (n. 17). But for scholarly readers, who know how to put themselves in the place of the original readers, the singular expression φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα is less difficult to accept than the possibility that in this passage, near the end of his book, in an entirely incidental remark which has no connection either with Jesus' last meal or with the transactions and sufferings on the last day of His life, but which ostensibly is designed merely to explain why members of the Sanhedrin refused to enter the Prætorium, the writer should have attempted to overthrow a view of his readers which he has left entirely undisturbed throughout the whole of the preceding account (xii. 1–xviii. 27). It would be more credible to assume that φάγωσιν is an early scribal error for ἄγωσιν, which would then naturally refer to the entire seven days' feast just begun. But it is not necessary to employ such a drastic means of escaping the difficulty, since the usage of the expression "to eat the Passover" loosely and

popularly for the entire seven days' or, properly, seven and a half days' feast, beginning with the slaughter of the Passover lamb, is adequately attested (n. 17). Moreover, it is probable that the members of the Sanhedrin had specifically in mind the so-called Chagigah, the sacrificial meal of the 15th of Nisan, which, unlike the Passover meal, was held during the course of the day and not after sundown. *Cum vulgo loquitur evangelista*, correctly remarks the elder Lightfoot (*Opp.* ii. 670). To stake everything upon one little subordinate clause, or possibly even upon a single letter in the clause, and to leave out of consideration everything that is said elsewhere in the book, and the clear relation of the whole narrative to the older accounts, is not exegetical accuracy, but violates the laws of historical interpretation. The relation of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics harmonises with John of Ephesus' brief judgment regarding Mark: *ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐμέντοι τάξει*, which, because it is brief, requires careful elaboration, and with Papias' judgment, based upon the statement of John: *οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν Μᾶρκος*. Thus the investigations of this section confirm the conclusions reached above in §§ 48–63 regarding the origin of the first three Gospels.

1. (P. 255.) Concerning the relation of John to the Synoptics, cf. Hug, *Einl.*[3] ii. 191–205; Baur, *Krit. Unters. über die kanon Evv.* 1847, S. 239-280; Holtzmann, *ZfWTh*, 1869, S. 62–85, 155–178, 446–456. Wuttig (*Das joh. Ev. und seine Abfassungszeit*), S. 52–59, is under necessity of denying John all reference to the Synoptics, because, contrary to most critics, he makes Luke write his Gospel to supplement the Fourth Gospel, S. 59–69, 96–102. Of still less importance are the few words with which Gebhardt, *Die Abfassungszeit des Jo. ev.* 1906, S. 15–17, believes that he can discredit all proofs for John's attention to the synoptic tradition.

2. (Pp. 255, 256.) That John i. 6–viii. 15 is no substitute for an historical introduction—such as is found in Matt. iii. 1–6; Mark i. 2–8, but especially in Luke i. 5–25, 39–80, iii. 1–20—is obvious. It is likewise obvious that the conjecture that the Baptist wished to pass for the Messiah (John i. 20, 25, cf. iii. 28; Luke iii. 15)—a conjecture presupposed by the question put to him by the embassy—could not have arisen so early in his public activity. If, as is undoubtedly the case, in ver. 24 *ἀπεσταλμένοι*, without the article, is the correct reading, it is to be rendered: "and there were sent Pharisees";

since here, as in ix. 40, xvi. 17 ; Rev. ii. 10, iii. 9 ; Matt. xxiii. 34 (similarly also John vii. 40 ; Rev. ii. 17 ; Matt. xiii. 47, xxvii. 9 ; *ZKom. Matt.* 700), *ἐκτῶν Φαρισαίων* is a Hebrew and Syriac idiom (Blass, *Ntl. Gr.* § 35. 4 ; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 249*c*) = *des Pharisiens.* The official embassy (cf. v. 33) consisted of priests and Levites, and was made up, therefore, not of Pharisees, but rather of adherents of the Sadducean party ; these were accompanied, however, by representatives of the Pharisaic party. Moreover, as Origen saw,—although his insight is not without error (tom. vi. 5 *in Jo.*),—the tenor of their question proves that the persons speaking in ver. 24 are altogether different from those speaking in vv. 19–23. The fact that in the Fourth Gospel the Baptist is never called *ὁ βαπτιστής* (Matt. 6 times, Mark 3 times, Luke 3 or 4 times, also Josephus),—although baptism is everywhere spoken of as his distinctive calling (i. 25, 26, 28, 31, 33, iii. 23, iv. 1, x. 40),—may be due to the circumstance that the apostle John is never mentioned by name in the Fourth Gospel. There is no occasion, therefore, to distinguish between the Baptist and the apostle. The various readings in ver. 27 are due to a mistaken effort to find in this verse the earlier testimony to which the Baptist refers in ver. 30 (=ver. 15). The testimony recalled in ver. 30 belongs before the beginning of the narrative in ver. 19 ff. Since it presupposes also that profounder knowledge of Jesus which the Baptist obtained only when the Spirit descended upon Him at His baptism (vv. 31–34), this revelation in visible form, *i.e.* the baptism of Jesus, must likewise precede vv. 19–27. This is proved also by ver. 26 ; for the emphatic *ὃν ὑμεῖς οὐκ οἴδατε* implies a *ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα*, without which also the positive *μέσος ὑμῶν στήκει* would be unintelligible. The description of the Messiah as *ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*, which is used in ver. 33 as if it were a familiar conception, presupposes on the part of the readers acquaintance with the fact that the Baptist had ascribed to the Messiah, who was to come after him, baptizing with the Spirit as His principal function, cf. Mark i. 8 ; Matt. iii. 11 ; Luke iii. 16. Similarly also only readers familiar with Mark i. 11 (Matt. iii. 17 ; Luke iii. 22) could understand how, on the basis of the experience related in vv. 32–33, the Baptist could claim to have testified previously what is given in ver. 34 as the contents of his testimony. In the same verse *ἐκλεκτός* (ℵ* Sc Ss e) is to be read instead of *υἱός*, as in the *Textus receptus*, which agrees with the *ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα* of the Synoptics, when this phrase is correctly understood = "whom I have chosen," cf. Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35. But in the use of this word John, like Peter (vol. ii. 215 ff.), shows that his knowledge is independent of the language of the Synoptics.

3. (Pp. 256, 259, 261.) The correct and, in fact, self-evident interpretation of iv. 44 has been urged particularly by Hofmann (*Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, ii. 86). The following points are clear : (1) In this connection, where only Judea and Galilee are mentioned, and Samaria is spoken of as the region lying between the two (iii. 22, iv. 3, 4, 43–45, 47, 54), the *ἰδία πατρίς* of Jesus can be only Galilee, not Nazareth, which is not even mentioned, still less Judea. (2) The remark, which would have been appropriate in iv. 3, is properly introduced in iv. 44, because the unexpectedly great and unsought for results in Sychar, which might have diverted another from his immediate calling, and turned him aside from his newly formed resolve temporarily to withdraw from public work (iv. 1–3), had not so affected Jesus, but had rather led Him, in view of

the common experience that a prophet is not apt to be very highly esteemed in his own home, to leave Sychar at once, and immediately to continue His journey into His native Galilean homeland. Whether on this occasion Jesus actually spoke the word concerning the prophet, or whether John, remembering that Jesus had used this proverbial expression on another occasion (Matt. xiii. 57; Mark vi. 4; Luke iv. 24), introduces it in order to explain why Jesus continued His journey to Galilee, cannot be determined. (3) *αὐτὸς* Ἰησοῦς (without an article, as in ii. 24) does not, like Ἰησοῦς *αὐτός*, iv. 2, mean "Jesus Himself," as distinguished from His disciples or others, who might have been more likely to express themselves in this way. The meaning is exactly the same as in ii. 24: "He for His part" thought and spoke thus, in contrast to what, from a different point of view, might otherwise have been thought and done. In this instance it meant that the results were not entirely in accordance with the purpose of Jesus. (4) It is not necessary in this case that *οὖν* in ver. 45 be replaced by *δέ*, since ver. 45 does not in any sense express a consequence and result of ver. 44 or ver. 43. Jesus' friendly reception by the Galileans was a result neither of the common experience noted in ver. 44, nor of the circumstance that Jesus had uttered the words of ver. 44, nor of His journey to Galilee (ver. 43), nor even of His unreported work in Galilee, but the outcome rather of the miracles which He had wrought in Jerusalem. The particle *οὖν*, which John uses with very great frequency (about 210 times; in all three Synoptics only about 110 times), is used here, as often in John, especially after inserted remarks, simply in order to resume, or even merely to continue, the narrative; cf. iii. 25, iv. 5, 9 (certainly genuine), xi. 3, 6, 14. The contrast between the mind and purpose with which Jesus went to Galilee (iv. 1–3, 43–44), and His reception there, is not formally expressed in this passage any more than it is in those passages where John connects contrasted statements by *καί* (*e.g.* i. 10, 11). That Jesus, however, did persist in His opinion and purpose is attested by ver. 48, and by the silence of the Gospel concerning the public activity in which Jesus might have permitted Himself to become engaged.

4. (P. 260.) This is not the connection in which to give an outline of the gospel history, though it is in place to sketch its plan according to John. If in v. 1 we read *ἡ ἑορτή*, with ℵC, etc., there can be no doubt that the reference is to the feast of Tabernacles, since in vii. 2 the expression *ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν* Ἰουδαίων, clear enough in itself, is further explained by the appositional phrase *ἡ σκηνοπηγία* (vi. 4 is not a parallel case). This corresponds to the use of חג in the narrower sense of the feast of Tabernacles—a usage common in the Talmud, to which there is approach even in the O.T. (see Levy, Jastrow, Dalman, *s.v.*), a usage also which is in keeping with the extremely popular character of this feast. The error of the Church Fathers, beginning with Irenæus, and of many modern interpreters, in assuming that "the feast of the Jews" means simply the Passover, is due to the supposition that the Passover must have had the same significance for the Jews that it came to have for the Church and its worship through the Passion history. If the feast of Tabernacles be meant, then between December (iv. 35) and the feast of Tabernacles in v. 1 about nine months elapsed, and a Passover falls within the period; but, like everything else which occurred in this interval, is passed

over in silence. We would have then, besides the three Passovers mentioned in ii. 13–23, vi. 4, xi. 55–xx. 29, a fourth between iv. 35 and v. 1, and between the first Passover in ii. 13 and the fourth in xi. 55 an interval of three years. If the reading ἑορτή without the article (ABD, etc.) be preferred, so far as the language is concerned one is at liberty to assume any feast he pleases, *e.g.* the feast of Purim after the December suggested in iv. 35, and preceding the Passover of vi. 4 by a month. But this is, in fact, historically impossible, assuming, of course, that John is writing history. It would then be necessary to crowd into the single month between Purim and the Passover, less the time occupied by the journey from Jerusalem to Galilee and the days which intervened between the feeding of the multitude and the Passover (vi. 4), *i.e.* into about three weeks, the whole of Jesus' extensive Galilean ministry (the content of Matt. iv. 12–xiv. 12), for which John leaves no place before chap. v., and which is presupposed in chap. vi. This is impossible. If ἑορτή be the correct reading, either the Passover, or Pentecost, or Tabernacles must be meant. Not only in case it be interpreted as the third feast, which would be self-evident if we read ἡ ἑορτή, but also in case it be interpreted as the first or second, according to John's plan, besides the three Passovers mentioned, there would be a fourth, belonging somewhere between iv. 35 and vi. 4. The whole course of events would then be the same as if we read ἡ ἑορτή. The only difference arising from the various possibilities would be the interval of time between iv. 35 and v. 1, or between v. 1 and vi. 4. This would vary, while that between iv. 35 and vi. 4, and the period covered by the gospel history, would in any case remain the same.

5. (P. 261.) Leaving out of account general agreement in the progress of the story and in situation, resemblances between John vi. 3–13 and Matt. xiv. 13–21, Mark vi. 34–44, Luke ix. 11–17, are as follows: (1) The five loaves of bread and two fishes; (2) the twelve baskets of fragments; (3) the five thousand men (only in Matt. are women and children expressly excluded); (4) the two hundred denarii (only in Mark vi. 37 and John vi. 7). Peculiar to John are: (1) the conversation between Jesus, Philip, and Andrew (of which the Synoptics give only a colourless picture). Mark alone has a somewhat more vivid account, so that in Mark vi. 37 the name Philip can be supplied from John, and in Mark vi. 38 the name of Andrew. In this connection it may also be remarked that John very closely resembles Mark: ἀναπίπτειν twice in John, once in Mark; the picturesque description of the grass-covered ground (expressed in Mark by χλωρός, in John by πολύς); (2) παιδάριον, ver. 9; (3) the description of the loaves of bread as ἀρίθινοι, vv. 9, 13; and (4) the characterisation of the fish as ὀψάρια, vv. 9, 11 (cf. xxi. 9, 10, 13).

6. (P. 264.) That the event referred to in John xii. 2–8 and hence in xi. 2 is the one mentioned in Matt. xxvi. 6–13, Mark xiv. 3–9, and not the story in Luke vii. 36–50, is apparent from the place (Bethany); the nearness of the Passover; the character of the woman who anointed Jesus; the practical identity and at the same time the difference in the remarks called out by the deed. But it is equally evident that in the statement (John xii. 3) that Mary anointed the feet of Jesus and dried them with her hair, the Johannine narrative varies from Matt. xxvi. 7 (ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς) and Mark xiv. 3 (κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς), where nothing is said of the anointing of the *feet* of

Jesus, and of their being dried with the woman's hair, although one does not exclude the other, and possibly the indefinite τὸν κύριον in xi. 2 (cf. Matt. xxvi. 12 ; Mark xiv. 8, τὸ σῶμά μου) permits of both. It is also undeniable that John here resembles Luke vii. 38. Even the Lucan word ἐκμάσσειν is found in John xi. 2, xii. 3. This is not the place to settle the question whether Luke is here relating an historical fact distinct from the anointing in Bethany, or whether the same fact has been handed down in the two entirely different forms, one of which is found in Matt., Mark, and John, the other in Luke. In favour of the latter hypothesis is the fact that in Luke the host's name is Simon, as in Matt. and Mark, and the fact that Luke, in view of his own distinct account of the anointing, omits the anointing in Bethany with which he was familiar from Mark (above, p. 102). On the other hand, it is not impossible that two different events, which, however, agreed in some points, were assimilated to each other in the oral tradition more than they should have been, which gave rise to resemblances that awaken suspicions on the part of critically disposed investigators. But this is a question having to do more with the ἀσφάλεια of the traditions used by Luke than with the relation of John to the Synoptics. John agrees with Mark as against Matt. in the following points : (1) the valuation of the ointment at three hundred denarii (ver. 5 = Mark xiv. 5 preceded by ἐπάνω, Matt. xxvi. 9 only πολλοῦ) ; (2) in the use of almost exactly the same words, some of which are rare : λαβοῦσα λίτραν μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτίμου = Mark. ἔχουσα ἀλάβαστρον μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς (Matt., on the other hand, apparently has ἔχουσα ἀλ. μύρου βαρυτίμου). John xii. 8 is almost identical with Matt. xxvi. 11 ; only Mark xiv. 7 inserts καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε (in other readings αὐτοῖς or αὐτούς or αὐτοῖς πάντοτε are added) εὖ ποιῆσαι. In addition to those already mentioned, the following are the more important variations in the Johannine account of Mary's action : (1) whereas the connection of the story in Mark and Matt. makes possible the impression—a possibility which disappears when the words are carefully considered—that the event took place two days before the Passover (Matt. xxvi. 2, 6 ; Mark xiv. 1, 3, *ZKom. Matt.* 677), John says (xii. 1) that Jesus arrived six days before the Passover ; so that the feast given in His honour occurred either on the same or the next day, certainly on the day before the triumphal entry (xii. 12). This is not a correction of the Synoptics, any more than is iii. 24, but is intended rather to guard against a misunderstanding that might easily arise from the synoptic accounts, which do not follow exactly the chronological order. (2) John does not mention the host Simon, neither does he say who prepared the feast, consequently he does not indicate in whose house it took place. That, however, John did not think of it as taking place in the house of the sisters, is evident from the fact that in that case it would not be necessary to mention the circumstance that Martha helped in the serving, and still less the fact that Lazarus was one of those at the table. (3) Only John mentions the amount or weight of the ointment (ver. 3, cf. xix. 39). (4) John puts into the mouth of Judas practically the same words which in Matt. xxvi. 8 the disciples as a body are represented as saying, and which are assigned to some of the disciples in Mark xiv. 4, with whose account, therefore, at this point John agrees more closely than with that of Matthew and Luke. The situation is exactly the same as in John vi. 5–9 (see above, n. 5), and here the work of the

harmonist is not a difficult one. The explanation of Judas' words in ver. 6 (cf. xiii. 29) seems to be derived from independent information, particularly since John says nothing about the payment of money to the traitor by the Sanhedrin, which is more easily understood if John's explanation in ver. 6 be correct. (5) Undoubtedly the correct reading in ver. 7 is ἵνα εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ ἐνταφιασμοῦ μου τηρήσῃ αὐτό. But since this Mary had nothing to do with the burial of Jesus, and since even those women who did desire to anoint Jesus failed to accomplish it (Mark xvi. 1 ; Luke xxiii. 56, xxiv. 1), the reading was easily replaced by τετήρηκεν omitting ἵνα, without thereby making the personages agree with Matt. xxvi. 12 ; Mark xiv. 8. According to the correct reading of ver. 7, Jesus' aim is to prevent Judas' words from affecting the future acts of Mary and the disciples. He assumes that Mary will gladly use the remainder of the ointment left in the vessel to anoint His body, when He is laid in the grave. At the same time He indicates that this will shortly take place. The only point which Matt., Mark, and John have in common is the notice of Jesus' approaching burial.

7. (P. 266.) In the first and second German editions the present writer preferred the reading in i. 13, οἳ . . . ἐγεννήθησαν, of the *Textus receptus*, and therefore found only an indirect confirmation of the statement that Jesus was born of a Virgin (cf. also the writer's work, *Das apost. Symbolum*, S. 62 f.). Since then, however, by more careful investigation of the tradition, and especially for reasons of style, he has become convinced of the originality of the reading ἐγεννήθη without ὅς, which prevailed until the fourth century in the Western Church. The proofs of this conclusion, which are not exactly simple, will be found in *ZKom. Joh.* Cf. Resch, *Auserkan. Parall.* iv. 57 ff. ; *Ev. Joh.*, ed. by Blass 1902, p. xii. Readers, such as i. 13 presupposes, could not have been misled by Philip's remark on the first day that he met Jesus (i. 46), or by vi. 42, into supposing that Jesus was Joseph's own son ; since they knew that the Jews, notwithstanding their belief to the contrary, were not at all acquainted with Jesus' real origin (vii. 27–29, viii. 14), while it was not until later that Philip and the other disciples became aware of it (xiv. 8–11, xvi. 27–30). Neither did they need a learned dissertation to show that Jesus was really descended from David and born in Bethlehem,—facts which occasionally at least were questioned by some of the common people who knew Him only as a Galilean (vii. 41 f., cf. i. 45, 46, vii. 52). If the readers were not familiar with these facts, the evangelist certainly shows unpardonable carelessness, and defeats the purpose stated in xx. 31 in failing to answer these criticisms and in not denying—as, indeed, he could not deny—the basis of these opinions in Scripture (vii. 42), and in the Law and Prophets (i. 45).

8. (Pp. 268, 281.) That the events recorded in chaps. xiii.–xvii. belong to the time of the Passover the readers were already aware from xii. 1, 12, 20, since up to this point events have been recorded in strictly chronological order. Consequently in xiii. 1, 29, the readers are not definitely informed of this fact again, but simply reminded of it incidentally in connection with remarks made for a different purpose. With regard to xiii. 1–4, we limit ourselves here to the following points : (1) Since v. 1 is grammatically complete, and since the object of εἰδὼς ὅτι in ver. 1 is entirely different from the object of εἰδὼς ὅτι in ver. 3, there is no occasion to assume a sort of a logical anacoluthon

between the two clauses and to take the second εἰδώς as a resumption of the first, by means of these devices making the time indicated in ver. 1 cover the washing of the disciples' feet in ver. 4 ff. (2) In ver. 1 there is as yet no reference whatever to the washing of the disciples' feet. Although strictly ἀγαπᾶν always means an emotion expressing itself in deeds (1 John iii. 18), and although occasionally, like φιλεῖν, the word is used for a peculiar expression of affection, namely, the kiss (Ign. *ad Polyc.* ii. 3; used by the same writer of the celebration of the love feast and the Lord's Supper, *ad Smyrn.* vii. 1; the word ἀγάπη is found in Jude 12; 2 Pet. ii. 13; vol. ii. 235); here ἠγάπησεν must have the same meaning as ἀγαπήσας which precedes, *i.e.* Jesus' devoted love to His own, which was naturally a love manifesting itself in words and deeds. The translation, "to give a proof of His love," referring to the washing of the disciples' feet, is not only in itself inadmissible and incompatible with the correlation between ἀγαπήσας and ἠγάπησεν, but does not agree with εἰς τέλος; for whether the latter phrase means "to the end" (Matt. x. 22, xxiv. 13) or "finally" and "ultimately" (1 Thess. ii. 16; Luke xviii. 5), Jesus did not wash the disciples' feet to the end nor ultimately, nor was the washing of the disciples' feet the last nor the supreme proof of Jesus' love to His own. The greatest proof of His love was still in the future (xv. 13, xix. 17–37); such proof was not lacking even after the resurrection and the ascension; nor between the washing of the disciples' feet and the laying down of His life. Furthermore, leaving out of account the fact that the discourses in xiii. 18–xvii. 26 evidence Jesus' very great love for His disciples (cf. especially xviii. 8, xix. 26 f.), the washing of the disciples' feet is not given as a proof of love, but as an example of humble service (xiii. 12–17). The words ἀγαπήσας αὐτούς serve as a heading for chaps. xiii.–xvii. or even chaps. xiii.–xx., and mean merely that Jesus kept to the end the love which He had ever manifested toward His own who were in the world, and who were to remain in the world after His departure. Unlike other men in a similar situation, as His terrible death approached, Jesus was not preoccupied with thoughts of Himself and anxious to receive help and comfort from His own. He was constantly thinking of how He could lovingly serve and help them. (3) Since εἰς τέλος must be equivalent to ἕως τέλους, the other temporal expression, πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα, cannot be taken with the same phrase, but is to be connected with εἰδώς, as in Ss. The scenes of violence which were to affect so deeply all the disciples and make them lose their self-command (xiv. 1, xvi. 20–33), did not overcome Jesus, because they did not take Him by surprise. "As one who knew before the Passover that the hour of His departure out of the world to God had come, Jesus continued to show His love for His own . . . to the end." Just as the consciousness of the power which has been given Him forms the background for His humble act in washing their feet (ver. 3 ff.), so the consciousness of His approaching return to God, which He had before His Passion, explains the quietness and serenity with which Jesus suffered, and the loving spirit of sacrifice by which, up to the last moment, He showed Himself to be concerned not about Himself, but about His own. This is a thoroughly Johannine idea (xviii. 4, xix. 28; cf. vi. 64, vii. 8, ix. 4 f., xi. 9 f., xii. 7, 23–36; with application to the disciples, xiii. 19, xiv. 29, xvi. 4). The placing of the time phrase first is just as natural if taken with εἰδώς as with ἠγάπησεν, and it is thus given the

emphasis which the writer intends (cf. i. 1, 48): "Even before the feast and not at the time of the feast," *i.e.* before the events happened (xiii. 19), not when the events had taken place, and because of them, did Jesus know that He was to suffer. In this way it is assumed and indirectly attested that the events, the account of which follows, took place during the Passover. (4) Even if ver. 1 referred to the washing of the disciples' feet, πρὸ τ. ἑ. τ. π. could not determine the time of this event. In this case we should expect "shortly or immediately before the beginning of the feast" (Xen. *Cyrop.* v. 5. 39, πρὸ δείπνου), which would be just before the killing of the Passover lamb, that is, the forenoon or noon of the 14th of Nisan; but δεῖπνον in ver. 4 (cf. ver. 30) places the time of the event in the evening. Assuming the usual meaning of πρό as contrasted with μετὰ τὴν ἑ. or ἐν τῇ ἑ., the reader was left to choose for himself any moment between the last date mentioned (xii. 1, 12) and the afternoon of the 14th of Nisan. This would leave the day and the hour of the washing of the disciples' feet very indefinite. Still more incredible is the supposition that John, who nowhere indicates that the meal in question is Jesus' last meal, and who makes no mention of very important events which took place during the Last Supper (the institution of the Lord's Supper, etc.), recorded in the Synoptics, should have corrected the latter, which say nothing of the washing of the disciples' feet, by merely assigning such a meaningless date to this event. The evangelist, who certainly had as much insight as some of his interpreters, has been supposed to mean: "Jesus did not partake of *His last meal* with His disciples at the time of the Passover feast, but in connection with a meal (δείπνου, ver. 2, without the article) before the Passover, not more definitely described, He washed His disciples' feet"; which would be as senseless as to say, "Luther did not burn the bull of excommunication on December 10, 1520, but rather on October 31, 1517, he did post the ninety-five theses." (5) Since δεῖπνον γίνεται signifies only "a meal takes place," not "a meal is being prepared" or "a meal is begun" (cf. ii. 1, x. 22; Matt. xxvi. 2), the reading δείπνου γινομένου (א*BLX Orig. tom. xxxii. 2), which agrees better with ver. 4, means "during the meal" δείπνου γενομένου (א^{a}AD, etc.), "after the meal." The determination of the correct reading in this passage is of importance to one attempting to harmonise the Gospels; but of greater weight in the present connection is the fact that John does not consider it necessary to say explicitly that a supper was prepared in connection with which the following events took place (cf. *per contra*, xii. 2; Mark vi. 21; Luke xiv. 16), and that he does not specifically describe the supper in question, either positively or negatively. Having indicated to the readers in ver. 1 that from this point on he intends to tell what took place at the feast of the Passover (see above under 3), he was sure they would understand that the supper to be mentioned was the same with which the reader knew the Passover began, namely, Jesus' last meal.

9. (P. 269.) The designation of the σάρξ instead of the σῶμα of Christ as the heavenly substance in the Lord's Supper by Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus, also the conception of the Lord's Supper as φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, is derived entirely from John vi.; cf. Ign. *Eph.* xix. 2; *Smyrn.* vii. 1; *Rom.* vii. 3; *Philad.* iv.; Just. *Apol.* i. 66; Iren. iv. 18. 5, v. 2. 2 f.; Clem. *Quis Div.* xxiii.; the writer's *Ignatius vom Ant.* S. 605; as to whether Marcion is

to be considered in this connection, see *GK*, i. 677, ii. 472. Churches in which the Lord's Supper was called εὐχαριστία, and in which an annual celebration, the chief event of which was the Eucharist, was called the Passover, were led to this understanding of the Lord's Supper by vi. 4—which otherwise is only an unimportant parenthetical remark—and by vi. 11, 23.

10. (P. 270.) The opinion that John iv. 46–54 is a working over of Matt. viii. 5–10, Luke vii. 2–10, is untenable. The point in the synoptic narrative is the fact that the centurion is a Gentile whose faith puts to shame that of Israel. John's royal official, on the other hand, is treated by Jesus as a representative of the Galilean populace, whose eagerness to see miracles Jesus condemns (ver. 48); he is therefore to be regarded as a Jew, and belongs to the group of officials of "King" Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 9; Mark vi. 14) to which reference is made in Luke viii. 3; Acts xiii. 1. The idea of the synoptic account would have been in place in John's narrative; Judeans (iii. 22–iv. 2), Samaritans (iv. 3–43), and then a Gentile, would form a climax, and there are no general reasons why John should have failed to recognise the strong faith of a Gentile (cf. x. 16, xi. 52, xii. 20, 32, xvii. 2, 20). More difficult to decide is the question of the relationship of John ii. 13–22 to the very similar story in Matt. xxi. 12–16; Mark xi. 15–18; Luke xix. 45 f. It is possible (1) that the Synoptists, who narrate only a single visit to Jerusalem, have included in this account facts which belong to an earlier visit, and that John, in placing this event earlier, rectifies the earlier accounts without comment. It is also possible (2) that Jesus did the same thing twice, at the time both of His first visit and of His last visit to Jerusalem. Since it was John's purpose to omit after xii. 19 the later event, with all that happened on the following days, he tells of the earlier cleansing of the temple. The saying of Jesus which accompanies the action is in each case different. On the occasion of His first visit to the temple after His baptism, Jesus felt Himself to be the son in His Father's house, as He did when a boy (Luke ii. 49), exercises the authority of the head of the house, and condemns the use of the holy places for purposes of trade (John ii. 16; cf. Luke ii. 49). Three years later (Matt. xxi. 13; Luke xix. 46) it is the prophet whom Jerusalem will murder, as it has His predecessors (Luke xiii. 33 f.), who speaks, using the language of the prophets, relative to the proper use of the temple (Isa. lvi. 7), which the Jews have turned into a robbers' cave, believing that they and their booty were safe from the arm of divine justice (Jer. vii. 2–11). On both occasions He was asked to justify His action; but the first time His answer is a riddle, understood by neither friend nor foe (John ii. 18–22), but the second time His answer is a counter-question, the purport of which could not be misunderstood (Matt. xxi. 24 ff.). When one considers, in addition, the many things peculiar to John, even where the narratives are parallel (the κέρμα of κερματισταί, the scourge of cords, the words spoken to those who sold doves, and the anxious foreboding of his disciples), he is confronted by the alternative of supposing either that a writer—for some unknown reason—has taken old material, and with wonderful skill fashioned it into a new picture remarkably suited to the assumed situation, or that an eye-witness is here faithfully reproducing impressions received at the time.

11. (Pp. 270, 271.) Ss (in all probability earlier than this Tatian; cf. *ThLb*, 1895, col. 20 f.) placed John xviii. 24 directly after ver. 13, and inserted

vv. 16–18 between ver. 23 and ver. 25. The marginal reading of S^3 (probably also an Alexandrian MS. collated by Thomas) and Cyril of Alexandria (Migne, lxxiv. 539) place only ver. 24 after ver. 13, and a cursive 255 has ver. 24 after *πρῶτον* of ver. 13*a*. This interpolation has also crept into one of the three MSS. of Sh, namely, the Vatican MS., which until recently was the only one known; according to Adler, *de NTi vers. syr.* p. 196, "*margini adscripta*"; according to the more exact statement of Lagarde in his edition, p. 393, it is an addition of *C* (the corrector), "*non vetus in intercolumnion.*" In the edition of Lewis and Gibson nothing is said concerning this interpolation on p. 193; and in the preface, p. lxi, one only finds something which is inconsistent with the text and notes on p. 193. As for the rest, all three MSS. of Sh agree in omitting from ver. 13 the words *ἦν γὰρ πενθερὸς τοῦ Καϊάφα*, so that concerning Annas alone the statement is made: *ὃς ἦν ἀρχιερεὺς τ. ἐν. ἐκ.* This omission, as also the insertion of ver. 24 in or after ver. 13, is to be judged as an act of short-sighted arbitrariness, which is shown also by the fact that, in spite of this insertion, all the witnesses which have been mentioned have ver. 24 also in its proper position. Cyril's reflections (Migne, lxxiv. 608 f.) on this repetition are merely amusing. Ss, on the other hand, offers a text which, in itself, does not appear untrustworthy. However, it has an arbitrary emendation, the causes for which are evident. (1) The need of the harmonists, who wished to remove the contradiction between Matt. xxvi. 57 (*πρὸς Καϊάφαν*) and John xviii. 13 (*πρὸς Ἄνναν πρῶτον*). By means of this change it was lessened, in that it appeared that Matthew had passed over a very subordinate event. (2) Added to this was the astonishment that, according to John xviii. 24, as long as this sentence remained in its position nothing at all seems to have taken place before Caiaphas. (3) Finally, there was the consideration that, according to xi. 49–51, xviii. 13 f., 24, by *ὁ ἀρχιερεύς* of vv. 19, 22 it seemed possible to designate only Caiaphas and not Annas. One who, like Sh, would cut the knot by evident violence to the text and meaning of ver. 13, could be easily led to infer that a hearing, in which the high priest Caiaphas was the principal person, would have taken place in his dwelling, and not in the house of his father-in-law Annas. He would, for this reason, suppose that ver. 24 had its correct and original position after ver. 13. The premise in No. 3 is correct, but the conclusion is wrong. Since John everywhere emphasises in the strongest manner the high priesthood of Caiaphas, and, on the other hand, never calls Annas high priest (Luke iii. 2), nor even says that he had held the office earlier, but gives as the only reason why Jesus was led before Annas, the relationship of the latter to the high priest Caiaphas, there can be no question that Caiaphas is meant in vv. 19, 22 and also in vv. 10, 15, 16, 26. But this does not in the least invalidate John's statement to the effect that they led the prisoner first to the older man, Annas, before whom was held a preliminary hearing, at which, according to Matt. xxvi. 57, 59, Mark xiv. 53, 55, many members of the Sanhedrin were present. That the official high priest should ask Jesus a few questions in the house of his father-in-law (John xviii. 19) is not strange, any more than that later they should go to the house of the ruling high priest with the prisoner for the purpose of holding a formal session, which must have been previously appointed for a very early morning hour at a definite place (ver. 24). The former assumption that Annas and

Caiaphas dwelt in separate wings of a single large palace, which enclosed a court, has much to commend it, in the light both of the comparison of John xviii. 25–27 (between ver. 24 and ver. 28) with Luke xxii. 61, and because of xviii. 15. In order to reach Annas, or in order to be near Jesus, who was brought before Annas, it was necessary to enter the *αὐλὴ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* (John xviii. 15; Mark xiv. 54, vol. ii. 504), the palace (consisting of several buildings, wings, and courtyards) of the reigning high priest, *i.e.*, according to John, of Caiaphas. This assumption makes it all the more clear why, as regards the assignments of the separate acts to the various places and assemblies, the tradition of the group of men, who in other respects had the best information, is uncertain. Everything took place in the *αὐλή* or *οἰκία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* (Luke xxii. 54).

12. (P. 273.) In regard to the disputes concerning the date of Easter, already touched upon (above, pp. 177, 192 f.), cf. E. Schürer, *De Controversiis Paschalibus*, 1869; in German *ZfHTh*, 1870, S. 182–284, where the earlier literature on the subject is indicated; cf. also *GK*, i. 180–192; *Forsch*, iv. 283–308.

13. (P. 275.) The Tübingen critics (Baur, *Krit. Unters.* 273 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Paschastreit*, 159 f., 222 f.) conceive John to be strongly influenced by the idea that Jesus was the Passover lamb of the New Testament, and therefore must have died on the 14th of Nisan, in reply to which it may be remarked, in addition to what has already been said (above, p. 273 ff.), that while the idea of Christ as the Passover lamb certainly seems to be suggested in John i. 29, 36 by the Baptist, there is no particular reference to the Passion history. Moreover, it is at least a question whether the reference in xix. 36 is not to Ps. xxxiv. 21 rather than to Ex. xii. 46; Num. ix. 12.

14. (P. 277.) How Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen dealt with the chronological allusions in the Fourth Gospel, especially xviii. 28, unfortunately we do not know (cf. *GK*, i. 190 f. A. 1). Tatian solved the difficulty in a peculiar manner, by referring John xiii. 1–20 to the day before the appointed day for the feast of the Passover, then inserting Luke xxii. 7–16; John xiii. 21 ff., etc. (*GK*, ii. 551); probably also by rendering xviii. 28, as in Ss, "That they might not be defiled, while they ate the Azyma" (*ThLb*, 1895, col. 21; cf. Burkitt, *Ev. da-Mephar.* ii. 79, 83, 313, and Hjelt, *Forsch.* vii. 1. 105, on the translation of *πάσχα* by פסיחא chosen by Ss only in the Fourth Gospel). Consequently, according to Tatian, they did not fear, lest by defilement they should be hindered from participating in the approaching feast of the Passover, but lest their eating of the Azyma, which lasted for seven days, should be interrupted. Similarly, Maimonides and Bartenora (in Surenhus on Pesachim ix. 5) refer a sentence of the Mishnah, which treats only of the Passover lamb, to the seven days' eating of the unleavened bread.

15. (P. 278.) It is not possible, also hardly necessary, to give here an enumeration of the various attempts which, under the supposition that John correctly dates Jesus' death on the 14th of Nisan, have been made from the time of Eusebius on (cf. his writing *De Pasch.* in Mai, *N. Patr. Bibl.* iv. 1. 214 ff.), either to discredit the synoptic account, according to which Jesus celebrated the feast of the Passover on the 14th of Nisan and died on the 15th, or to show that, notwithstanding some inaccuracies of expression, the synoptic account is essentially historical and in harmony with

John—the Last Supper really being the Passover feast, although held on the 13th of Nisan. The present writer is not acquainted with an adequate survey of the literature dealing with the question. References to the more important of the earlier literature will be found in the commentaries in Winer, *RW*, ii. 202 f., and in Schürer (*Über φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*), S. 8 f.; for more recent statements, see R. Schäfer, *Das Herrenmahl nach Ursprung und Bedeutung*, 1897, S. 53–99. Chwolson attracted attention by his *Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes nach den in Uebereinstimmung gebrachten Berichten der Syn. und des Jo.* (Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg, Série vii. Tome xli. No. i.; it also appeared separately in St. Petersburg, 1892); see also a paper by the same author in *MGWJ*, 1893, also published separately, Breslau, 1893. Further treatises in *ZfWTh*, 1894, S. 542 ff., 1895, S. 335 ff., 1898, S. 250 ff. Cf. the discussion by E. Riggenbach, *ThLb*, 1894, No. 51. Chwolson denies what, in view of the agreement of Josephus and all three Synoptics, seems beyond dispute (n. 17, Nos. 2 and 3), namely, that the 14th of Nisan could be included in the feast of the Azyma. Accordingly, Matt. xxvi. 17, on which Mark xiv. 12, Luke xxii. 7, must be dependent, is meaningless as it stands, and must be corrected by conjecture. In the Aramaic Matt. the reading was: "The first day of the Azyma drew near, and the disciples of Jesus drew near (קרב וקרבו) to him." The letters קרב ו were dropped out by mistake before קרבו, and, in order again to give the words meaning, the preposition ב was inserted before the first word יומא. The harmonising of the synoptic account thus corrected with the Johannine tradition is effected, through the hypothesis that in that year, when the 14th of Nisan fell on Friday, the Passover lamb was killed on the evening of the 13th, in order to prevent a desecration of the Sabbath, which otherwise would have been unavoidable, because presumably at that time the lamb was not slain before sunset, as in the time of Josephus and the Mishnah (see note 16), but after sunset, so that it would have fallen on the Sabbath, *i.e.* on the 15th of Nisan. The Passover could be celebrated immediately after the lamb was slain on the evening of the 13th, or not until the evening of the 14th. Jesus and the Pharisees kept the Passover on the former, the Sadducean high priests on the latter day. According to J. Lichtenstein (from his Hebrew commentary on the N.T. 1895, *Schr. des Instit. Jud. zu Leipzig*, No. 43, S. 24–29), this difference between the majority under the leadership of the high priests and a minority to which Jesus belonged arose from the fact that the Sadducees, in accordance with their view that Lev. xxiii. 11 refers to the Sabbath, falsified the dates of the new moon, so that in this year the first day of the Passover fell upon a Sabbath.

16. (P. 281.) John xii. 1 seems to be an exact date, and it is naturally to be taken not as Hilgenfeld takes it (*Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche*, S. 221 f.) as the peculiar terminology of the Roman calendar, but as an ordinary Jewish expression (2 Macc. xv. 36; Jos. *Bell.* ii. 8. 9; Winer, sec. 61. 4 end; Wieseler, *Beiträge*, 264); and is unquestionably to be reckoned from the beginning of the celebration of the Passover, *i.e.* from the slaying of the Passover lamb between three and five o'clock on the afternoon of the 14th of Nisan (Jos. *Bell.* vi. 9. 3; cf. Pesachim v. 5), which makes Jesus come to Bethany on the afternoon of the 8th of Nisan. If now, as the Synoptics imply, Jesus died on Friday the 15th, then the 8th of Nisan fell also

on Friday. If, on the other hand, as the Johannine account is supposed to necessitate, Jesus died on the 14th, and if the 14th was also Friday, then the 8th, the date on which Jesus arrived in Bethany, must have been a Sabbath. But that is impossible, since Jesus could not travel on the Sabbath. One is compelled to make the very improbable assumption that Jesus arrived in the vicinity of Bethany on the 7th—so that on the 8th He was compelled to make only a Sabbath day's journey. But why should Jesus have planned the journey so badly as, within a short distance of His destination—the friendly home in which He regularly lodged during the last days of His life—to be under necessity of seeking quarters for Himself and the large company with Him? It was only necessary to start fifteen or twenty minutes earlier, or to hurry a little, in order to avoid this. But if the day of Jesus' arrival in Bethany, according to John xii. 1, the 8th of Nisan was not a Sabbath, then, according to John, the 15th of Nisan was not a Sabbath; in other words, the Sabbath, during which Jesus was in His grave (John xix. 31, 42, xx. 1), was not the 15th of Nisan. Since to assume in this particular year, in addition to the synoptic and the alleged Johannine chronology, a third arrangement of the days of the week in relation to the days of the month, for which there is no evidence whatever, is entirely arbitrary, it follows that John and the synoptics are in perfect agreement at this point. In xii. 2 we are not told that Jesus and the disciples ate supper at the end of their journey,—something indeed which would not have been worth telling, and which would have been mentioned incidentally, like the supper in xiii. 2,—but that a feast was prepared in His honour (above, p. 287, n. 6), which probably did not take place immediately upon Jesus' arrival on Friday the 8th, but on the Sabbath, the 9th (cf. Luke xiv. 1). If Jesus arrived in Bethany early in the afternoon of the 8th, when the usual preparation of the food for the coming Sabbath was made, the arrangements for the feast of the following day could still have been completed before sunset and hence before the beginning of the Sabbath. This would make the entry into Jerusalem take place on Sunday the 10th. The time mentioned in xii. 12 can only be the day after the anointing, since vv. 10, 11 contain no indications as to time. This conclusion is not affected by the fact that in xii. 2 the relation of this event to the time indicated in xii. 1 is left indefinite. The same thing occurs, *e.g.*, in i. 41 in relation to i. 39, and yet the narrative is continued in i. 43 with *τῇ ἐπαύριον*. John is not writing a journal, in which no day may be passed over, especially is he not doing so in the Passion history. He simply desires to call attention to the fact that on the day after the quiet anticipation of His burial in Bethany, Jesus entered Jerusalem amid universal rejoicing, which to His enemies seemed so terrible (xii. 12–19). The common view has been thought to have support in xix. 14, on the assumption that *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα* corresponds to the Jewish ערב הפסח, which means literally evening, *i.e.* eve, of the Passover, being also parallel to ארבעה עשר, the common term for the whole of the 14th of Nisan (*e.g.* Pesachim iv. 6), and, like ערב שבת, a designation of the day before the Sabbath, *e.g.* Friday. John, according to this view, presents the case in which the 14th of Nisan, the *'ereb happesach*, falls on a Friday, on *'ereb shabbath* (Pesachim v. 1). But it must first be shown that *παρασκευή* is ever used as an equivalent for ערב, and, like the

latter term, came to be regarded as needing a modifying genitive, like *σαββάτου* or *τοῦ πάσχα*. In the N.T. and Christian literature the word is complete in itself, and always used like the Aram. עֲרֻבְתָּא (ערובתא) for the sixth day of the week, namely, Friday. Where a qualifying word is found, it is not the name of the following day in the genitive (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2, *ἐν σάββασιν ἢ τῇ πρὸ αὐτῆς παρασκευῇ*). The word *παρασκευή* without any modifiers whatever is used of the day of Jesus' death in Mark xv. 42; Matt. xxvii. 62; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 31, 42, consequently also in John xix. 14. John lays great weight upon the days of the week on which the crucifixion, the burial, and the resurrection took place, and upon the fact that this whole series of events took place during the time of the Passover (above, pp. 276 f., 280 f.). The two ideas are associated in the passage, xix. 14, where he mentions the day and the hour when sentence of death was passed upon Jesus: "It was Friday at the time of the Passover, and about the sixth hour." These statements serve at the same time as a preparation for what follows. Because the following day was a Sabbath falling within the Passover period, it was especially holy, and every desecration had to be avoided (xix. 31, 42), even more scrupulously than on other Sabbaths (v. 9, vii. 23, ix. 14). The fact that in the Bab. Sanhedrin 43*a*, 67*a*, it is thrice stated that Jesus was crucified "on the *'ereb happesach*" (fol. 43*a*, according to the Florentine MS., quoted by Dalman following Laible's *Jesus in Talmud*, S. 15*, "on *'ereb shabbath* and *'ereb happesach*") contributes nothing to the understanding of the Fourth Gospel. The rabbis obtained their knowledge of the gospel history mostly from uncertain hearsay and Christian tradition which had begun to fade; cf. *GK*, ii. 673 ff. If these statements were derived from the Hebrew or Aramaic translation of John's Gospel, which was read by Jews at Scythopolis in the fourth century (Epiph. *Hær.* xxx. 6), the translation of John xix. 14 could not have been very happy. Sh (in two MSS. against one) has ערובתא in xix. 14, 31, 42; S^1 has ערובתא in xix. 14, 31, but in xix. 42 renders quite freely "because the Sabbath had begun." Ss has the same in xix. 42 with a different verb; but xix. 14, 31 is lacking in Ss, and all three references in Sc.

17. (P. 282.) SCHÜRER in his festal publication, *Über φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα* (Giessen, 1883), strongly opposes the interpretation briefly outlined above. It has recently been defended by J. VAN BEBBER (*Zur Chronol. des Lebens Jesu*, 1898, S. 5–81), partially on new grounds. Here discussion must be limited to bare essentials. Πάσχα means in the N.T. as in the O.T.—(1) The Passover lamb, as object of *θύειν*, *φαγεῖν*, etc.; Ex. xii. 21; Deut. xvi. 6 f.; 2 Chron. xxx. 15, 18; Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12–14; Luke xxii. 7, 11, 15; 1 Cor. v. 7; (2) the observance of the 14th of Nisan, *i.e.* the feast of the Passover, including the slaying of the lamb, which preceded, to be distinguished from the seven days' festival which followed, called the *ἄζυμα*, generally used as the object of *ποιεῖν*, Ex. xii. 48; Lev. xxiii. 5 f.; Deut. xvi. 1; Philo, *De Septen.* xviii. 19; Jos. *Ant.* ii. 14. 6, iii. 10. 5; *Bell.* vi. 9. 3; Matt. xxvi. 18; Mark xiv. 1; Heb. xi. 22. In the case of *ἑτοιμάζειν τὸ π.*, Matt. xxvi. 19; Mark xiv. 16; Luke xxii. 8, 13, we have the choice of either meaning. (3) The name *ἄζυμα* is also applied to the Passover which precedes, Jos. *Ant.* ix. 13. 2. 3 (Niese, §§ 263, 271); *Bell.* ii. 12. 1, iv. 7. 2, so that the Azyma includes eight days (Jos. *Ant.* ii. 15. 1), and the 14th of Nisan could be reckoned as the first day of the Azyma (Matt. xxvi. 17; Mark xiv. 12), or

even more broadly, simply as the day of the Azyma (Jos. *Bell.* v. 3. 1; Luke xxii. 7). (4) On the other hand, the name *πάσχα* is also made to cover the days of the Azyma, and the two terms are used quite synonymously, Jos. *Bell.* ii. 1. 3, vi. 9. 3 (where certainly uninformed readers could not infer that the feast called the "Passover" is only a part of the previously mentioned feast of Azyma); *Ant.* xiv. 2. 1, xvii. 9. 3, xviii. 2. 2; Luke xxii. 1; cf. Acts xii. 3 with xii. 4. This wider use of *πάσχα* is evidently found in John ii. 23, xviii. 39, perhaps also in xix. 14; and there is clearly no intention of distinguishing the Passover proper from the feast of the Azyma in John ii. 13, vi. 4, xi. 55, xii. 1, xiii. 1; Luke ii. 41. (5) The rabbis also were quite familiar with this usage. The Mishnah tractate פסחים treats of the festival of the entire seven days, which as a whole is there called המועד (i. 3) or הפסח (ii. 2–7). The latter term had entirely replaced the original name חג המצות. Consciousness of the divergence from the original usage betrays itself. In Pesachim ix. 5 we read: "What [is the difference] between the Egyptian Passover and the Passover of the generations (*i.e.* the yearly Passover feast)? The Passover of Egypt: it [took place] beginning with the 10th [of Nisan] (Ex. xii. 3), and it was necessary to sprinkle the lintel and the two side posts of the door with a bunch of hyssop (Ex. xii. 22), and it was *eaten* in haste in *one night* (כלילה אחר); but the Passover of the Generations is customary (נוהג, custom) for *the whole seven* [days]." From this it follows not only that the learned rabbis used the term פסח to include the Passover proper and the Azyma, but also that they spoke of the seven days' celebration as "eating of the Passover." The phrase, "whole seven days," can stand in contrast to nothing save "*in a single* night." Moreover, since no new verb takes the place of "eating" the Passover in the original celebration, this same verb is to be supplied in the second instance also. This same usage is found in 2 Chron. xxx. 21 f.: "And the children of Israel . . . kept the feast of the Azyma seven days with great gladness . . . so they did eat throughout the feast for the seven days, offering sacrifices of peace-offerings and making confession to Jahweh, the God of their fathers." When Bleek (*Beiträge zur Evangelienkritik*, 1846, S. 111) suggests modestly, and Schürer, *op. cit.* S. 12, claims confidently that, instead of ויאכלו attested by the massorah and without the keri, by the Targum, the Peshito, and Jerome, the correct reading is ויכלו (LXX *συνετέλεσαν*), they fail, in the first place, to show that כָּלָה ("to complete"), followed by an object such as מועד, חג, etc., means anywhere in the O.T. or even in late Jewish literature, to celebrate a feast. In the second place, they have not given due weight to the fact that witnesses mentioned above for the reading "they ate" are very much stronger for the usage of the Jews of Palestine among whom John belonged than for the usage of the Alexandrian translators. If this reading were a later correction of the original reading preserved in the LXX, then it only goes to prove that the expression "to eat the seven days' feast" (*i.e.* the Passover, called *a potiori* a "seven days' feast") was much more familiar among the Jews than the expression "to complete," *i.e.* to celebrate a feast of seven days, which occurs nowhere else. The expression *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, in this broader sense, is no more peculiar than Josephus' *θύομεν ἑορτὴν πάσχα καλοῦντες*, *Ant.* ii. 14. 6, xvii. 9. 3, *infra*, and the corresponding *θυσία* for the entire observance of the 14th of Nisan, or also of the seven days, *Bell.* vi. 9. 3. The only

difference is that the latter expression represents classical usage (*θύειν τὰ Λύκαια*, Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, 10; *τοὺς γάμους*, Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* vii. 7; see Bebber, S. 55, and the lexicons), whereas *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα* represents Jewish usage, which John everywhere follows more closely than does Josephus. Jewish idiom is peculiar in a very broad application of the idea "to eat," *e.g.* "to eat the years of the Messiah," Bab. Sanhedrin 98*b*; "eat up widows' houses," Mark xii. 40; "to taste death," John viii. 52, etc.; cf. Bebber, S. 55; and it was very natural to speak thus broadly of the Passover, because the act after which the whole observance was loosely called was a meal, and because the sacrificial meals as well as the eating of unleavened bread were characteristic of this feast. On the other hand, the regular technical expression for the celebration of the 14th of Nisan is not *φαγεῖν* but *ποιεῖν τὸ πάσχα*, Ex. xii. 48; Num. ix. 2, 5, 6, 10, 12–14; Deut. xvi. 1; Matt. xxvi. 18; Heb. xi. 28. In the celebration of the Passover, eating is only *one* feature along with the *θύειν*, and is never mentioned unless the more general expression *ποιεῖν* or *θύειν* has preceded, or unless the Passover has been previously spoken of; Num. ix. 11; 2 Chron. xxx. 18; Matt. xxvi. 17 (cf. vv. 1, 5; Mark xiv. 12*b* (cf. vv. 1, 2, 12*a*); Luke xxii. 11, 15 (cf. vv. 1, 7, 8). The full expression *φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα* is found in the LXX, including the Apocrypha, only once; 2 Chron. xxx. 18 (*ἔφαγον τὸ φασέκ*, here, as the context indicates, xxx. 1–22, probably in the broadest sense); in Philo and in Josephus, so far as the present writer is aware, it never occurs; in the N.T. (besides John xviii. 28) five times of the participation in the Passover meal. But it is very improbable that the Jews, *i.e.* the high priests and their servants (xviii. 35, xix. 6), whose excuse to Pilate is given in John xviii. 28, had in mind only the evening Passover meal and not also the earlier slaying of the lamb, which on the morning of the 14th of Nisan had not yet taken place, when they spoke of being prevented from participation by defilement. (6) Of less importance is the question whether, in Deut. xvi. 2 (2 Chron. xxxv. 7–9, cf. 3 Esdr. i. 8 f., are left out of account), the cattle for the Shelamim as well as the sheep or goats for the Passover meal are covered by the expression פסח. Certainly here, where it is not a question of the usage of the time of Josiah or Moses, but of the time of John, it is wrong to say with Schürer, S. 14: "The fact simply is that according to the author of Deuteronomy not only smaller animals but also cattle could be used for the Passover proper." Because for the Jews of the time of Jesus, who knew nothing of the modern criticism of the Pentateuch, Ex. xii. 3–5 made this interpretation of Deut. xvi. 2 "simply" impossible. In his account of the Jewish interpretations, Schürer, S. 17 f., constantly confuses the manner in which the rabbis understand the word פסח in the text, and the manner in which in their effort after exact interpretation they use the same word in their comments. Leaving out of account the merely hypothetical consideration of the possibility that, according to Deut. xvi. 2, it was allowable to use cattle for the Passover proper—naturally the possibility has not been considered seriously—all the above mentioned interpreters agree that in the text the word פסח includes the animals for the Passover sacrifice and the Passover meal and the animals for the Chagigah; but in order to make this clear, naturally it was necessary to employ the more definite expression and to say "small animals for the Passover, cattle for the Chagigah."

§ 68. PURPOSE AND METHOD, CHARACTER AND READERS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

At the close of his book, John states very clearly its purpose, just as Luke does in his dedication; at the same time, however, John goes on to speak of the means by which he endeavoured to accomplish this purpose (xx. 30 f.; cf. xix. 35). As was unavoidable in a brief concluding sentence, both these statements are so general that it is necessary to seek in the book itself some more definite information, in particular, to draw certain conclusions from the means used with reference to the author's purpose.

From among a large number of σημεῖα which Jesus did in the presence of His disciples, John sets forth a few in order to lead the readers whom he addresses to believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, to the end that they, believing this to be the case, may have life in the name of this Jesus Christ. We have already seen (above, p. 207 f.) that it was not His intention to convert Jews or Gentiles to the Christian faith through a written missionary sermon. The readers were already believers—confessors of the name of Christ (cf. i. 12), a Church with which the author was acquainted and on intimate terms, or a group of such Churches who needed to be furthered and strengthened in the faith which they already had; just as Jesus by constantly bearing new testimony to Himself endeavoured to strengthen His disciples and also such as had come to have a certain faith in Him and yet could not be called His disciples (viii. 30 f., cf. ii. 22, vii. 31, x. 38, xi. 45, xii. 11) in the faith which they confessed when they first came into contact with Him (i. 41, 45, 49), in order that this faith might become unalterably fixed, and so to deepen this faith that it might develop into an independent and experiential knowledge of the truth revealed in Him (ii. 11, iv. 39–42, vi. 45 f., 69, viii. 32, x. 38, xi. 15, 42, xiii. 19, xiv. 1–11, xvi. 30–33, xvii. 8, xx. 8, 24–29). Only in this

way do believers become disciples of Jesus in the full sense of the word (viii. 31 ; cf. xiii. 35, xv. 8) and win the freedom, the peace, the joy, in short, the life which is transmitted from the only-begottten Son of God to those who become children of God (i. 12) through Him (viii. 32, 35 f., x. 28, xiv. 27, xv. 11, xvi. 33, xvii. 2 f., 8, 13, 18, xx. 29). There is no greater human distinction than to become a disciple of Jesus', and through His mediation attain to God (vi. 46, xiii. 16, xiv. 6, xv. 5, 8). But this is also a goal which the believer can attain only step by step. It is the mission of Jesus and of the Spirit whom He will send to further them toward this end (xiv. 26, xvi. 12 ff., xvii. 26) ; the apostles also are called to share this teaching work (xv. 27). It is John's purpose to fulfil this mission in the case of the believers for whom he writes by giving his own testimony, in order that they may share the same blessed experience as himself (xix. 35, xx. 31 ; cf. i. 16 ; 1 John i. 3 f.).

The fact that the book was intended for believers, whom it is designed to confirm in this manner, gives it an esoteric character which distinguishes it from the Synoptics, and especially from Luke. The detailed account of the discourses at the Last Supper is not the most unmistakable evidence that John is writing for the instruction of believers. More significant is the fact that he chooses as the subject of his account a number of signs which Jesus did before the eyes of His disciples (xx. 30). It is self-evident that Jesus' constant companions were eye-witnesses of all His miracles. In view of this, it is all the more certain that the remark means that for the most part the author contemplates the σημεῖα from the point of view of Jesus' self-revelation to His disciples and for their sake. Naturally, however, this does not lessen the significance of these σημεῖα—especially of those which are not related, but only summarily mentioned—for all those who witnessed them and for the progress of the history (ii. 23, iii. 2, iv.

45, v. 20, 36, vi. 2, 14, vii. 21, 31, x. 25–38, xi. 47, xii. 10, 37, xv. 24).

The entire book, from i. 14 onwards, is in keeping with the emphasis laid in xx. 30 upon the significance of these signs for the disciples. The very first utterances of Jesus of which an account is given are wonderful proofs of that profound knowledge of the human heart, transcending all the limits of sense by which He won His first disciples (i. 42–49), while as a title to all that follows stands the promise to Nathanael and to the entire group of the first six disciples that in the companionship of Jesus they shall experience greater things, and learn from a multitude of deeds that God who rules in heaven has put at the disposal of the Son of Man upon earth all the angel powers by which He Himself rules the world (i. 50 f.). The result of the first of these experiences is declared to be simply that, in consequence of this revelation of the glory of Jesus, His disciples believed on Him (ii. 11), notwithstanding the fact that there were other witnesses besides the disciples, *e.g.* the mother of Jesus, who certainly was not indifferent and must have witnessed the miracle. In other words, the disciples were confirmed in their faith. While it is true in the case of the second and third miracles which are related (iv. 46–54, v. 1–18) that the disciples are not mentioned, in the first case one who is already a believer is stimulated by a rebuke of Jesus' to greater faith. In vi. 5 ff. again it is clearly described how the faith of those who believe in Jesus is tested and strengthened. While the multitude see signs and yet do not see (vi. 14, 26, 30, 36), the miracle of the feeding and of Jesus' walking on the water make the disciples able not only to bear the discourse of the following day, but in the light of its promises to rise to a joyful confession. With one sad exception this was true of the Twelve, while other disciples, who were not really disciples, deserted Jesus (vi. 60–71). The healing of the blind man is introduced as a means of instruction for the disciples

(ix. 1–5); and in the case of the man who was healed, it is to be observed how, under the impression of the deeds of Jesus, his open-minded understanding is developed from stage to stage. At first the Lord is a man named Jesus (ix. 11), then a prophet (ver. 17), certainly not a sinner, but a man from God (vv. 25, 30–33), and finally the Lord, to whom he kneels in faith and prayer (vv. 35–38). While the raising of Lazarus is an important event in the concluding days of Jesus' life (xi. 45–53, xii. 9–11, 17–19), the principal thing described is the significance of this deed and the circumstances accompanying it for the faith of His disciples (xi. 15; cf. the whole of vv. 4–16), the women who believed on Him (xi. 3, 20–40), and the larger group of those who were receptive (vv. 42, 45). Where the Lord is, who Himself is Resurrection and Life, sickness and death and the grave must lose their terrors (xi. 4, 11, 23–27, xii. 1, 2, 9). He who makes the dead to live cannot Himself remain in death. In chap. xx. it is not so much Christ's own glorification that is described, as the convincing of two souls that He who was dead was alive.

This helps to explain why John, more than any other of the evangelists, gives us character sketches of Jesus' disciples—both of those who were intimately and those who were more remotely associated with Him (above, pp. 209, 224, n. 4). He gives accounts of conversions which have a wholly individual stamp, often with a few strokes of his pen, sometimes, however, at length. The genuine Israelite, Nathanael, who comes to Jesus with mockery upon his lips, but who, when he perceives that his heart is known, pours forth words of earnest confession, with the result that he never leaves Jesus again (i. 45–50; cf. xxi. 2); Philip, cautious, slow of speech and understanding (i. 43–45, vi. 5–7, xii. 21 f., xiv. 8–10; above, p. 224); Thomas, melancholy, disinclined to any easy optimism (xi. 16, xiv. 5, xx. 24–29); Nicodemus, who at first comes to Jesus by night because he is afraid of the light, and afterwards

alone of all his colleagues has the courage in the Sanhedrin to demand fair treatment for Jesus; and at last, when the most trusted of Jesus' disciples deny and desert Him, confesses himself a follower of the crucified Jesus (iii. 1–21, vii. 50–52, xix. 39); the Samaritan woman, who, in spite of her sinful past and the wilful spirit which she manifests at first, becomes an earnest believer (iv. 7–42); the paralytic, whose own sin had evidently brought upon him an incurable disease (v. 5–15); and the man who without any fault of his own was born blind (chap. ix.); the two sisters in Bethany, so different in type (xi. 1–xii. 8); and Mary Magdalene, who made up for her lack of knowledge by her self-sacrificing love (xx. 1–18),—all of these are incomparably described, and, without any express effort to bring out the fact, are instructive illustrations of the divine leading and of human development out of darkness into light, and from faith to faith. They were drawn, not by the herald of the gospel proclaiming his message to all peoples, but by the pastor devoting Himself to the human souls committed to Him, and who by these pictures designed to increase the faith of those who were already believers and to make them true disciples.

It necessarily impresses one as peculiar that both in xx. 30 and in the retrospect of the whole of Jesus' public testimony in xii. 37, His deeds are the only recognised form of His testimony to Himself, and that these are declared to be the contents of this book; whereas in reality the discourses not only occupy much space, but in many ways are emphasised as important. Although on the authority of i. 50 f. it is possible to reckon sayings like i. 48, iv. 16 (29) or prophecies like ii. 19, vi. 70, xii. 32f. (xviii. 32) among the *σημεῖα*, the author understands the word as applying only to the miracles (ii. 11). Consequently it is evident from xx. 30 f. that he does not regard the deeds as a sort of customary adornment of the Redeemer, or as an occasion for profound discourses which are really the more import-

ant things. There are only a few deeds to which long discourses are attached (namely, v. 17–47, vii. 19 ff. attached to v. 1–16, and vi. 26–71 attached to vi. 3–13); while other deeds of Jesus no less striking are left to speak for themselves (ii. 1–11, ix. 1–38, xi. 1–44). This is true not only of the few which are formally related, but also of the many which are summarily mentioned. These works, as they are often called by John without any further qualification (n. 1), distinguish Jesus from the Baptist, who was the witness by water and word (x. 41). Since Jesus works only in dependence upon God, in fellowship with God, and by means of the angel-powers at His command (v. 19, 30, xi. 41 f., i. 51), these works are a work of God Himself (xiv. 10), or a participation of Jesus in the work of God (v. 17–23, ix. 3 f.). To the extent, however, that God permits these works to happen through Jesus and through Him alone (xv. 24, x. 41, vii. 31), they are God's own testimony concerning Jesus (v. 36 f., x. 25, 37 f., xiv. 11), which renders unbelief without excuse (xii. 37, xv. 24).

John's use of the O.T. and Jewish word σημεῖα to designate the miraculous deeds of Jesus regularly and much more frequently than the other evangelists (n. 1), is not intended to indicate that they are regarded by him either exclusively as symbols or as prophecies. The conception is broader. The σημεῖα are events which point beyond themselves to the cause of which they are the effect, to the person of whom they are the acts, to the unseen events of which they are the symbols, to the future events of which they are the prophetic preludes. In these striking acts of Jesus the entire work of God, itself invisible—in the completion of which Jesus has become an active participant—is visibly manifested (ix. 3 f., cf. iv. 34, v. 36). The healing of the blind man, just before which Jesus makes the statement of ix. 3, He Himself transforms into a symbol, a real allegory which He afterwards interprets (ix. 39–40). In the same way the miraculous feeding

becomes to Him a prophetic symbol of a still more wonderful feeding (vi. 27 ff.). The healing of the sick foreshadows the subsequent awakening of the dead, and the cases where Jesus raised the dead during His earthly ministry are at once symbols of the awakening of the physically dead by Jesus at the last day (v. 20–26, vi. 39, xi. 23–27).

Along with this high valuation of the miraculous deeds of Jesus are found other words which seem to lessen their value. In order that faith in Jesus, and the blessings, primarily invisible, which are mediated by Him, may strike root at all among men, faith must be preceded by a vision of the witnessing of Jesus to Himself through deeds, which show Him to be the "Saviour of the world" sent from God (iv. 42), *i.e.*, by a *θεωρεῖν*, *θεᾶσθαι*, *ὁρᾶν* (i. 14, 32–34, 39, 46, 51, ii. 11, iv. 19, vi. 36, 40, xii. 45, xiv. 9, xx. 6, 8, 20, 27). To those, however, who have not lacked this opportunity, and who, nevertheless, demand a sign so as to be exempted from the act and the work of faith (vi. 26–31), the sign is denied (ii. 18, vi. 30). With those who through the signs have obtained a certain faith, but do not receive the testimony concerning the moral and religious conditions of salvation, it is impossible for Jesus to enter into more intimate relations (ii. 23 f., iii. 11, 32). Moreover, persons otherwise well disposed, but who constantly demand new signs as if they had a right to do so, are earnestly reproved (iv. 48, xx. 27). The conception of the sign is such that it is designed to render itself unnecessary. The Gospel, which is intended for readers who have seen none of the signs of Jesus, concludes with the blessing of those who have not seen, but nevertheless have believed (xx. 29). But the signs are not without value even for those who have not seen. They need to be related. If the discourses occupy more space in the Fourth Gospel than the signs, it is to be remembered that as a rule the commentary is longer than the text, which nevertheless remains the more important

thing. The author's written testimony concerning the σημεῖα which Jesus did in his presence, is designed as a substitute for what the readers lack, as compared with the author, and is intended to enable them to believe as he believes (xix. 35). Since, however, he was writing for Christians who already had considerable knowledge of the gospel history, and who, of the Gospels which have come down to us, were certainly familiar with Mark, probably also with Luke, and perhaps also with Matthew, although only through oral translation (§ 67), it was only natural for John to choose from the abundance of reminiscences at his command such σημεῖα with the corresponding discourses as the readers had not yet become acquainted with through the other Gospels.

Nothing could be more incorrect than to attribute to the author, as his principal design, instead of the purpose mentioned in xx. 31, the supplementing of the Synoptics. But the circumstances under which he wrote were such as to make it natural for him actually to supplement the earlier Gospels by the insertion of parallels to their accounts, by explanatory remarks which corrected misunderstandings to which these accounts were naturally open, by formal corrections (above, pp. 256 ff., 270 f.), but primarily by such entirely new information as was calculated to render more intelligible the picture, obtained from the Synoptics, of *the course of the gospel history* as a whole and of *many of its details*. With reference to the first point, from what the Synoptists relate from the last days of Jesus' life, it is impossible historically to understand the origin of the deadly hatred of the Jewish authorities toward Jesus, which led to His crucifixion. John explains the catastrophe. Such accounts as the official embassage from Jerusalem to the Baptist (i. 19), the visits to Jerusalem with the attendant constant conflicts with the Jewish authorities (ii. 13 ff., v. 1 ff., vii. 1 ff., x. 22), the repeated resolutions of the Sanhedrin and

of the Pharisaic party, which in some instances led to attempts upon Jesus' life (v. 16, 18, vii. 1, 13, 25, 30, 45–52, viii. 28, 37, 59, ix. 13, 22, x. 39, xi. 8, 46–50, 57, xii. 9–11, 19), the raising of Lazarus and the retrospection of the entire public testimony in Jerusalem in xii. 37–43, give the idea of an intelligible development which it is impossible to derive from the Synoptics. The ποσάκις of Luke xiii. 34, Matt. xxiii. 37 (above, p. 173, n. 3) is elaborated by John. There are single points also in which John's narrative serves to explain the synoptic account. The call of the fishermen to become fishers of men (Matt. iv. 18 ff.; Mark i. 16 ff.) is psychologically incomprehensible without the assumption of previous familiarity on the part of those called with the person and intentions of Jesus. How they obtained this acquaintance we read in John i. 35–51. The treachery of Judas, which in the Synoptics falls like a thunderbolt from heaven, we learn from John vi. 70, xii. 4–6, xiii. 2, 11, 18–30, xvii. 12, xviii. 2–5, was long in preparation, and connected with Judas' earlier attitude among the disciples. The reference of Isa. xl. 3 to the Baptist in all the Synoptics is intelligible if he applied the saying to himself (John i. 23), and it is not strange that the disciples of John understood the figure in Matt. ix. 15, Mark ii. 19, if their master had used it to represent his relation to Jesus (John iii. 29). The historical occasion for the accusation of Jesus in Mark xiv. 58, xv. 29, Matt. xxvi. 61, xxvii. 40, Acts vi. 14, is to be found only in John ii. 19. This and other things are the incidental, if not altogether unintentional, results of the method which circumstances compelled the author to use, especially of his eclecticism in the choice of material. The purpose of his book is proved to be that already noted, namely, the confirmation and furtherance of the readers in the faith which they have confessed.

But this faith in which it is John's purpose to confirm his readers he states in the terms of the common Christian

confession, namely, that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God (xx. 31). It is the old message which the readers have heard ever since their first contact with the gospel (1 John i. 5, iii. 11), and which stands at the very forefront in all the gospel testimony concerning Jesus. Even the Baptist testifies, "I am not the Messiah, but Jesus is" (i. 20, 25 f., 33 f., iii. 28 f.). Those who were the first to leave John in order to become disciples of Jesus used this title to express their new faith (i. 41, cf. vv. 45, 49); and the author, who was one of these disciples, in the passage where he gives the account of this event, retains the form which the title had in his native language, although it is necessary for him to translate it for the readers (n. 2). John uses also the archaic titles "The Chosen One" and "the Holy One of God," which had hardly yet been taken up into the language of the Church, and hence disappeared from the text in the common tradition (n. 2). In the same way Jesus maintains the connection with the O.T. and the people of Israel. Although Jesus is the Saviour of the world (iv. 42, cf. i. 29, iii. 14 ff., xii. 47, xvii. 2, 17 ff.), nevertheless salvation is of the Jews (iv. 22). Not until after His death and exaltation is it possible and is it His desire to exercise His world calling in its full compass beyond the boundaries of Israel (x. 14–16, xii. 23–32). For this reason He quickly withdraws from the Samaritans who willingly receive Him (iv. 40, 43), and refuses to receive the Greeks (xii. 20 ff.). Although His enemies taunt Him with being a Samaritan (viii. 48), and believe it possible that He may seek safety in the Greek diaspora and preach to the Greeks (vii. 35), which would be equivalent to self-destruction (viii. 22), nevertheless He remains a Jew (iv. 9, 22) and faithful unto death to His own people, the race of Abraham. For He is the one promised in the O.T. (i. 45, v. 39, 46 f.), the King of Israel (i. 49, xii. 13), the Good Shepherd predicted by the prophets

(x. 1–10), *i.e.* the Sovereign of His people, to be distinguished from the usurpers of the throne,—the Herodian family, foreigners who obtained their power through craft and violence,—and from such bandits as Judas the Galilean (x. 1, 8, 10), and from other false Messiahs who were yet to come (v. 43). His kingdom, like Himself, did not originate in the world, and in the realisation of the same He makes use of no earthly powers (xviii. 33–37). The scorn, however, with which Pilate, notwithstanding this avowal of Christ, that His kingdom was not of this world, calls Him the King of the Jews (xviii. 39, xix. 3, 14, 19 f.), represents the full truth. The Jews themselves were compelled to confess that He had so spoken of Himself (xix. 21), and only by the betrayal of their Messianic idea to the heathen (xix. 15) was it possible for them to destroy Him in whom this idea was fulfilled. In spite of the protest of the Jews, it is proclaimed to all the world in the language of the people from whom Jesus sprang, in the language of the world-ruling Romans and in the language of the Greeks,—the common bond between all civilised peoples,—that the crucified Jesus is the king of the Jews (xix. 19 f.). The confession to which "all flesh," *i.e.* the entire world, is to be brought in order that they may receive eternal life from Jesus, is, besides the acknowledgment that the Father of Jesus is the only true God, the confession of Jesus whom He has sent as the Messiah (xvii. 2 f.).

When in xx. 31 (cf. xi. 27) we find, in addition to the Messianic title, the expression ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, it is nothing new. Neither in the Synoptics nor in John is this title synonymous with ὁ Χριστός. Just as the combination of these two titles in Matt. xvi. 16 presupposes the confession of Matt. xiv. 33, which is based upon an experience of the supernatural greatness of Jesus, so the confession of John i. 49, in which mention of the divine sonship precedes that of the Messiahship, is based upon the overwhelming experience which had come to one of

the first disciples of Jesus through the wonderful witness of Jesus to Himself.

This confession of the divine Sonship is capable of being deepened; not, however, by the use of ὁ μονογενής, a title which John uses both with and without υἱός to describe Jesus (n. 3). For this simply affirms that Jesus is the Son of God in the full sense of that word. Like ὁ υἱός alone (iii. 35 f., v. 19 ff., viii. 35, cf. Matt. xi. 27; Luke x. 22, cf. Matt. xxi. 38) or ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (John ix. 35, xi. 4; Luke xxii. 70), it serves to distinguish Him from the children of God who become such only through His mediation (i. 12, xii. 36) and through a second birth (iii. 3–8). Although in xx. 17 Jesus makes parallel His original Sonship and the derived sonship of His disciples with a definiteness not to be found in the Synoptics, calling them His brethren in the same context, nevertheless the specific distinction remains. This is true also in the Synoptics, which, to put the matter briefly, never represent Jesus as combining the ideas of "my Father" and "your Father" in an "our Father," for the Lord's Prayer is not a prayer which Jesus prayed Himself, but one which He taught His disciples. Since John uses the word μονογενής for the first time in the sentence in which he declares that the Logos became flesh (i. 14), and in very close connection with the sentence which, according to the common text, deals with the divine sonship wrought by Jesus in those who believe on Him (i. 12 f.), but according to the original text treats of the begetting and birth of Jesus without the assistance of a man (i. 13, above, pp. 266, 288, n. 7), there is no doubt that John calls Jesus the μονογενής, the Son of God in a unique sense because of this wonderful entrance into human life. Jesus is from birth what other men become through regeneration, and by nature what they are by grace—a thought which finds expression in various ways elsewhere in the Fourth Gospel (n. 3). By i. 13, even according to

the *Textus receptus*, the physical fatherhood of Joseph is excluded; but, according to John as well as the Synoptics, during Jesus' lifetime His divine Sonship as opposed to His descent from Joseph was not the subject either of teaching or confession. Those who first confessed that He was the Son of God regarded Him at the same time as the son of Joseph (i. 45). To others who, because they are acquainted with Him, think they know all about His origin, it is simply said that they are in error (vi. 42, vii. 26 f., viii. 14, 57 f.). As is proved by the prologue of John and the birth stories of Matthew and Luke, at the time when all these Gospels were written it was commonly believed by the Church that Jesus was not the son of Joseph; but neither John nor the Synoptics make this a part of the teaching of Jesus.

John does, however, show an advance upon the other evangelists when he represents the Baptist and then Jesus as testifying with constantly increasing clearness His pre-existence and His eternal being with God, His sending forth, origin, and descent from heaven to earth. The *ἐκ θεοῦ γεννηθῆναι*, without which no man can become a child of God, took place also in Jesus' case, since He entered into the human estate; but for Him it was an *ἐξέρχεσθαι παρά* or *ἐκ τοῦ πατρός* (xvi. 27 f.), the incarnation of one who was eternal and whose divine Sonship involves His being God. It does not follow, however, that what the Baptist recognised prophetically (i. 15, 30) was recognised by Jesus' disciples from the beginning. It is a long way from the confession of the sincere Nathanael, *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, who at first mocked, to the confession of the sincere Thomas, *ὁ κύριός μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου*, who at first was unwilling to believe. What heretofore had escaped from Jesus' heart in excited and often in obscure language He did not state in unmistakable terms to His disciples until on the last evening (xvi. 24–30). The development of faith from the first (i. 45–49) to the final confession (xx. 28) of

the disciples is proof of the truth of such sayings of Jesus as iii. 21, xviii. 37. It is the way, the goal of which John desires that the readers of his Gospel shall not fail to attain (xx. 31). How anxious he is that this shall be the case is evidenced in the prologue, which begins with the affirmation of the eternal being of Christ with God. Moreover, in the course of this prologue he represents the Baptist as bearing testimony (i. 15) in the same words as are used in i. 30, where they are recorded for the first time in their historical connection, and the prologue concludes with a confession of Jesus as the "only-begotten God" (i. 18, n. 3), an expression which seems self-contradictory. This and not "the Logos doctrine" is the thing peculiar to the Fourth Gospel, and indeed the only new thing in the representation of the person of Jesus as compared with that of the Synoptics (n. 4).

It would be possible to speak of John's Logos doctrine, or of a Logos doctrine in the Gospel of John, only in case John formally identified the Logos which was familiar to the readers (i. 1) with Jesus the Christ (i. 17), or in case he formally stated that Jesus Christ whom the readers know is the divine Logos, or an incarnation of it, and if by the unfolding of the conceptions involved in one or the other of these propositions he went on to make some further statements about either the Logos or Christ. But nothing of this kind is found in the prologue (n. 5). Although the historical name of the Redeemer does not occur until i. 17, any reader at all acquainted with the gospel history would understand when he read i. 6–13, if not before, that the author was speaking of Jesus; since the Baptist's testimony was concerning Jesus the Christ, not concerning a being called "Logos" or "Light" (i. 7 f.), and since the name on which the children of God believe is none other than the name of Jesus Christ (i. 12, cf. ii. 23, iii. 18, xx. 31). In i. 4–5 also the only possible subject is Jesus. When and while He dwelt upon the

earth He and He alone was the light of men (i. 4, cf. viii. 12, ix. 5, xii. 35 f., 46, iii. 19). Although He may not be the light now in the same sense, nevertheless the light which He was is not entirely lost, but continues to be manifested in the children of light (xii. 36), in whom He lives by word and spirit and who are in Him (xv. 5, 7, xvi. 7–15, xvii. 8, 17, 23). Nor has the dark world in which this light has long been shining (1 John ii. 8) and in which it still shines, been able to overcome and extinguish it (i. 5). Throughout the passage, ὁ λόγος like τὸ φῶς is a name applicable only to the historical Christ.

Even assuming that the proposition, "Christ is and is called the Logos," may contain a logos doctrine,—in the nature of the case a Christian Logos doctrine,—this doctrine is not expounded but presupposed in the prologue. From the simple designation of Christ as Logos, even if this be found in an independent statement (n. 5), the existence of a Christian Logos doctrine cannot be inferred any more than a Christian doctrine of light can be inferred from John viii. 12, ix. 5, xii. 46, or from the numerous suggestive designations of Christ an equal number of doctrines bearing these distinctive names (John vi. 35, 48, 51,—x. 11,—xi. 25,—xiv. 6,—xv. 1,—Col. i. 27, ii. 2,—2 Cor. iv. 4; Col. i. 15). Such an inference would be justified only if it were known that the Christians of that time derived further propositions from the identification of the Logos with Christ, or of Christ with the Logos, which would then likewise be silently taken for granted in the prologue. Certainly in the prologue nothing is deduced from this identification only presupposed of Christ with the Logos. The original existence of the Logos with God and its divine nature are not derived through a definition or development of the Logos idea; they are simply affirmed. Since essentially the same expressions (viii. 58, xvii. 5, cf. xii. 41) recur as utterances of Jesus concerning Himself without any connection with the name of the Logos, the

statements of i. 1 would have exactly the same meaning, if their subject were ὁ Χριστός instead of ὁ λόγος. This is the language Paul would have used (n. 5). The idea of the creation of the world through Christ (i. 3) is expressed in the Fourth Gospel only in this one passage, but is found elsewhere in the N.T. without any discernible dependence upon the Logos idea (1 Cor. viii. 6; Col. i. 15–17; Heb. i. 2 f.; Rev. iii. 14). Consequently, there is no basis for assuming that John derived his statement from the Logos idea, or, on the other hand, that he called Christ the Logos because this was one of the articles of the common Christian faith. He does not in any way intimate that this was the case; and if this thought had been in his mind he would certainly have repeated the name of the Logos in i. 3, in order to direct the readers' attention to Gen. i. 3; Ps. xxxiii. 6, 9. That John does not regard the name of the Logos as a mine of speculative ideas is evidenced by the fact that the prologue does not contain any such ideas, and more especially by the fact that from i. 4 onward the Logos idea is replaced by that of light, and the former idea does not recur until i. 14, and then nothing is said which could have been derived from the λόγος conception.

We conclude, then, that in the prologue no Christian or non-Christian Logos doctrine is expounded or presupposed, but that the author assumes that the readers are familiar with the term λόγος as a designation of the Christ. The question then arises how this usage originated, and why John employs it in the prologue. He does not represent Jesus as using it, nor is there any obvious basis for it anywhere in the Fourth Gospel (n. 5). On the other hand, we do find the term used in two other writings of John's which confirms what is apparent from the prologue, namely, that the name was in more or less common use in the Church circles where these writings originated. In 1 John i. 1 the term ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς is used to describe

not the gospel preaching, but the personal centre of that preaching—the person of Jesus, who, on the one hand, is without beginning, and, on the other hand, one whom the disciples heard speak, whom they saw walk and act, a man whom it was possible to touch, whom they perceived with all their senses. This eternal person is the eternal life, and as such has existed eternally with the Father. But because this life has issued from its silent abode with God, appeared in tangible form among men and become manifest to them, it can be called the "Word of Life." In His own person Christ is the eternal life (John xiv. 6), and consequently the life which became visible and which could be heard is "the word of life." Hence ὁ λόγος is a designation, not of the pre-existent Christ as such, but of the incarnate Christ (n. 6).

In Rev. xix. 11–16 John is represented as seeing Christ coming from heaven to judgment with the insignia of royal and judicial power (n. 7). In this vision He bears one name related to the work He had come to do at this time (ver. 16); also another, inscribed apparently on His diadem, which no one knew but Himself (ver. 12, cf. ii. 17). John saw this name inscribed on the diadem, but could not decipher it, hence was unable to express it. This means that for human thought and speech there is no term suited to express the entire significance of Christ and His being which is fully known only to Himself. But it is impossible for men not to give Him names, in which the attempt is made to express this thought. The name ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ (ver. 13) is one such attempt. It will be observed that John does not see or hear the name in the vision, but that he simply remarks at the close of the description of the personal appearance of Christ that this name was given to Him. It was the name used for Christ in the Church, and He was so called when it was desired to express in a comparatively comprehensive way what He is and what He signifies. He is the Word of God

expressed in the world. His person represents completely what the numerous revelations of God by word are in part. The attributes of truth and trustworthiness belong to Him, just as they do to these revelations (xix. 9, xxi. 5); but because He is a person they are expressed by a proper name (xix. 11, cf. 1 John i. 9, v. 20?). The fact that Christ revealed the Word of God as a faithful witness (Rev. i. 5, iii. 14) is only one way in which He proved Himself to be the Word of God. He Himself is "the Amen," or, as we should express it, "the Amen in person," *i.e.* God's solemn declaration of His will and of His thought toward men (Rev. iii. 14, n. 8). He is not *an* amen or *a* word, but, since God has revealed Himself finally and definitely in Christ (Heb. i. 1), *the* Amen and *the* Word of God. This thought is not without analogies in N.T. writings other than those of John (n. 8).

This is the conception which we have in the Fourth Gospel. The general presuppositions and analogies are found here in the words of Jesus Himself. Jesus is the life, but also in His own person the truth (xiv. 6, xi. 25), the visible manifestation of God (xii. 45, xiv. 7–10), and He supplies men with the knowledge of God necessary to life, not simply through the words which He speaks as a teacher, but also through His deeds, *i.e.* during His earthly life He is the light of men (ix. 4–5, viii. 12, xii. 35 f., 46). He distinguishes Himself from all the official representatives and mediators of divine revelation who came before Him by affirming that, whereas they became what they were for other men through some word of God that came to them from without, He in the whole compass of His life is the one consecrated by God for His mission to men and sent by Him to fulfil it (x. 35 f.).

If, as the prologue taken in connection with 1 John i. 1, Rev. xix. 13 proves, ὁ λόγος had come to be used along with other terms to designate Christ in the region where John lived, manifestly not without his influence,

the comprehensiveness of the term made its use particularly appropriate in the prologue which describes in large outlines the history of Christ and the revelation accomplished by Him; from the eternity out of which He sprang to the present when He has returned again to God, when, however, the body of those who believe on Him, the heirs of His grace, the guardians of the knowledge of God brought into the world by Him, continue to exist in a world which is without this knowledge. Christ is here represented as throughout the Gospel and in Revelation as the indispensible witness of the truth and revealer of the knowledge of God which no man can derive from himself (i. 18, cf. iii. 11, v. 37 f., vi. 46, xviii. 37). But His relation to the God whom He reveals is different from that of all other bearers of the divine revelation. Not only had He seen God before He appeared as His only-begotten Son; He is Himself θεός (i. 18). While the revelation of the law was transmitted through the hand of Moses to other men, the grace and truth of God with which Jesus Himself was filled has become through Him an historical reality (i. 17, cf. xiv. 16). His person is the complete revelation of God to men, consequently "the Word" *per se.*

The question how the term ὁ λόγος (τοῦ θεοῦ, τῆς ζωῆς) came to be used as a general expression, gathering up the early Christian conceptions of Christ which otherwise were unconnected, and how it came to be used as a proper name, we are unable to answer by tracing its history, just as we are unable to answer many similar questions; for the reason that we know practically nothing of what was taught in the Church. It is conceivable historically that the apostle John may have become familiar in Jerusalem with the Greek speculation, the first representative of which, so far as we know, was Philo; since there was a synagogue of the Alexandrians in Jerusalem, and many Hellenists in the membership of the mother Church

(vol. i. 60 f. n. 8). It is also possible that Alexandrian Jews, like Apollos, brought such ideas to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 24). If only someone could succeed in showing a real connection between Philo and John! John's conception of Christ is not Philo's conception of the Logos, the Platonic idea of ideas, the plastic world-soul of the teachings of the Stoa. It would be more natural to suppose that the teaching concerning the *memra* current among the rabbis was utilised by the Christian teachers in expressing their ideas concerning Jesus. But apparently this term could be used only if the pre-existent Christ were thought of as the mediator of the Old Testament revelation as well as of the New. But no traces of this idea are to be found in John, even where it might be expected (v. 37–47, viii. 52–58, xii. 37–41). Probably, therefore, the expression is to be explained as one which grew up in the late apostolic age out of the above-mentioned roots embedded in the soil of the Christian Church.

If John had applied to Christ a Logos speculation derived from non-Christian sources, and under its influence had attempted a higher conception of Christ, inevitably the clear figure of the man Jesus would have faded away like a shadow and been distorted into ghostly form. In reality the opposite is the case. No one of the Gospels presents a picture of Jesus which in all essential respects is so entirely human as that of John. Jesus is weary with His journey (iv. 6); confesses that He is thirsty (iv. 7, xix. 28); weeps at the grave of His friend (xi. 35); cherishes friendships with individuals, which can have no direct connection with His redemptive work (xi. 3, 11, 36, xiii. 23, xx. 2). When dying He made provision for the temporal well-being of His mother (xix. 26). Just as He is deeply stirred and even moved by a feeling of anger at the desolation which death had been permitted to bring into the home of a friend, especially because He Himself by His delay had been responsible for this victory of death

(xi. 33, 38), so He is profoundly shaken by the thought of His own approaching death, and in a state of doubt and uncertainty seeks to be assured of the divine will regarding it (xii. 27), which he had long known (viii. 21–29). He can do all things only as He depends upon God (v. 19, 30); the Son of Man requires the aid of God's angels, in order miraculously to testify that He is the Son of God (i. 51). All His miracles are done in response to prayer (xi. 41). He is and continnes to be the studious pupil of His Father (v. 30, viii. 26, 40, xv. 15). However far and deeply He is able to see into human hearts and into the dark recesses of the future (n. 10), this is no proof of a native omniscience, but is a gift of God in accordance with Jesus' vocation, a manifestation of the Spirit which He has received for His work (i. 32 f.). Like other men, He is informed of things which He Himself does not witness (iv. 1, xi. 3–6), or draws inferences from what He does witness (vi. 15). He asks questions, not simply in order to test others (vi. 6), but in order to find out what He does not know (xi. 34). Even in the case of His official work, His knowledge is subject to growth, and thus (temporarily) limited, with the result that His decisions to act are subject to change (n. 9).

Nor can this thoroughly human representation of Christ—in comparison with which there is little in the Synoptics which gives so naïve and so clear an impression—be explained as the remnant of an older view, which the author himself had transcended. On the contrary, this is the image of Jesus which lives in his thought, and which with loving devotion he pictures before the eyes of his readers. However important he may regard it that they believe the Jesus to be the Christ and the Son of God, he does not, like Matthew, picture the Christ (n. 10), indeed very seldom calls Him "Lord," as is frequently done by Luke (vol. ii. 476; above, pp. 91, n. 21, 249), and in all his statements about Him makes the subject the man Jesus. That this is not only the natural reflection of his

view of Jesus, but his conscious purpose in the Gospel, is evidenced by i. 14. The language is strong. He who from eternity was *God* (i. 1), and who in every aspect did not cease to be *God* (i. 18, 33–36, n. 3, xx. 28), became *flesh*—appeared as *flesh*. It is clear, even without the light thrown upon the passage by the Epistles, that this language, which, in comparison with Phil. ii. 7, Rom. viii. 3 is so very harsh, can be explained only in the light of another and contrasted view of Jesus. Just as the humanity of Christ is emphasised here, where His entrance into the human estate is described, so in the account of the end of His life strong emphasis is laid upon the reality of His death. It is true that the two details, namely, that Jesus' legs were not broken, and that He was pierced with a spear after His death, are important in the eyes of the author as fulfilments of prophecies (above, p. 217); but in comparison with the earlier accounts of the crucifixion these facts are in themselves new and significant. The legs were left unbroken, only because the soldiers were convinced that Jesus was already dead, and it was the doubt of one of the soldiers as to this fact that led to the piercing of the side. Even if the soldier's doubt were well grounded, the piercing of the side with a spear would have caused death. Apparently both to the soldier and to the narrator the issue of blood and water was evidence of the disintegration of the blood which had taken place after death. It is in connection also with this entire transaction that the narrator introduces the solemn assurance that he is an eye-witness whose account is in accordance with the truth (above, p. 219 ff.). When it is further remembered that no other Gospel gives such circumstantial historical proof that the grave was empty (xx. 1–13), or records the way in which Thomas was convinced of the reality of the body of the risen Jesus, and of the identity of this body with the one which was crucified (xx. 24–29), it becomes clear beyond question that John's purpose is to

fortify the faith of his readers against doctrines which questioned the reality of the incarnation and death of Jesus. According to Irenæus, this was the teaching of Cerinthus. But the Epistles must be investigated before definite conclusions can be reached on this point.

There is still another direction in which John seems to show a polemical purpose. If the author is the unnamed companion of Andrew in i. 35 ff., there is nothing peculiar about the fact that he reports in detail and with strong emphasis the Baptist's testimony concerning Jesus which brought Andrew to Jesus (i. 6–9, 19–36, iii. 27–36, v. 33–36, x. 41). Nor is it strange that outside the narrative, in a form other than that of an historical notice, he should represent this as a testimony given in the present, and thus valid for the readers, as he does when he puts it among the statements regarding the experience of himself and of his fellow-disciples who companied with Jesus (i. 15). This would all be satisfactorily explained by the purpose indicated in xix. 35 : *ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύητε.* In other words, that *you* as well as I and my fellow-disciples may believe, you as well as the *μαθητής* (xix. 26) and his *συμμαθηταί* (xi. 16), who were disciples as well of the Baptist as of Jesus. But this does not explain the marked emphasis with which from the very beginning of the Gospel both the author and the Baptist himself deny that John is the Messiah or the Light of Life (i. 8, 20–27, 30–33, iii. 28–30). The temptation which John had to represent himself as the Messiah he honourably and steadfastly resisted (i. 20), and rejected all other titles which in the confusion of Jewish ideas about the person of the coming Messiah might be interpreted as implying a claim to the Messianic dignity, or equality with the Messiah (i. 21, 25, n. 11). The only office which he claims is that which Isaiah represents under the figure of a voice, the subject of which remains entirely undefined (i. 23). His work is great, but is entirely in the service

of his incomparably greater successor, whose origin is from eternity, and of the greater work which He came to do. They are related to each other as water to spirit, word to deed. Hence John must recede into the background, as Jesus, the bridegroom of the bride, the Messiah of the Church, comes into prominence. He does it without envy and willingly, even with profound joy as the friend of the bridegroom (iii. 27–36); while Jesus in His turn fully recognises John's calling (v. 35), classes him with Himself as a true witness (iii. 11), declares that for the time being John's baptism with water is just as necessary as the future baptism with the Spirit (iii. 5; cf. the contrast i. 33), for a time practises it through His disciples (iii. 22, iv. 2), and, in order to avoid the appearance of rivalry, even gives up this work as soon as He sees that it may interfere with the activity of the Baptist (iv. 1). While, therefore, perfect harmony existed between John and Jesus, and not a few of John's disciples, accepting his testimony concerning Jesus and following his suggestion, left him in order to become henceforth disciples of Jesus (i. 35–51), and while many who heard John believed on Jesus later (x. 42), there were other followers of John who remained with him, refused to join themselves to Jesus, and in the spirit of envy endeavoured to stir the jealousy of their master against Jesus (iii. 26). But He who came from above, and so is above all (iii. 31), has no rival. Although John was a lamp which burned for a long time but was finally extinguished (v. 35), he is not *a* light of the world to be compared with the only one who is *the* Light of the World. Rather is he one of those who in obedience to a divine command exercised a calling limited both in time and scope (x. 35); nor has he any of the glory of the σημεῖα (x. 41) which distinguished Jesus as the Christ and the Son of God (xx. 30 f.). Just as John declares his entire subordination to Jesus, so Jesus also, when He has occasion to point out to the Jews their hostile attitude toward Himself from the be-

ginning of His ministry as contrasted with their favourable reception of John, states clearly that by the divine witness He is declared to be greater than John (v. 36; see § 69, n. 1). Not taking into account at all the Synoptics, in which scarcely any of this historical material is to be found (Luke iii. 15 f., v. 33–39, xi. 1; Matt. ix. 14–17; Mark ii. 18–22), from the manner in which the relations between John and Jesus are set forth—strongly emphasised even in the prologue—one is compelled to infer a polemical purpose on the part of the author. Among those in the circle about John there must have been some who attached overmuch importance to the personality of the Baptist, and who denied the definite distinction between him and Jesus. We have not sufficient historical knowledge to set forth, concretely, definitely, and with entire certainty, this fact which appears from the Fourth Gospel. But it is natural to assume that the after effects of the wrong attitude which some of the Baptist's disciples took toward Jesus were connected with or helped to give rise to the movement which the author opposes by his strong emphasis upon the incarnation, the truly human life and death of Jesus, and His bodily resurrection. There are also indications that it was in Ephesus especially, where, according to all the tradition, the Fourth Gospel originated, that the influences of the work of the Baptist continued to be felt, the connections of which with apostolic Christianity were ambiguous (n. 12).

This leads us to consider, finally, the question as to the nationality and home of the original readers of the Fourth Gospel. That they were familiar only with the Greek language is evidenced by the fact that the writer, who is fond of retaining the Hebrew or Aramaic form of the names of persons and things, translates them into Greek regularly at least the first time they are used, sometimes also in the second instance—i. 38 (cf. i. 49, iii. 2, 26, iv. 31, vi. 25, ix. 2, xi. 8), i. 41 (the second time in iv. 25), i. 42, ix. 7, xi. 16 (again in xx. 24, xxi. 2), xix. 13,

17, xx. 16. In only one instance does he leave the name of a place untranslated, and this name is of significance to himself because of the meaning of the word (v. 2, vol. i. 28, n. 15). Names of feasts and holidays like *πάσχα*, *σάββατον* did not need to be translated, because they had long since passed over into Christian usage; others, like *σκηνοπηγία* (vii. 2), *ἐγκαίνια* (x. 22), are given directly in their Greek form, the meaning being clear from the words themselves. With words like *ἀμήν* (i. 51), *ὡσαννά* (xii. 13) the readers were likewise familiar from their own cultus or the earlier Gospels. They are not familiar with Jewish customs and cultus practices, nor with the geography of Palestine. The author tells them that the usual route from Judea to Galilee led through Samaria (iv. 4, n. 13). The readers do not appear to know that Cana is in Galilee (ii. 1, 11, iv. 46, 54), nor are they familiar with the location of Bethany on Jordan (i. 28, x. 40), and of the other Bethany near Jerusalem (xi. 1, 18). Ephraim in Judea (xi. 54) is quite as unknown to them as Sychar in Samaria (iv. 5). He informs them for the first time that there is a pool in Jerusalem called Bethsaida (v. 2). To designate the Lake of Gennesaret, John uses *ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, which was to be found in Matt. iv. 18, xv. 29; Mark i. 16, vii. 31, and was therefore, perhaps, familiar to his readers. However, out of regard for them, who, because of their unfamiliarity with the geographical situation and the Jewish custom to call an inland lake also a sea, might have misunderstood his reference, he adds the other name of the Lake, *ἡ Τιβεριάς* (vi. 1, n. 14). Because the readers are accustomed yearly to celebrate a Christian Passover lasting for one day, and, on the other hand, know that the Jews, some of whom must have resided in their vicinity, celebrated the feast for several days, John uses the expression, "Passover of the Jews" (ii. 13; cf. vi. 4, xi. 55) in order to call their attention to the fact that Jesus' first sojourn in Jerusalem

covered an entire week (ii. 23, iv. 45). With the feast of Tabernacles they may have been familiar (vii. 2). It is necessary, however, to inform them that the last day was celebrated in Jerusalem with special solemnity (vii. 37); likewise that the Sabbath which fell within the Passover period was observed with special strictness (xix. 31). It is necessary at least to remind them that on Friday evening, just before the beginning of the Sabbath, Jews were unable to take an extended journey, even in order to bury a corpse (xix. 42). The presence of the large water jars in Cana he explains by reminding the readers of the custom of the Jews as to purification, with which perhaps the readers were familiar, but which they did not practise (ii. 6). Special attention is called to the particular manner in which the Jews bury their dead (xix. 40), in part at least because one feature of this description is to be noticed again in xx. 6. Probably it is John himself and not some glossator who remarks in iv. 9, in explanation of the conversation which there takes place, that the Jews and Samaritans are accustomed to hold no friendly intercourse with one another (n. 13), which makes the meaning of viii. 48 clear without any comment.

In a word, then, we conclude that the original readers of John were Greek Christians remote from Palestine. There is nothing which contradicts the tradition that they lived in the province of Asia. Assuming that the Gospel was written by the apostle John, this is proved with certainty by the date of the composition of the supplement (§ 66) and of the entire Gospel (§ 69), for at this time John was resident in Ephesus. This was also the seat of the unsound tendencies against which we have seen the Fourth Gospel to be directed (n. 9; cf. also § 69, n. 9).

1. (P. 304.) John uses σημεῖον regularly only of the deeds of Jesus (indirectly also in the negative statement of x. 41). He has the word 18 times: whereas in Matt. it is found only 6 or 7 times, in Mark only in viii. 11–12, and in Luke, omitting the parallels (xi. 16, 29–30), only in xxiii. 8; Paul uses it more frequently. It is appropriately used in the sense of אות, in

Ex. iv. 8 f., 17, for the demand of the Jews for some miraculous evidence of God's approval of Him whom He sent (John ii. 18, vi. 30; cf. 1 Cor. i. 22). John never uses *δυνάμεις*, so common in the Synoptics, and in addition to the word *σημεῖα* (once connected with *τέρατα*=*prodigia* in a passage where Jesus reproves the half faith which seeks confirmation by miracles, iv. 48) uses only *ἔργα* in an equivalent sense, v. 20, 36, vii. 3, 21, x. 25, 32, 33, 37, 38, xiv. 10–12, xv. 24. The only other passage where *ἔργα* is used in this sense is Matt. xi. 2.

2. (P. 308.) Concerning Μεσσίας, John i. 41, iv. 25 (nowhere else in the N.T.), see vol. i. 20 f. There is nothing peculiar about the use of the word by the Samaritan woman. For even if the Samaritan title for the Messiah תַּהֵב (the "Restorer"; cf. Cowley in the *Expositor*, 1895, March, p. 165, in opposition to Merx and Hilgenfield) does go back so far, this woman who remarks upon the religious differences between the Jews and the Samaritans must have known the Jewish name, and could have employed it in conversation with the Jews. Concerning *ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, i. 34, see above, p. 284 n. 2. Both this title and *ὁ ἅγιος τ. θ.*, vi. 69 (ℵBC*DL), have been replaced by *ὁ υἱὸς τ. θ.* (Sc and the old Latin versions), more frequently preceded by *ὁ* Χριστός (so also in Ss) and followed by *τοῦ ζῶντος*. Matt. xvi. 16 was preferred to Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34 (cf. Acts iii. 14, iv. 27, 30). Cf. also John x. 36, xvii. 19. John uses also *ὁ* Χριστός 14 times, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός twice (i. 17, xvii. 3), once Χριστόν (ix. 22), as a predicate. Mention may be made also of *ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ* Ἰσραήλ or *τῶν* Ἰουδαίων (above, p. 309), and *ὅτι ἐλώ εἰμι*, viii. 24, 28, where *ὁ* Χριστός, or a synonym, must be supplied.

3. (Pp. 310, 312.) The stately tone of the English phrases "The only-begotten" (John i. 14) and "The only-begotten Son of God" (iii. 16, 18; 1 John iv. 9) is lessened when we remember that every only son is spoken of in this way (Luke vii. 12, viii. 42, ix. 38; Tob. iii. 15; Clem. *1 Cor.* xxv. 2 of the Phœnix). The word is used to translate יחיד and בן יחיד in Judg. xi. 34; Ps. xxii. 20 LXX; Gen. xxii. 2; Jer. vi. 26 Aquila; Heb. xi. 17 (*ὁ ἴδιος υἱός* instead in Rom. viii. 32). But since the same expression is usually translated in the LXX by *ἀγαπητός* (Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16; Zech. xii. 10; Jer. vi. 26, see also the variant reading in Judg. xi. 34 (it follows that *ἀγαπητός* in Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5; Mark i. 11, ix. 7, xii. 6 (*ἕνα . . . υἱὸν ἀγ.*); Luke iii. 22, xx. 13; 2 Pet. i. 17 (cf. Col. i. 13), is synonymous with *μονογενής* in John. It may be considered as proved that the correct reading in John i. 18 is *μονογενὴς θεός* without *ὁ* (not *ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*); cf. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 1876; *GK*, i. 736, *Forsch.* i. 122. The following is the sense of the two affirmations of i. 1 and i. 14: One, who was God, and therefore One who in His essence is and continues to be God, since He cannot cease to be God, and who at the same time by reason of His incarnation is God's only Son, has revealed to us men the God who otherwise cannot be known. In x. 33–38 also the conception of the Son of God is such as to include His divine being. Not only the accusation of the Jews, but also the scriptural proof adduced by Jesus, show that He called Himself God—a claim which the Jews repudiated, but which Jesus held to be justified. When in x. 36 Jesus calls Himself "Son of God" instead of God, the title is in accord with His matter of fact method of speech; but is so much the less to be regarded as an intentional weakening of what He has just proven from the Scriptures, namely, His right to call Himself

God, since in Ps. lxxxii. 6 "gods" and "sons of the Highest" are used interchangeably. Because His consecration to His calling coincides with His sending into the world or even precedes it, He is in person and vocation the Son and the Holy One of God (x. 36, cf. vi. 69). But since the consecration and the sending presuppose His existence, that is to say, His supramundane and ante-historic existence, His Sonship of God includes His deity. Everything He possesses, even life itself, is a gift of God, and yet possessed by Him as God Himself possesses it; in other words, He does not, like created beings, find the conditions and means of life outside Himself, but in Himself. For this reason also he has the Godlike power to impart His life without Himself losing it, v. 26, vi. 57.

4. (P. 312.) Valentinus, the Gnostic (above, p. 176), and Justin, "the philosopher," were the first to discover in the prologue a Logos doctrine, or rather they were the first to read the doctrine into the prologue. That this was not the way in which the original readers understood the prologue is evidenced by Ignatius, earlier than either Justin or Valentinus, and the first clear witness for the Fourth Gospel, when, in *Magn.* viii. 2 he writes: "God is one, who has revealed Himself through Jesus Christ, His Son, who is His Word proceeding out of the silence, who in all things was well-pleasing to the one who sent Him" (*Patr. Ap.* ii. 36, 201, also editions of Lightfoot and Funk). Consequently the man Jesus is called the Word of God, because, after a long silence, in Him, His Son, God finally spoke clearly and audibly to men, revealing Himself not only through Jesus' teachings, but equally through His deeds (cf. Ign. *ad Eph.* xv. 1). As to His person, Jesus is "the infallible mouth, by which the Father has truly spoken" (*ad Rom.* viii. 2), the *γνώμη* of the Father (*ad Eph.* iii. 2), the *γνῶσις* of God (*ad Eph.* xvii. 2); cf. Zahn, *Ignatius von Ant.* S. 382 f., 472 f. Traces of this early Christian "Logos Doctrine" are found elsewhere, *e.g.* in the "Kerugma of Peter" in Clem. *Ecl. Proph.* 58 (*νόμος καὶ λόγος αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγεται*), and in later writers; cf. the writer's *Hirt des Hermas*, S. 147 f. The one-sided tendency to consider only the name of the Logos and not the many similar titles found especially in the Fourth Gospel, such as Truth, Light, Life, etc., is appropriately condemned, especially by Origen, in his *Commentary on John*, tom. i, 21–39. The opinion which, notwithstanding this protest, has remained prevalent no one has expressed more unfortunately than Keim (*Gesch. Jesu* i. 125): "Cannot all the flesh and blood in this history be explained from the philosophy which sits at the entrance and distributes the admission tickets and the programmes?"

5. (Pp. 312, 313, 314.) To be compared with the lack of all explanation of the readers' familiarity with the use of *ὁ λόγος* as a name for Christ, which familiarity is presupposed in the prologue, is the manner in which Paul connects with Christ ideas not directly derived from the gospel history or from current ecclesiastical usage (1 Cor. x. 4; Col. i. 27, ii. 2), or lets such ideas appear as predicates in sentences where Christ is the subject (1 Cor. i. 30; 2 Cor. iii. 17, iv. 4; Col. i. 15; Eph. v. 23), and this peculiarity of John may also be compared with Ignatius' procedure in similar cases (see preceding note). In addition to analogies and foreshadowings of the use of the name "Logos" noted in the text and in notes 6–8, special attention is called to x. 35 (cf. n. 3, and Luthardt, *Das joh. Ev.*[2] i. 273). Where the O.T.

prophets are spoken of as those to whom the word of God came (Jer. i. 4; Luke iii. 2), and Jesus likewise is represented as having to do with the word of God (John vii. 16, viii. 26, xiv. 10, xvii. 6–8, 17), it would seem almost necessary that the distinction between them and Jesus should be brought out, namely, that this connection with the word of God is original, involving His entire personality. But even in x. 35 the author does not attribute these thoughts to Jesus. The use of the term in i. 1 and i. 14 is mainly responsible for the opinion that ὁ λόγος in the prologue is a specific name for the pre-existing Christ, or for His eternal and unchangeable essence. But it must be remembered, *first*, that the apostolic Church had no specific name for Christ's essence apart from His human manifestation. Even when speaking of Him as pre-existing the Church used names applicable to men—Jesus, Christ, the Son of God, the Lord, Eph. i. 3 f.; Phil. ii. 5 f.; Col. i. 13–20; 1 Cor. viii. 6, x. 4, 9. In a sentence like John i. 1, Paul would have used ὁ Χριστός; according to xii. 41 (cf. ver. 32, viii. 58; Jude 5 (vol. ii. 252 f.)), John might have used even Ἰησοῦς instead of ὁ λόγος in i. 1, just as well, however, ἡ ζωή (1 John i. 2) or τὸ φῶς, ἡ ἀλήθεια κτλ. It showed better taste to put the more general name at the beginning, and not to employ the common historical names until the passage where Moses, through whom the first revelation came to Israel, is contrasted with Jesus, through whom the final revelation was made (i. 17). Consequently the use of λόγος in i. 1 indicates nothing as to the source whence Jesus derived this name, and as to the length of time He had borne it. In the *second* place, it is just as impossible to infer from the use of this name in i. 14 that Jesus was so called apart from His incarnation and in contrast to it. The name is used here again appropriately because in vv. 14–18 the author is about to show fully how far the historical Jesus is the complete and final revelation—*i.e.* the Word—of God. Further, the reappearance of ὁ λόγος in these verses is for the sake of reference to and connection with ver. 1. Just as ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν in ver. 10 stands in contrast to ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν in ver. 1, so the σὰρξ ἐγένετο in ver. 14 stands in contrast to θεὸς ἦν in ver. 1. No contrast exists between the subject and predicate of ver. 14*a*; but between the predicates in ver. 1 on the one hand and ver. 14 on the other hand, given the one and the same subject called ὁ λόγος, there is a sharp and intelligible contrast. For the concept of the word does not at all involve immateriality; the word is rather thought become perceptible to the senses; the spoken word is audible, it can sound loud or soft, pleasant or harsh; the written word is visible, and when it is cut in stone or printed in the blind-alphabet, may be perceived even by the sense of touch. On the contrary, the spirit is contrasted to the flesh in John (iii. 6, vi. 63) as everywhere in the Bible (God, however, is spirit (iv. 24, cf. xxxi. 3)). He, who in the beginning was God, and therefore spirit, became flesh, *i.e.* a man of flesh and blood. He became a member of the human race, which John also calls πᾶσα σάρξ (xvii. 2). It is self-evident that He was not changed into flesh, as the water into wine (ii. 9) or the stones into bread (Matt. iv. 3); for He, who is God without beginning, cannot in that sense cease to be such a being. The correct text of i. 18 states this to excess (above, n. 3); accordingly, therefore, there is meant only an exchanging of the one mode of being and form of appearance with another, a metamorphosis in the essential meaning of the word (cf. Phil. ii. 6 f.), by which the identity of the ego is not destroyed.

Still less are we to think of such a transformation of the *Logos* into flesh, by which He would cease to be the Logos. For, whatever may be included in the name ὁ λόγος, it must, however, at any rate be predicated of the one who became flesh; indeed, strictly taken, it may first be predicated of the one who has become flesh. One principal reason for the continued misinterpretation of ver. 14 lies in the untenable opinion, that finally at this point the transition is made from the representation of the being and activity of the pre-existent to the description of the one appearing as man, whereas from ver. 4 onwards reference is made only to the one who has become man. If one accepts as genuine the text of ver. 13, presented above, p. 288, n. 7, it must be fully admitted that this transition is not first made with ver. 14. Rather the statement concerning the begetting of Jesus by God without the aid of a man is extended by the sentence, that in and with this begetting the Logos—which in the beginning and from the beginning until His miraculous begetting as man was God—became flesh.

6. (P. 315.) Since in 1 John i. 1 τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς in the sense of gospel (Phil. ii. 16; Acts v. 20) could very easily be connected as a loose appositional phrase (cf. Acts x. 37, τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα) with the four relative clauses which are the objects of ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν, the use of the construction περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς is a positive proof that this connection is intentionally excluded. Not the word of life which the apostles proclaim, but the person about which their preaching centres, namely, Jesus, is meant (1 John v. 9, 10; John i. 7, 15, v. 31–46, x. 41, xii. 41, xv. 26; Rom. i. 3, xv. 21; Acts viii. 12). In the preceding relative clauses also, this person who always existed, all the manifestations of whose life and whose physical qualities were sensibly perceived by the apostles with ears, eyes, and hands, is meant, but described impersonally and by a paraphrase. All that was audible, visible, and tangible which the disciples were able to perceive in their intercourse with Jesus, is summed up in the ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς, and, as the change in the construction shows, referred back to its centre. The ἀπαγγέλλειν τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (vol. ii. 377, n. 2)=ἀπαγγέλλειν and μαρτυρεῖν περὶ Ἰησου. But the personal Logos is not called ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς because He gives life, but because He has life in Himself (John i. 4), *i.e.* is living; or, as the substitution of the idea ἡ ζωή in ver. 2 shows, by means of an appositional genitive, He is Himself described as the one who is in person life; cf. John xi. 25, xiv. 6.

7. (P. 315.) In Rev. xix. 12, ἔχων ὄνομα γεγραμμένον ὅ has the strongest MS. authority (to which S^2 has been recently added). The reading ὀνόματα γεγραμμένα ἅ is due to the mention of many diadems in the same verse. In BS^3 the two readings are confused. In ver. 13 the present writer considers κέκληται to be the correct reading. The testimony of the versions as such for καλεῖται has no great weight. Although in xix. 16 we have the names directly connected with the judgment, the name ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, which is outside of the vision, is not without reference to the coming of Christ to judgment. If Christ did not come, or if He did not conquer and administer judgment, then He would not be, what He as the Word of God must be, truthful and reliable (cf. xix. 9, 11, iii. 14).

8. (P. 316.) Although originally an adjective, אמן is never so used either in the O.T. (where נאמן and אמון are used instead) or in the N.T. Consequently, it is not so used in Rev. iii. 14, where it would be a mere parade of

learning, since *ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός* immediately follows. The readers were familiar with *ἀμήν* only as an adverbial exclamation. Elsewhere, when used substantively, *τὸ ἀμήν* (1 Cor. xiv. 16; 2 Cor. i. 20) occurs, but *ὁ ἀμήν* is used here because it is the name of a man. Practically the same thought is expressed by the synonym *ναί* in 2 Cor. i. 19. The primary reference is to Christ as preached (cf. Rom. x. 5–8). As such He is not at the same time both Yea and Nay, but in Him is a Yea which cannot be contradicted. Moreover, in relation to the promises of the O.T., Christ Himself is found the confirming Yea to all the questions contained in and suggested by prophecy. According to Paul, therefore, Christ is a word of God spoken unto the world at the end of days, an affirming word, itself in turn confirmed by the Amen of the Church.

9. (Pp. 319, 325.) The contradiction between John vii. 8 and John vii. 10 early led to a change of the reading *οὐκ ἀναβ.* (ℵD Sc Ss, etc.), which could not have been invented into *οὔπω ἀναβ.* (BL Sah. etc.). Appealing to this passage, Porphyrius (in Jerome, *c. Pelag.* ii. 17) accuses Jesus of *inconstantia et mutatio.* Schopenhauer (*Grundprobleme der Ethik*, 2te Aufl. S. 225) in proving that falsehood is not unconditionally wrong, cites the fact that on one occasion "even Jesus Christ intentionally told an untruth." Something of the same contrast is to be observed between ii. 4 and ii. 7 f.

10. (P. 319.) Reference to the fulfilment of O.T. prophecy in the gospel history is more frequently made by John (i. 23, 45, ii. 17, 22 [*τῇ γραφῇ*], xii. 14 f., 38–41, xix. 24, 36, xx. 9) and by Jesus Himself in the Fourth Gospel (v. 39, 46 f., vi. 45, xiii. 18, xv. 25, xvii. 12) than by Mark and Luke. The point of view, however, is entirely different from that in Matt. In Matthew the purpose is apologetic, namely, to prove to the Jews that in the very respect in which Jesus was an offence to His people, He fulfilled prophecy —when this is rightly interpreted (vol. ii. 560 f.); on the other hand, John does not attempt to refute formally and in detail the objections raised by the Jews on the ground of the apparent lack of correspondence between prophecy and fulfilment (i. 46, vi. 42, vii. 27, 41 f., 52, xii. 34). This contradiction is met by the fulfilment in Jesus of God's plan of salvation foreshadowed in the O.T. by example and by word (i. 14, 16, 17, 23, 33, 41, 45, iii. 14, iv. 26, 42, v. 39, 46 f., vii. 31, ix. 37, x. 11, 35, xii. 37–41), which general position the Christian readers of the Gospel accepted, and which is frequently attested in the Fourth Gospel without detailed instances. On Him as the agent of salvation, God has set His seal (vi. 27), and whoever believes in Him, becomes by the change thus wrought in himself a confirming seal of the truthfulness and loyalty of God in the fulfilling of His promises (iii. 33, cf. vi. 35; 1 Cor. ix. 2; 2 Cor. iii. 2). So that the agreement between prophecy and fulfilment which catches the eye, becomes a matter of great significance for the faith of believers. Just as the first disciples were strengthened by the discovery of this agreement even after the death and resurrection of Jesus (ii. 22, vii. 39, xii. 16, 37–41, xiii. 18, xv. 25, xix. 24, 36 f., xx. 9), so here references to it are designed to strengthen the faith of the readers. The same is true also of the predictions of Jesus Himself (ii. 19–22, vi. 70 f., xii. 32 f., xiii. 19–29, xiii. 38, xvi. 4, xviii. 9, 32); to which for this reason the solemn *ἵνα πληρωθῇ* is applied (xviii. 9, 32), as it is likewise to the prophetic testimony of the Baptist (x. 41), and even to the unintentional prophecy of Caiaphas

(xi. 51). This is the significance also of the prophetic utterances dealing with the past and bringing to light the hidden things of the present. Jesus is a "seer," who does not need human intervention in order to know things most secret, when His calling demands such knowledge (ii. 24 f., iv. 16–18, 29, 39, 50, 52, vi. 64, 70, xiii. 10 f., 18, xxi. 15–17). Although Jesus rejects the dogma that every affliction suffered by the individual is punishment for his personal sins (ix. 2 f.), in a particular case He does recognise this to be the relation of sin to suffering (v. 14). It is the inexplicable manifestation of such deep, prophetic insight that overwhelms Nathanael and the Samaritan woman (i. 47–50, iv. 16–19, 29, 38). Is was this insight which qualified Jesus to be the Good Shepherd, who knows every member of His flock, calling it by name and dealing with it in accordance with its individual characteristics (x. 3, 14, 27 ; cf. i. 42, xx. 16). The way in which John treats prophecy and prediction throughout the Gospel proves that he is not like Matthew an apologetic historian, much less a speculative religious philosopher, but the pastor and spiritual guide of his readers.

11. (P. 321.) The negative answer in John i. 21, 25 to the question as to whether John is Elijah, which in the light of Matt. xi. 10, 14, xvii. 10–13 ; Mark i. 2, ix. 11–13 ; Luke vii. 27, seems remarkable, is no absolute answer ; since in John iii. 28 John speaks of himself as the one prophesied in Mal. iii. 1, hence as Elijah (Mal. iii. 23). Moreover, the principal mission which in i. 31 he ascribes to himself is, according to the doctrine of the Jewish schools, that of Elijah ; cf. Just. *Dial.* viii. 49 ; Goldfahn, *Justin und die Agada*, S. 34 f. ; better Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* § 77. There is also a strong resemblance between John v. 35 and Sirach xlviii. 1. In John i. 21, therefore, the question is answered in the negative only in the superstitious sense in which it was asked (cf. Matt. xvi. 14, xxvii. 47, 49 ; Mark vi. 15, viii. 28, xv. 35 f.) ; on the other hand, it is affirmed in the sense of Luke i. 17. John was also obliged in i. 21, 25 to answer in the negative the question as to whether he was the prophet ; because this idea was used in connection with that of the Messiah, without a clear distinction being made between them, and might easily be confused with the latter (vi. 14 f., vii. 40).

12. (P. 323.) It is true that in Acts xix. 1–7 nothing is said about "disciples of John," simply disciples being mentioned, *i.e.* according to the usage of Acts, believing worshippers of Jesus, *i.e.* Christians. But since prior to the time when Paul came to Ephesus they had not received the baptism of the Church, and knew nothing of a baptism followed by the gift of the Holy Spirit, their Christianity was independent of the Church and preceded it. They could have received the baptism of John only from John the Baptist himself, or possibly, since we are informed in John iii. 22–iv. 2 that the baptism of John was used by the disciples of Jesus, from the latter ; they had not prior to this time been members of a Christian Church, into which no one was received without Christian baptism at the hands of the Church. It is not distinctly stated in xviii. 25 that Apollos likewise had received the baptism of John, and hence it is not expressly stated that he afterwards received the baptism of the Church. But he also represents a form of Christianity earlier than the Church (vol. i. 262). When he came to Ephesus, he was familiar only with the baptism of John, and therefore knew nothing of the Church and its baptism. Moreover, his knowledge of

the Christian teaching needed to be completed by Aquila. If these statements of Luke be correct, then faith in Jesus and a relatively accurate knowledge of His history (Acts xviii. 25, *ἀκριβῶς*) must have reached Alexandria (xviii. 24) and Ephesus prior to the time of Acts ii. 1, 38, and possibly even before the death of Jesus, through Jews who in Palestine had come to believe the preaching of John the Baptist and the testimony of Jesus to Himself, perhaps through visitors at the feasts from the Diaspora (Luke xxiii. 26, xxiv. 18; Acts xxi. 25). The danger, which lay in this form of Christianity unrelated to the Church, was averted by Paul and his friends in the case of the twelve disciples at Ephesus and of Apollos. We do not know whether this was true also in the case of all those at Ephesus and elsewhere related in the same or a similar manner to Jesus and His Church. Whether this happened in the case of the disciples of John in Palestine, who in Jesus' own time kept themselves separate from Him (Matt. ix. 14 ff.; John iii. 25 ff.), is even more uncertain. Reference may be made here to 1 John ii. 19, according to which the connection of certain errorists with the Christian Church seems from the first not to have been beyond question. Furthermore, it is not at all impossible that the confused statements concerning a connection between the followers of the Baptist and the semi-Christian adherents of Simon Magus and Dositheus have some basis in fact (Clem. *Hom.* ii. 22–24; *Recogn.* i. 54, 60, ii. 7–12). Moreover, the Mandæans or Sabians, with their worship of the prophet John, the son of Zachariah, and their anti-Christian system are probably only the Eastern descendants of a Palestinian gnosis which appealed to the authority of the Baptist, and rejected the Messiahship of Jesus, although they may have adopted many Babylonian elements into their system. This is not the place in which to dispute the assertions of Baldensperger, which overshoot the mark, *Der Prolog. des 4 Ev. sein apologetisch polemischer Zweck*, 1898.

13. (Pp. 324, 325.) In John iv. 4, *ἔδει* (cf. Luke xi. 42, xix. 5, xxii. 7) means little more than *ἔθος ἦν* in Jos. *Ant.* xxii. 6. 1, referring to the same route; cf. *Bell.* ii. 12. 3; *Vita*, 52 (*ἔδει* for those who desired to travel rapidly), also the remarkable parallels to John iv. in Bereshith Rabba, chaps. xxxiii. and lxxxi. (trans. by Wünsche, S. 141, 398). Jesus Himself would have travelled through Samaria on His last journey to Jerusalem, if the Samaritans had been willing to furnish Him lodging (Luke ix. 51–56, above, p. 89 f. n. 19). The strong expression in John iv. 4, which is not, however, to be pressed too far, is chosen, in order to emphasise the fact that Jesus travelled through Samaria without any intention of working there, and met with unexpected success, which astonished even Him. It is uncertain whether *οὐ γὰρ συνχρῶνται Ἰουδαῖοι Σαμαρείταις* in iv. 9 is to be omitted, with ℵ*D a b e, or to be retained, as in all other MSS. (including the contemporary first corrector of ℵ, also Sc Ss, and probably therefore also Tatian, *Forsch.* i. 159). The classical brevity of the insertion is in favour of its genuineness. Strong evidence to the effect that John continued to live entirely under the influence of home surroundings and opinions, is to be found in the fact that he sometimes omits an explanation, where it would seem to be very necessary. To John himself the name Bethesda (v. 2, cf. ver. 42) is important, because of the meaning of the word (vol. i. 28, n. 15), and he recalls the connection between the ceremony of the seventh day of the feast

of Tabernacles and the words spoken by Jesus on this day, vii. 37 f.; but in neither case does he take the trouble to make these relations clear to his readers—who were not familiar with them.

14. (P. 324.) From the fact that τῆς Τιβεριάδος (xxi. 2) is alone given as the name of the Lake, it is probably to be concluded that outside of Palestine this name was already the better known. When Jos. *Bell.* iii. 10. 1 writes, ἡ λίμνη . . ., ἣ καλεῖται Γεννησὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, and Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, v. 71, *Pacum quem plures genesarum vocant*, it is equivalent to saying that alongside of this name another, or many such, were used. According to Pliny, *loc. cit.*, the Lake bore among other names also that of the town *Tarichea*. Matthew and Mark use only ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας, although they know Γεννησαρέτ as the name of the country (Matt. xiv. 34; Mark vi. 53). Of the Gospels only Luke in v. 1 has ἡ λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ; Jos. with or without λίμνη, regularly ἡ Γεννησάρ (*Bell.* ii. 20. 6, iii. 10. 1, x. 7 and 8), and in the later writings the Hellenised form ἡ Γεννησαρίς or Γεννησαρῖτις, *Ant.* v. 1. 22, xviii. 2. 1 and 3; *Vita*, 65 (Niese, 349). With this, however, we read in his *Bell.*, published between 75 and 79 (iii. 3. 5), μέχρι τῆς πρὸς Τιβεριάδα λίμνης, and (iv. 8. 2) twice ἡ Τιβεριέων (*sc.* λίμνη), corresponding to the Talmudic מברית שׁל יַמָּה. The translation of John is more exact than the circumlocutions of Josephus.

§ 69. INTEGRITY, DATE OF COMPOSITION, AND GENUINENESS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

One of the principal causes for the degeneracy of the text of the earlier Gospels is practically non-existent as far as the Fourth Gospel is concerned, namely, the irresistible tendency to make similar accounts resemble one another yet more closely. The thoroughly distinctive character of the Gospel prevented confusion of its text with that of the Synoptics. It is more natural to suppose that such details as the inscription over the cross in three languages (xix. 20, xxiv. 34), the notice of the casting of lots for the coat, and the piercing of Jesus' side with a spear, were inserted in the Synoptics (Matt. xxvii. 35, 49; Luke xxiii. 38) from John, than that John's Gospel was enriched by citations from them, although early changes in the text of John made on the basis of the Synoptics are not wanting (*e.g.* i. 34, vi. 69). More frequently changes in the original text are due to the boldness of John's thought or the awkwardness of his language (n. 1). There are also early

glosses which become widely current (n. 2), and one undeniable interpolation which came to be almost universally regarded as a part of the Fourth Gospel (vii. 53–viii. 11, n. 3). The main reason why the work of the original author has been preserved practically intact is the fact, it was intended originally for the Church, and so was read in the congregations. In this respect it had the advantage of the letters sent by the apostles to the Churches (vol. i. 159), to which the two addresses to the readers which it contains give it a certain resemblance. The attempts to distinguish the later elements in the Gospel have proved illuminating only to those who have undertaken their separation (n. 4), while the assumption that disorder of sequence has been created in the Gospel through the accidental misplacing and loss of leaves, presupposes so many unlikely accidents (n. 5) that attention need only be called to it in a text-book.

The investigation of the supplement (§ 66) has shown that this, and consequently the entire Gospel, could not have been written after the year 100. With this conclusion agrees the entire Church tradition, which even the ancient deniers of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel did not venture to reject (above, pp. 177 f., 180). On the other hand, the supplement could not have been written before the death of Peter, and we saw that it seemed probable that a number of years elapsed after 64 and 70 before it was written (above, p. 240 f.), a *Terminus a quo* determined wholly on exegetical grounds, but, like the *Terminus ad quem*, confirmed by the unanimous tradition. Now, it is possible that, while the composition of chap. xxi. certainly belongs later than the year 70, chaps. i.–xx. were written considerably earlier. But the history of the book shows that prior to the addition of the supplement it was confined to a very small group of readers, so that only a short interval could have intervened between the composition of chaps. i.–xx. and chap. xxi. This conclusion is confirmed by the in-

vestigation of the relation of chaps. i.–xx. to the Synoptics (§ 67), as a result of which we were compelled to bring the composition of the entire book down to the year 75, probably to some time between 80 and 90. This statement may be regarded as proved, until the representatives of other views discuss more fundamentally than they have done heretofore the proofs for the statement derived from tradition, the book itself, and comparative criticism. The attempt has been made frequently, but manifestly without warrant, to prove from the present tense in v. 2 that the Gospel of John was written before the year 60 (n. 6). Much more frequently a later composition of the Gospel has been assumed, always in consequence of the denial of its composition by the apostle John.

That for a hundred years the question of the genuineness of this Gospel should have been discussed zealously, even heatedly, without any resulting agreement among otherwise capable critics, is comprehensible and almost self-evident (n. 7). The contents of the book and its demands upon the reader are too great for it to be otherwise. Since the second century we have had exaggerated representations of its peculiarities; speculations and mysteries foreign to it have been found in it; though there are not lacking more sober treatments of the Gospel, which establish beyond question its unique place among the books of the N.T. In this Gospel alone do we find an historical scheme of the work of Jesus, which enables us to arrange the material supplied by the other tradition, and which gives us a picture of the development of events in the history of the world of the utmost significance for religion, and so for mankind. And this scheme is filled out with detail, which to the intelligence limited to the things of ordinary experience must seem *a priori* to be merely fantastic inventions, but which through all the centuries of the Gospel's existence have been received by multitudes of both wise and foolish men as disclosures of

truth essential for life and death, and held to with glowing love. Here are deeds which defy every attempt to bring them under the laws of action which are daily observed and commonly accepted; sayings of Jesus which cannot be derived by inference from other sayings attributed to Him by tradition. And all this makes a stronger claim to historical trustworthiness than does any other account of Jesus' life. The Gospels of Mark and Luke were put forth as the writings of disciples of the apostles, reproducing not what the authors themselves had experienced, but the accounts of others. There is nothing in Matthew which indicates a direct personal relation between the author and the contents of his book, and not only does his book lack clear personal testimony of the author, but there is no witness of contemporaries which can be traced back to its origin. On the other hand, the Fourth Gospel contains the personal testimony of its author in the solemn form of an oath (above, p. 217 f.), and at its close is found a testimony to his authorship and truthfulness written in the author's lifetime by friends of his, and made an inseparable part of the original Gospel.

So long as and wherever Christianity is conditioned by what Jesus was, and did, and taught, it will be conditioned also by the answer given to the question concerning the genuineness, and consequently the trustworthiness, of this Gospel. Among thoughtful persons there are only a few who admit that the book was written by an eye-witness and apostle, and yet deny its trustworthiness in essential points (n. 8). A writer who makes truthfulness the condition of all knowledge of the truth and of the possession of eternal life (i. 47, iii. 20 f., iv. 16–18, xvii. 17, xviii. 37), and declares the Devil to be the father of lies and deceits (vi. 70, viii. 44, xiii. 2, 27) by every attempt made to confirm the personal testimony of i. 14, especially by the deceptive retrospect in xii. 37–43, and the solemn assurance in xix. 35, would call down upon himself almost

unutterable condemnation, if he declared to be deeds and sayings of Jesus things which he knew better than his critics Jesus had never done or said. It is not on purely scientific grounds, therefore, but out of pure necessity, that the majority of those who distrust the historical testimony of the Fourth Gospel on internal grounds deny also its composition by an eye-witness and apostle, and that others, not so decided in their opinions, seek to straddle the question of the Gospel's genuineness, by a reinterpretation either of the tradition or of the internal evidence of the Fourth Gospel. The scientific grounds for the denial of the genuineness of the Gospel, either wholly or in part, have been discovered after it has been determined to seek them. The arguments derived from the relation of John to the Synoptics, on the presupposition that the latter are essentially trustworthy, have been answered in § 67 (cf. also § 63). Other arguments based upon a comparison of the Gospel with Revelation, on the presupposition that this is a work by the apostle John, cannot be discussed until Revelation has been investigated. All the other arguments consist of very questionable observations.

It is true that in many sections the narrative lacks the clearness and definiteness which we should expect from an eye-witness. While John shares Mark's tendency to retain the Aramaic form of names and addresses (vol. ii. 502, n. 1, and above, pp. 307 f., 323 ; below, n. 13), he lacks Mark's pictorial gift. Scenes which begin with a certain amount of definiteness have no conclusion ; *e.g.* the passages iii. 21, v. 47, xx. 23, 29, xxi. 22 (cf. also ii. 20, iii. 36) end with a saying of Jesus instead of a narrative statement, although there is no lack of definiteness in the beginning of these narratives (cf. Matt. xxviii. 16–20). In xiv. 31 nothing is said which indicates that the disciples followed the bidding of Jesus to rise from the table and leave the meal, or the manner in which they did it ; but in xvii. 1

(cf. xi. 41) we notice that at that moment Jesus was in the open air. Only by a careful reading of xii. 21–36 do we learn that the request of the Greeks was not granted (xii. 20). The representation of the course of events in vi. 21–24 is very awkward. Where and under what circumstances sayings like xii. 44–50, the beginnings of which (xii. 44, ἔκραξεν) show that they are not unrelated sayings thrown together like Matt. iii. 2, Mark i. 15, were spoken, we are not informed. In other instances, where the beginning lacks the desired definiteness, the name of the place is given farther on in the narrative (i. 28, vi. 59, viii. 20). In this the author does not seem to have any special purpose, *e.g.*, to answer the question which one who heard an oral narrative might ask afterwards as to where the event narrated took place. At the same time, we notice an accuracy of details and a clearness in the delineation of things secondary and unimportant (n. 9) which reveals the vividness of the author's underlying conception. In clear characterisation of the persons who appear (above, pp. 224 f., 302), and in brief original sayings, which are not without a touch of delicate humour and bitter irony (i. 46, iv. 15, vii. 3, 28, 35, 48 f., 52, viii. 19, 22, 48, 57, ix. 20 f., 24–34, xi, 11, 16, xviii. 31, 35, 38, 39, xix. 5, 14, 19, 22), the incidents and conversations in i. 46–50, iv. 6–26, ix. 1–41, xi. 1–44, xviii. 29–xix. 22 are without parallel in narrative literature. The numerous elements which were accustomed to mingle on the occasion of the great feasts in Jerusalem (xviii. 20) are clearly delineated : the natives of Jerusalem (vii. 25); the multitudes of festival pilgrims (vii. 12, 31, 40), who disappeared again (viii. 12–x. 21) when it was over (cf. vii. 37); those non-Jews who came to the feast (xii. 20); the Pharisees who, notwithstanding their contempt for the multitude ignorant of the law (vii. 49, n. 10 end), mingle with it, observing the people's expression of feeling and motives, and dispute with Jesus (i. 24, above, p. 283 f. ; iv. 1, vii. 32, 47, viii. 13, ix. 13, 40, xi. 46, xii. 19),

in clear distinction from the ruling aristocracy, the high priests, who hold themselves aloof (especially vii. 48, xii. 42). John is aware that the Pharisaic party is practically identical with the guild of the scribes, and dominates in the synagogue (iii. 10; cf. vii. 49, xii. 42), although he never mentions the scribes (n. 10). He also knows that they are represented in the Sanhedrin along with the ruling party (iii. 1, vii. 47, 50). They have an interest in the religious movement set on foot by the Baptist and Jesus, which is prompted by religious motives, but they are able to take practical steps to regulate this movement only by bringing the observations which they have made among the people before the Sanhedrin, which then takes action, issues orders for arrests, and gives other directions (vii. 32, 45, ix. 22, xi. 46–53, 57, xii. 10, xviii. 3, 12–28). The moral influence of the Pharisees is greater in the Sanhedrin than that of the high priests (xii. 42), but the latter have more political courage. It is the ruling high priest who suggests that Jesus be got rid of, and how this may be done (xi. 49). In similar decisions with reference to Lazarus (xii. 10), and in the prosecution of the matter before Pilate, in which all law and all of Israel's religious hope were trampled under foot, the Pharisees do not seem to have had part. Only the high priests and their servants are represented as speaking (xix. 6, 12–15, 21). It needed only the skill of an historian, which John lacks, to create out of such material a monument of historical art; and it needed only a slightly poetic temperament, which John also lacks, to transform narratives like chaps. iv. ix. xi. into engrossing romances, and to make out of the material in chaps. vii. xviii.–xix. a thrilling drama. It is just this lack of art, along with accurate knowledge of innumerable small details and a correct historical view, which proves that the author is a Jewish Christian from Palestine and an eye-witness.

It would require learning, which none of the critics of

the Fourth Gospel can claim, to convict of ignorance on these very points the author, who occasionally informs his readers who are not Jews and who do not live in Palestine, of the location of places in his native land and of the customs of his people (above, p. 324). The opinion that he is not well informed with regard to geographical matters (n. 11) and political conditions in Palestine in the time of Jesus (n. 12) cannot be established. It is likely to become gradually more and more clear that it is better for us to learn from John with regard to these matters, rather than to criticise him without knowledge superior to his own. As evidenced by the Hebrew and Aramaic words and names which he retains, he, like Mark, is familiar with the language of his people. Nor does he, in translating these terms, make such mistakes as are to be found in the Greek Matthew and even in Luke (n. 13), *e.g.* in his translation of the name of Iscariot (n. 11). In his use of the Greek language also he betrays his Hebrew origin. While the book in respect of vocabulary, grammar, and style has a thoroughly unified character, and shows nothing of the patchwork of both of Luke's books (above, pp. 79, 104), the character of the language of the Fourth Gospel proves with complete certainty that it cannot have been written (n. 14) either by a Greek or by a Hellenist in the narrow meaning of the word (vol. i. 39 f.). Only a very one-sided and short-sighted comparison with certain stylistic peculiarities of the Book of Revelation, such as Dionysius of Alexandria made (Eus. *H. E.* vii. 25. 25 f.), could lead to a misunderstanding of this fact. The author's knowledge of the O.T. is not confined to the LXX, which he generally follows (n. 15). The peculiar use of the term *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι* has been thought to betray the non-Jewish character of the author. However, (1) those passages must be left out of account in which the Jewish author informs his non-Jewish readers concerning Jewish customs, conditions, and feasts which are unknown to them, or which are feasts

and customs foreign to their usage (ii. 6, 13, v. 1, vi. 4, vii. 2, xix. 40, 42). Mark, who was a native of Jerusalem (vii. 3), and Josephus uniformly use the same expression. Furthermore, (2) those passages must be left out of account where the author or those whom he represents as speaking contrast Jews with Samaritans or Romans (iv. 9, 22, xviii. 35, and throughout the entire section xviii. 31–xix. 21). More peculiar is (3) the use of the term for the political organisation of the Jewish people and their official representatives. In many passages Sanhedrin might be substituted for *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, or it might be replaced by *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, as in Josephus. This is clearly possible in i. 19, vii. 13, ix. 22, xviii. 12, 14, xix. 31, 38, xx. 19. Then connected therewith are (4) other passages where not the whole Sanhedrin, but members of it and official persons of high rank, such as the commandant of the temple, must be understood: ii. 18, 20, v. 10, 15–18, vii. 1, 11, 15 (cf. vii. 19? vii. 35, viii. 22–31, cf. vv. 40, 48, 52, 57, x. 24, 31, 33, xi. 8?). Finally, (5) there are a number of passages where the term is used to designate the majority of the people who do not yet believe on Jesus, or who are already pronounced unbelievers, as contrasted with Himself and the group of disciples gathered about Him, the future Church. In addition to the passages placed in brackets above, which evidently belong here, are to be reckoned in this class x. 19, xi. 19, 31, 33, 36, xii. 9, 11, also vi. 41, 52, where in the course of the narrative, Galileans, who are increasingly irritated with Jesus, are called Jews; likewise viii. 48–57, where after viii. 30, 31 the occurrence of the term is surprising, and ix. 18 where it seems to be equivalent to *Φαρισαῖοι*. In all these instances the narrator is speaking from the point of view of himself and his readers, just as the Jew, Paul, does when writing to Gentile Christians (2 Cor. xi. 24; 1 Thess. ii. 14; cf. 1 Cor. ix. 20), and the Jew, Matthew, writing in Palestine (xxviii. 15). The first passages which are really peculiar

are those in which John represents Jesus as using this term in speaking to the disciples (xiii. 33; with regard to xviii. 20, 36, see n. 16). Even if it could be proved, which is not the case, that for the sake of clearness John represents Jesus as using a term for His enemies which was not used by Christians of Jewish and Gentile origin until after the organisation of the Church, it would not at all follow that the author was not a thorough Hebrew. Even according to the Synoptics, one of the inevitable results of Jesus' contest with Pharisaism and official Judaism was His treatment of His disciples as a body of men separated from Israel (Matt. v. 11 f., x. 16–42, xvi. 17–21, xvii. 24–27, xviii. 15–20, xxi. 40–46; Luke xii. 32). But inasmuch as John sets forth the entire development of the contest with official Judaism in Jerusalem, intimating it in i. 19 and entering into it fully from ii. 13 onwards, we find in his Gospel severe words which do not occur in the Synoptics. John also represents Jesus as acknowledging the absolute authority of the Scriptures, which justify His claims (x. 35, v. 39, 46, xiii. 18, xv. 25); Jesus never admitted that He had broken the law of Moses (v. 17–47, vii. 19–24); it is not simply among Samaritans that He feels Himself a Jew (iv. 22). He delights in true Israelites, whose king He is (i. 47, 49), and is faithful to His own people (i. 11) even unto death (above, p. 308). But when in opposition to Him who holds the law to be sacred, they appeal to their law, or plead their descent from Abraham against His religious and moral demands, or meet His offers of grace with declarations of what Moses gave to their fathers (v. 45, vi. 31, viii. 33 ff.), He gives them back their own language, and says, "your father" (vi. 49), "your father Abraham" (viii. 56), and "your law" (viii. 17, x. 34, xv. 25). All this is in keeping with the prophetic announcement from the beginning. Anyone who is unable to comprehend historically such words spoken by a messenger of God in the struggle with His

people must necessarily regard Isaiah as opposed in principle to the whole temple cultus (Isa. i. 10–20), and must explain such words as those of the Baptist in Matt. iii. 7–9, Luke iii. 7–8 as inventions of the Gentile Christian Church.

The naïve manner in which John mentions the friendly relationship between himself and Jesus, and substitutes it for his personal name, which is never employed, has been criticised. With reference to this point, it is to be observed that the modesty characteristic of modern writings is no more a certain guarantee of the correctness of their contents than the naïveness of ancient writings is of theirs. There is not a word in the Fourth Gospel that gives the impression of self-exaltation, such as Paul does not seriously attempt to avoid in 1 Cor. xv. 10 and elsewhere. What the author as briefly as possible says of himself in xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2, could have been said equally well by Lazarus, Mary, and Martha, who were not distinguished persons (xi. 3, 5, 11, 36). Such a personal friendship is not conditioned by an exceptionally high grade of moral and religious qualities. There is no evidence of any prominent position occupied by John among the disciples. Apart from the statement of his call in i. 35 ff., unnoticed by many, John does not let himself appear until xiii. 23, whereas reference is made to the future significance of Peter for the Church as early as i. 42 (cf. xxi. 15–27). In vi. 68 f. Peter is the great confessor, as in the Synoptics. It is true that John represents him, as do the Synoptists, as the impetuous disciple, whose zeal outruns his discretion, and who is deeply penitent for his failings (xiii. 6–10, 36–38, xviii. 10–11, 15–27). But it is not sound critical judgment which finds in the race between Peter and John, in which the younger disciple outruns the older one (xx. 1–8), an expression of rivalry between these two apostles. That there were such rivalries among the apostles to the very end is proved by

Matt. xviii. 1, xx. 20–28 ; Mark ix. 33 ff., x. 35–45 ; Luke xxii. 24–32. There is only a hint of it in John xiii. 12–17 and in the πλέον of xxi. 15. Moreover, it is this very supplement, added with John's knowledge and consent, which proves that after the death of Jesus all petty jealousy was banished from the apostolic circle.

The question as to the literal trustworthiness of the discourses of Jesus which are contained in the Fourth Gospel—a question which cannot be answered categorically even in the Synoptics—is to be distinguished from the question as to the origin of this Gospel. If the book was written between the years 80 and 90 (above, p. 334 f.), it seems hardly likely that one who heard the longer discourses of Jesus should retain an exact recollection of them for so long. Here, in the first place, due weight must be given to those considerations which explain in a general way the persistence of gospel traditions for decades (vol. ii. 418 f.). In the second place, a man who between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years received impressions which determined the whole course of his life, would know just as much about them at eighty, if he remains in full possession of his faculties, as twenty years earlier, particularly if it had been his vocation for fifty years to testify orally concerning what he had seen and heard when he was with Jesus (1 John i. 1–3). The difference between the discourses in John and in the Synoptics, and the resemblance of the former to the language of 1 John, do not prove that John's report of them is unfaithful. The latter merely shows that in him more than in others the "words of eternal life," which bound the author to Jesus, especially those words which Jesus spoke to His disciples, had been transformed into flesh and blood. With reference to the comparison between the discourses in John and in the Synoptics, there are sayings in the latter which no one would feel to be out of place in John (n. 17). Moreover, by correct exegesis there is much that can be discarded from the

discourses of Jesus, such as speculative ideas and colourless generalities, which false interpretation has introduced into them. Finally, regard must be had to the esoteric character of this book, due to the fact that the Fourth Gospel was written for persons who had long been believers, and manifesting itself in the choice of the discourses to be recorded. How much freedom John allowed himself in the reproduction of the discourses it is not possible to determine exactly and in detail (n. 18). Whoever assumes that John used a large degree of liberty, must remember that this is more natural in the case of one who has heard and who feels certain that he is in possession of the essential historical truth, than in the case of one farther removed, who is dependent upon the accounts of those who heard, *i.e.* that it would be more natural for the apostles John and Matthew than for Mark and Luke, who were disciples of apostles.

1. (P. 333.) Examples of early and widely current alterations in the text are found in i. 18 (above, p. 326, n. 3), i. 34 (above, p. 284, n. 2), ii. 3 (there is no reason why the critics should question for an instant the originality of the genuine Semitic text, ℵ* [D defective] S^3 [cf. also Adler, *de Verss. Syr.* p. 57; Sc Ss are defective], and of the best Latin MSS.; iii. 34 (all changes from ℵ, such as the addition of *ὁ θεός* and the omission of *πνεῦμα*, the complete alteration of the text found in Ss, are due to the failure to recognise that *τὸ πνεῦμα* is the subject); v. 36: *μείζων*, ABE, etc., is harsh and hard to explain; even if *μείζων* (cf. i. 50), which superficially considered seems more satisfactory, or *μείζονα* be the correct reading, on account of the article before *μαρτυρίαν* and the contrast between *ἐκεῖνος*, ver. 35, and *ἐγώ*, ver. 36, the passage cannot mean: "I have *a* greater witness than that which John gave concerning Me," but must signify, "I possess *the* (requisite) witness for Myself in greater measure than did John for himself." Jesus refuses to appeal to the testimony of John in ver. 33 f.; and in ver. 35 John is not regarded as a witness for Jesus, but with Jesus is treated as a medium of revelation. Accepting the reading *μείζων*, the passage means: *I*, a greater personality than John, possess *the* (*one*, the only witness to be considered) witness (of God)" (see above, p. 322 f.).

2. (P. 334.) Whether iv. 9*b* is an interpolation or not is uncertain (above, p. 332, n. 13). This is certainly true of v. 3*b*, *ἐκδεχομένων—κίνησιν*, and v. 4. In addition to the strong external evidence against both additions is the fact that this must have been a welcome explanation of ver. 7, and contains nothing out of harmony with ideas about angels held by the early Church. On the other hand, the additions certainly go back to an early date. Ver. 4

was already part of the Greek text used by Tertullian (*de Bapt.* v.), and he explained κατὰ καιρόν to mean "once each year"; cf. Didymus and Cyril in Tischend. 785, and Theophil. (Lat.), *Forsch.* ii. 81, 215, the last having also τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κίνησιν from ver. 3. Moreover, the gloss is thoroughly Jewish; cf. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr., ad loc.*; Weber, *Jud. Theol.* §34; Rev. xvi. 5. Possibly it is one of Papias' comments; cf. note 3.

3. (P. 334.) With regard to vii. 53–viii. 11 the following remarks will suffice: (1) a distinction is to be made between witnesses for the existence of the story and witnesses which make it part of the Fourth Gospel. To the first only belongs the *Didascalia*, chap. vii. end (Syr., ed. Lagarde, p. 31; Lat., ed. Hauler, xxiv. 15–22 = *Const. ap.* ii. 24); because this third century work contains much apocryphal material and the length at which this story is reproduced (in the Greek recension even more noticeable because of the brevity with which a reference to Luke vii. 36 f. is here inserted) shows that it was not derived from one of the canonical Gospels. The story is very old, and could be read in various books not directly dependent upon each other. Unless all signs fail, it was to be found in Papias and in the *Gospel to the Hebrews* (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 39. 16; *GK*, ii. 703 f.). In and of itself, and because of the analogy to Mark xvi. 9–20 (vol. ii. 478), it is very probable that the passage was inserted in the N.T. from Papias. Probably it is one of those apostolic traditions which Papias inserted in connection with his interpretations of the sayings of Jesus, most likely in connection with John vii. 24 and viii. 15, so that those who gave it its present place in the Gospel were perhaps influenced by their source, the work of Papias. This location would be also favoured by the fine contrast between this passage and the illegal proceedings of the session of the Sanhedrin in vii. 45–52. There is no reason why the story itself should not be regarded as historical. (2) The earliest witnesses for the location of the passage before viii. 12 are Lat. MSS. from the fourth century onwards; of the Greek MSS. the earliest witness is D (sixth cent.). The Syrians (Tatian, Sc Ss S^1 S^3) for a long time knew nothing of the passage. It was not until the sixth century that it was made accessible to them by various translations; cf. *Forsch.* i. 190; Gwynn, *Transact. of the Irish Acad.* (1886) xxvii. 8, pp. 17–24; Nestle, *PRE*^{3}, iii. 174. The passage is certainly no part of the Fourth Gospel; in the first place, because the *Gospel to the Hebrews*, in which it occurs, contains no other material in common with John; and, in the second place, it is not likely that Papias would have repeated an entire story of this kind if it were already in the Fourth Gospel (above, p. 196), which was known to him. Moreover, the possible moral danger arising from the story is not sufficient to explain its disappearance from the oldest Greek MSS., and the fact that it was wanting originally in all the forms of the Syriac versions. Direct evidence of the spurious character of the passage is to be found also in the fact that its position is very uncertain. In the early MS., now lost, represented by the Ferrar group of cursives (13, 69, 124, 346, etc.), it was inserted after Luke xxi. 38, where the location indicated in viii. 1, 2 made it seem natural; in other cursives and Armenian MSS. it is appended to John xxi. Even if the latter position be due to the fact that it was found before John viii. 12, recognised as suspicious or spurious, and removed to the end of the Gospel because of unwillingness to omit it altogether, this does not explain its location following Luke xxi. 38. Finally,

the language shows that the passage is not Johannine. The Synoptic expression *οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι* in viii. 3 is entirely foreign to the Gospel of John, notwithstanding the frequent occasions when it might have been used. Also *ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, ἀναμάρτητος, ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως* are likewise not Johannine. The opinion advocated by Spitta (note 5), S. 197 f., following the suggestion of other writers,—that a genuine passage has fallen out between vii. 52 and viii. 12 and has been replaced by an apocryphal story, is untenable. For how does it happen then that the earliest MSS. ℵABC, etc., Origen, Eusebius (who if this were known to him could not have written as he does regarding Papias), certainly also Tertullian and the Syrian writers until the sixth century, know nothing of either the genuine or the spurious passage? The situation is practically the same as in Mark xvi. 9–20, save that the connection between John vii. 53–viii. 11 and the Gospel of John cannot, as Spitta maintains, be traced back into the second century, but only into the fourth. The oldest witness for this passage is Ambrosius; to counterbalance the Verona MS. b, in which the passage was written by the first copyist, and crossed out by a later hand, there is the Verc. MS. a (fourth or fifth cent.) of equal age, which does not have it.

4. (P. 334.) Delff's interpolation hypothesis (above, p. 230) follows in part that of Schweizer (*Das Ev. Jo. nach seinem inneren Wert unters.* 1841), who likewise cuts out the Galilean sections and with these the crudest of the miracles. Tobler (*Ev. Jo. nach dem Grundtext*, 1867) demonstrates *ad oculos* an extremely brief ur-John. H. H. Wendt (*Lehre Jesu*, 1886, i. 215–342; in a more extended and improved form, *Das Johannesev.* 1900) has attempted to cull out an original writing of the apostle John, which in essentials was a collection of sayings to be compared with the mythical "Logia." In a way similar to that in which the authors of our first and third Gospels compiled their books out of the "Logia" and an original writing of a more historical character, a Christian of Asia Minor (*circa* 100–125) prepared the Fourth Gospel out of this Johannine collection of sayings by means of an independent and comprehensive recasting of the material, namely, by the insertion of stories of miracles, which were drawn partly from narrations of the apostle John which had been misunderstood, and partly from the earlier synoptic tradition (ii. 1–12, vi. 1–26, ix. 2–3, 6–38, xi. 39–xii. 19). The additions of the editor are not to be called interpolations, and one is not to be provoked with him on account of the awkward interpretations and the bold transpositions. We are rather, even to-day, to be grateful to him, that by means of the awkwardness of his recasting of the material he has made it possible for the critic to free the alone trustworthy witness of the apostle John from the deceptive covering.

5. (P. 334.) Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Urchristent.* i. (1893) S. 155–304, "Über Unordnungen im Text des 4 Ev.," discussing disarrangements in the text of the Fourth Gospel, believes that such disarrangements can be proved; (1) xviii. 12–28, he thinks, should be arranged as follows: verses 12, 13, 19–23, 24, 14, 15–18, 25*b*, 27, 28. In a measure this agrees with Ss, *i.e.* probably Tatian (*Thlb*, 1895, col. 20 f.), whose order is verses 12, 13, 24, 14–15, 19–23, 16–18, 25–28, and the motives for this rearrangement are in part the same as those which clearly influenced the first harmonist. (2) According to Spitta,

the section xiii.–xvii. was originally arranged as follows :—xiii. 1–31*a*, xv.–xvi., xiii. 31*b*–xiv. 31, xvii. Moreover, after xiii. 31*a* a passage dealing with the institution of the Lord's Supper has been omitted. (3) A page has been omitted between xii. 52 and viii. 12 (see above, note 3). (4) vii. 15–24 belongs after v. 47. Furthermore, inquiring how these disarrangements arose, Spitta reaches the conclusion that the book restored by the removal of these disarrangements was itself the alteration of an original work (S. 184, 185, 202), differing from its original, for example, by the insertion of vi. 51–59 (S. 218 in the essay on the Lord's Supper). The observations upon which this hypothesis is based are attractive only in the case of chaps. xiii.–xvii. But the explanation of the disarrangements in the text is not satisfactory. In xviii. 12–28 we are supposed to have the mistake of a copyist, whose eye skipped from the end of ver. 13 to the end of ver. 24, between which in the original stood vv. 19–23. Without noticing his mistake, he copied ver. 14 which stood after ver. 24, and what followed in the original, namely, vv. 15–18. In the midst of the story of the denial he discovered his mistake and added the omitted verses, 19–24. In other words, he consciously inserted them in the story of the denial, the conclusion of which he was able to record only by inserting ver. 25*a* which he himself composed. This writer did not, therefore, belong to the familiar species of *librarii oscitantes*, but was an extremely alert and audacious scribe. To such a man as this was intrusted the production of the archetype of all later copies of the Gospel, the fair copy of a book intended for the use of the Church, and no correction of the text was deemed necessary. The displacement of vii. 15–24 was due to an equally bold procedure, only here the disarrangement was not due, as in the case of xiii.–xvii., to the wandering of a scribe's eye from one passage to another on a sheet before him, but to the displacement of the sheets, which the scribe subsequently noticed and tried to conceal. This might readily happen, if it were a case of the original construction of the book, the transcription of the text from the *schedulæ* and *plagulæ* of the author to a roll, although one is astonished at the carelessness of a writer who permitted his work to be thus misborn. But, according to Spitta, the scribe to whom the Church owes the Fourth Gospel had before him a book which from a literary point of view was already complete, this work being in its turn the working over of an earlier original. Even Spitta is not able to assume that the copy which the scribe used had accidently fallen apart (S. 182 f.). Neither has he succeeded in showing that published books were circulated in separate sheets not yet fastened together in a roll, which were intrusted to scribes for copying. Ulpian (*Dig.* xxxii. 52. 5) certainly means by *libri nondum conglutinati vel emendati*, books in the process of being made, *i.e.* manuscripts more or less complete, which, however, must first be fastened together, and have errors of the copyist corrected, before they could be published. In such an instance it is necessary to make peculiar negligence on the part of the emendator (*διορθωτής*) and on the part of the author himself the basis of the entire literary history of the Fourth Gospel ; and in the other very improbable case, assumed by Spitta, we are met by the strange circumstance that all correct copies of the book have disappeared, and that all the copies used in the church were based upon a copy as carelessly and as boldly constructed as his assumption calls for. A commentary would be necessary in order to set forth the internal reasons for this and similar hypotheses.

6. (P. 335.) Bengel in his *Gnomon* on ἔστιν in v. 2 says: *Scripsit Joannes ante vastationem urbis.* This is the position taken earlier by Lampe and recently by Wuttig, S. 28. In the first place, we are by no means justified in concluding from the brief description in Jos. *Bell.* vii. 1. 1 that no building remained standing in Jerusalem. In the second place, it would be just as reasonable to conclude from John xi. 18 that Bethany and Jerusalem had disappeared when John wrote, especially in view of the fact that this information is not, like iv. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 41, a part of the narrative, introduced in the past tense after the fashion of popular story-telling, notwithstanding the continued existence of Jacob's well and of the two gardens near Jerusalem; but as a matter of fact it is a paranthetical remark of the author, intended to make xi. 19, 31, 45 f., xii. 9–11 clear to the readers. In the third place, as a general rule such conclusions are not to be drawn from remarks of this kind (vol. ii. 340, n. 13 on Heb.). Josephus (*Bell.* v. 1–4) regularly uses the imperfect with reference to buildings and even localities not affected at all or not essentially changed by the destruction of Jerusalem (*e.g.* the towers Hippicus, Phasael, and Mariamne, which Josephus himself tells us, *Bell.* vii. 1. 1, remained undamaged, τετράγωνος ἦν, etc.), the imperfect tense is used in the entire account (τρίτος ἦν λόφος, περιείχοντο, ἐκαλεῖτο [not only ὑπὸ Δαβίδου but also πρὸς ἡμῶν], ἐκαλοῦμεν, ἐκάλουν). But he uses also ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλᾶς (Niese, § 145), ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθᾶ (§ 149), and again ἐκλήθη δὲ ἐπιχωρίως Βεζεθᾶ. Gebhardt (*Die Abfassungszeit des Joev.* 1906), who is of the opinion that John i.–xx. were written in Ephesus about 65, and chap. xxi. about 67, uses the fact that the destruction of Jerusalem is not mentioned (S. 21, 32 f.) as proof for so early a date. As if Matt. and Luke give "detailed *descriptions*" of this event, and as if the destruction of the temple were not just as surely *prophesied* in John ii. 19 as in the Synoptics (see above, p. 156). With reference to the unsupported assumptions of Delff and Cassell, see above, pp. 228, 230.

7. (P. 335.) A review of attacks upon the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel is to be found in LUTHARDT (*Der joh. Ursprung des 4 Ev.* 1874, S. 6–34). A more detailed review, complete to 1890, is to be found in WATKINS' *Modern Criticism in its relation to the Fourth Gospel, Bampton Lectures*, 1890, especially pp. 187–413. SANDAY, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, 1905 (Lectures delivered in the autumn of 1904 in New York). Among the latest opponents of the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel may be mentioned: KREYENBÜHL, *Das Ev. der Wahrheit*, i. ii. 1900, 1905, who has used about 1600 pages to prove the statement that the Fourth Gospel is nothing other than the *evangelium veritatis* of the Valentinians (Iren. iii. 11. 9), and that its author is Menander, the disciple of Simon Magus, in Antioch (Just. *Apol.* i. 26); also GRILL, *Untersuch. über die Entstehung des 4 Ev.*; 1 Teil, 1902, who, to be sure, has not gotten beyond an "Analysis of the Prologue on the basis of a history of ideas," but thinks (S. 384) that he has already made clear to his readers that Baur's date for the Gospel appears to him hardly less tenable than that of Harnack. Finally, WREDE, *Charakter und Tendenz des Johannes ev.* 1903. J. DRUMMOND, *An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*; and Sanday, in the above mentioned lectures, 1905, calmly give apologies for the genuineness of the Gospel, which weigh the arguments *pro* and *con*.

8. (P. 336.) BAUR'S remarks in *Krit. Unters.* S. 338, that even if the apostle

John were the author of the Fourth Gospel, "We should still have to assume that he had no intention whatever of writing a purely historical Gospel," has little weight, since Baur was of the conviction that John did not write the Gospel. Moreover, none of the four Gospels claims to be "purely historical." They are all writings containing historical material having a religious or didactic purpose. LAGARDE, *Verhältnis des deutschen Staats zu Theol., Kirche u. Rel.* 1873, S. 31), declares himself convinced that the author of all the Johannine writings in the N.T. "can be none other than the apostle John," and describes this apostle and Peter as the only important disciples of Jesus (S. 30); but at the same time he holds (S. 28–30) the statement that Jesus is the Messiah to be unhistorical and without meaning, declaring John, who by his Gospel desired to convince his readers of the truth of this statement, guilty of "gross exaggerations" (S. 31). WITTICHEN, who in his first work (*Der gesch. Charakter des Ev. Jo.* 1869) is far from accepting the contents of the Gospel as historically true, nevertheless admits that the book was written between 70 and 80 A.D. by the apostle John. Later, however, he gave up the apostolic authorship of the Gospel (*Leben Jesu*, 1876, S. viii).

9. (P. 338.) Accurate details are given in i. 35–39 (above, p. 226, n. 8); i. 44 (where mention is made of the home, not of Peter and Andrew and Nathanael, but only of Philip, which may serve incidentally to show how the gospel reached Philip from Jesus, since subsequently Bethsaida is declared to be also the home of Peter and Andrew. In xii. 21, on the other hand, this is not the purpose of the remark, but it is probably intended to distinguish this Philip from the evangelist Philip of Hierapolis, who was known to the readers), ii. 6 (numbers, which do not submit of any symbolical interpretation), ii. 15 f., 20, iii. 23, iv. 18, 28 (the leaving behind of the water-pot), iv. 30 (the picturesque imp. ἤρχοντο, which prepares the way for the parable in iv. 35), iv. 52 (where the mention of the hour as in ver. 53 would have been sufficient), v. 2, vi. 3–12 (above, p. 286, n. 5), vi. 19, 23, vi. 71 (cf. xii. 4, xiii. 2, 26, xiv. 22, the name of the father of Judas and explanation of Iscariot, see n. 11), viii. 48, 57, xi. 30, 44, xii. 1–8 (above, p. 286 f., n. 6), xviii. 1, 10 (cf. ver. 26), xix. 39.

10. (P. 339.) Speaking with reference to the relations of the Jewish parties, Wellhausen (*Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, 1874, S. 124) says of the Fourth Gospel: "The writer cannot be accused of ignorance of pre-Talmudic Judaism," and rightly emphasises the fact, that John's combination "high priests and Pharisees" (elsewhere only in Matt. xxi. 45, xxvii. 62), while technically incorrect, really describes the facts, and quite agrees with the views and representation of Josephus (S. 42, cf. S. 8, 30). For the distinction between the Pharisees, i. 24, and the embassy of "Jews of Jerusalem," *i.e.* of the Sanhedrin (i. 19, cf. iii. 28, v. 33), see above, p. 284. The representatives of the Sanhedrin performed their duty without taking any deep interest in the matter, i. 22. The Pharisees inquire as to the basis and justification of the Baptist's work, i. 25. They hate Jesus because in their judgment He is a Sabbath-breaker and a sinner, ix. 16, 24. Back of His miracles, which they carefully examine (ix. 16–34) and do not deny (xi. 47), they suspect some ungodly magic. They speak of political dangers (xi. 48) only in order to win the alliance of the Sadducees, who are indifferent religiously. Especially noteworthy is vii. 49, where ὁ ὄχλος κτλ. reproduces

exactly the Jewish עם הארץ ; cf. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* § 11 ; Schürer, ii. 387, 400 (Eng. trans. II. ii. 8. 22).

11. (P. 340.) The present writer must reserve an exhaustive investigation of the geographical statements for his Commentary. Furrer, *ZfNTW*, 1902, S. 257–265, has given a brief survey. In respect of John vi. 1, where Furrer, S. 261, would cross out either *τῆς Τιβεριάδος* or *τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, see above, p. 333. In addition the following is repeated from the second edition of this work: Heracleon as early as 160 A.D. read *Βηθανία* in i. 28, and this is the reading of nearly all the MSS. of Origen's time, and also of our earlier MSS. But exception was taken to the reading by several writers before Origen, and especially by Origen himself, because there is no place of this name on the Jordan. They read instead *Βηθαβαρᾶ*, because the traditional place where John baptized was said to have this name (Orig. tom. vi. 40 *in Jo.*; *Eus. and Hier. De Situ et Nomin. Loc. Hebr.*, ed. Klostermann (*Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*), p. 58. 18, also Sc Ss, but not Sh). Too much dependence is not to be placed upon local traditions of this sort, as, *e.g.*, the traditions concerning Ænon and Salim in John iii. 23 ; perhaps Bethany could not be located because it was looked for in the wrong place. It need not necessarily have been situated directly on the Jordan, although, according to the Synoptics, John baptized in the Jordan. Possibly it is identical with Betonim, Jos. xiii. 26 (Eus. *op. cit.* (ed. Klostermann) 48. 11, *Βοτνία ἡ καὶ Ποτεείν, πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου . . . καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς τόποις χρηματίζει.* Jerome (ed. Klostermann), 103. 14, *Bothnin trans Jordanem civitas . . . quæ usque hodie similiter adpellatur*). The form of the name seems to have gone through all sorts of changes. Furrer, S. 257, has also come to this conclusion, which he thinks he was the first to discover. *Συχάρ*, John iv. 4, is not a copyist's mistake for *Συχέμ* or *Σίκιμα* (שכם, so Ss in this place) ; this would have been rendered by John as by Josephus (*Bell.* iv. 8. 1), Neapolis or Marbatha. Nor is the name an intentional alteration on John's part (Hengstenberg, *Komm.* S. 244 f. = "Lügenstadt," town of lies). The place is סוכר (so in Sh, which shows acquaintance with localities) half an hour east of Sichem (Shechem) on the road from Jerusalem to Galilee, a place still in existence in the fourth century, and plainly distinguished from Sichem (Shechem) by the geographers (Eus. *op. cit.* 150. 1, and 164. 1) ; a distinction not essentially modified by Jerome, although in another place *Interpr. Hebr. Nom.*, ed. Lagarde, 66. 20, and *Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* xlviii. 22, he explains Sychar as an early scribal error in John iv. 5. Cf., further, the Pilgrim of the year 333, *Itin. Hierosol.*, ed. Geyer, p. 20. 7 ; *Sechar*, 1000 paces from *Sechim* ; Epiph. *De Gemmis*, Dindorf, iv. 209), probably identical with the Talmudic סוכר ; cf. provisionally Delitzsch, *ZfLTh*, 1856, S. 240 ff., in later times written by the Samaritans with the variant forms יסכר, עסכר, עסכור. The present name is Asker or Askar ; cf. Socin-Bädeker[4], S. 245, 251. Because of his familiarity with language and localities, John knows that the synoptic *Ἰσκαριώθ*, *Ἰσκαριώτης* means the "man of Kerioth," and that this was the home of Judas' father, Simon, whom John alone mentions. The reading *ἀπὸ Καρυώτου* is to be recognised as original either wherever it occurs, vi. 71, xii. 4, xiii. 2, 26, xiv. 22, or in some one of these passages whence it has found its way into the others. Who could have invented it? The place is either Kerioth, Jos. xv. 25, the modern Kariaten (cf. Buhl, *Geogr.* 182) in Southern Judea, or *Κορέαι* (Jos.

Bell. i. 6. 5; *Ant.* xiv. 3. 4, 5. 2) in the northernmost extremity of Judea, the modern Kurigut or Kariut; cf. Robinson, *Palestine*, iii. 301; Wellhausen, *Pharisäer*, S. 152. With the latter location would agree the tradition recorded by Eusebius (on Isa. xxviii. 1 (Migne, xxiv. col. 284), that Judas belonged to the tribe of Ephraim.

12. (P. 340.) If in xi. 49, 51, xviii. 13, John expressed the idea that the office of high priest changed yearly, and that Caiaphas, who held the office from about 18 to 36 A.D. officiated only during the year of Jesus' death, he would show gross ignorance. But, (1) John does not say that Caiaphas was "*the* high priest of that year," which especially in this passage, xi. 49, would have to be expressed by ὁ ἀρχ. τ. ἐν. ἐκ. without ὤν (cf. Matt. xxvi. 57; John xviii. 33, xix. 19, 21). (2) Nor have the critics shown that Greeks spoke of officials, like consuls and archons, who changed office yearly in the familiar modern fashion ("the champion shot of last year," "the hero of the day," and the combinations with *du jour*). The years were named after the consuls and archons, not *vice versa*. (3) One of the most absurd rules is the one given, for example, by A. Buttmann, *Ntl. Gr.* S. 148 [Eng. trans. p. 170], that the genitive is used to denote only general determinations of time (νυκτός, ἡμέρας, ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ). Some examples to the contrary are to be found in *Kühner-Gerth.* i. 386; Winer, § 30. 11. The present writer is able to add the following twenty cases: Gen. xi. 10; Isa. xiv. 28, xx. 1, xxxvi. 1; Jer. i. 2; Dan. i. 1, vii. 1 (LXX, not Theodotion); 1 Macc. iii. 37, vi. 16, 20, vii. 1; Just. *Dial.* ciii. n. 22; Leucius (*Acta Jo.* p. 222. 5); Artemid. *Oneirocr.* v. 12; Herodian, ii. 14. 3, iv. 15. 4, vi. 9. 2, vii. 3. 3, 5. 3, viii. 1. 3 (cf. also Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, S. 462, A. 2). This temporal genitive does not, like dates with cardinal numerals (ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν, Herodian, iv. 2. 4; Clem. *Hom.* iii. 72, vii. 5) denote the period of time within which the statement is to be limited, but means merely that at the time of the event recounted, Caiaphas was high priest, with no implication as to the *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of his high priesthood. John uses τοῦ ἐν, ἐκ, instead of the equally permissible τότε or ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, etc., because he has in mind the fact that the only specific function performed by the high priest took place but once a year (Heb. ix. 7). It was necessary that the man, upon whom devolved the official duty of offering in that same year in his capacity as high priest on the Day of Atonement the legal sin-offering for God's people (Heb. ii. 17, v. 3), should unconsciously prophesy the propitiatory death of Jesus for the salvation of His people and of all children of God in the world. Jesus is the true sin-offering for mankind (1 John ii. 2, iv. 10), just as He is the true Passover lamb (John i. 29). If in John xix. 13 it were said that Pilate placed Jesus on the judgment-seat in order to mock Jesus, or the Jews, or both, the idea expressed would be historically impossible. In all probability the *Acts of Pilate*, which belong to a very early date, so understood or rather misconstrued the passages from which Just. in *Apol.* i. 35 confesses that he derived this idea upon which the *Gospel of Peter* is likewise certainly dependent (cf. the present writer's article on the *Gospel of Peter*, S. 42–45, 79 f.). The tendency to represent Pilate as practically innocent of the execution of Jesus, evidenced by the way in which Justin and the *Gospel of Peter* make the Jews, not Pilate, the subject of καθίσαι, which is taken transitively, is the governing idea in all the stories associated with

the name of Pilate, and is derived, therefore, from the *Acts of Pilate*. But it is perfectly clear that in John xix. 13 ἐκάθισεν is not to be taken transitively but intransitively, as in Jos. *Bell.* ii. 9. 3, ὁ Πιλᾶτος καθίσας ἐπὶ Βήματος; for (1) In John as in the Synoptics and Acts the word is used only intransitively and reflexively (36 times in the Synoptics and Acts, often in the connection, ἐπὶ θρόνου, βήματος, καθέδρας). (2) Any writer who wanted to make his meaning clear, especially any one using the style that John does, would necessarily have added αὐτόν or Ἰησοῦν, as in Justin and the *Gospel of Peter*, if this were really the object of ἐκάθισεν. (3) Historically it is quite impossible that Pilate should have desecrated the judgment-seat which symbolised his dignity by enacting with his own hands such a farce; for, since the reading is not ἐκέλευσεν καθίσαι, ἐκάθισεν if taken transitively must mean, like the ἐκάθισαν of Justin and the *Gospel of Peter*, a forcible elevation to the judgment-seat. (4) There is nothing in John's Gospel which necessitates our attributing to him the bad taste of inventing such an absurdity. The mocking of Jesus, which belonged to an earlier stage of the trial, xix. 2–5, Pilate left to the soldiers, and merely utilised the result of it to mock the Jews. In this passage, on the other hand, he is acting as the supreme judge of the land. The mention of the hour, the description of the place, the statement of the outcome of the trial in xix. 13–16, show that John here intends to describe the imposition of a very seriously intended death sentence by the judge who alone could impose such a sentence (xviii. 31, xix. 10 f., 19–22).

13. (P. 340.) Heb. and Aram. words and interpreted names are as follows: ῥαββί, i. 38, 49, iii. 2, vi. 25, ix. 2, xi. 8 (Matt. and Mark 7 times together, Luke none); ῥαββουνί, xx. 16 (cf. Mark x. 51, vol. i. 20); Μεσσίας, i. 41, iv. 25 (vol. i. 20 f.); Κηφᾶς, i. 42 (vol. i. 16); ἀμήν, ἀμήν, i. 51 (only in John, 25 times, vol. i. 18); Βηθέσδα, v. 2 (which is not translated, but interpreted in accordance with the literal meaning of the word (see vol. i. 28); μάννα, vi. 31, 49; Σιλωάμ, ix. 7 (vol. i. 29); Θωμᾶς, xi. 16, xx. 24; ὡσαννά, xii. 13 (vol. i. 21); Γαββαθᾶ, xix. 13 (vol. i. 29); Γολγοθᾶ, xix. 17. Cf. also the explanation of the name Iscariot above, note 11. Concerning σάββατου πάσχα, see above, p. 324.

14. (P. 340.) Cf. Schlatter, *Die Sprache und Heimat des 4 Evangelisten*, 1902. In addition to Heb. and Aram. words (n. 13) and the form of O.T. citations (n. 15), evidence of the Hebrew origin of John is to be found not so much in single Hebrew phrases like ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων = Φαρισαῖοι τινες (above, p. 284), and expressions like ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε, i. 46, cf. 39 (= תא חוי); Heb. (בוא וראה); ἀπῆλθον εἰς; τὰ ὀπίσω, vi. 66; ἐξουσίαν πάσης σαρκός, xvii. 2; ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, xvii. 12, as in the character of the style as a whole, which is in need of special investigation. John hardly ever attempts a periodic sentence, and when he does he fails, *e.g.* vi. 22–24. It is noteworthy how often καί is used in an adversative sense (i. 10, iii. 19, vi. 70, viii. 20, 49, x. 25, xvii. 11). Its use with the imperative or future to express sequence, i. 39, 46, vii. 52, xiv. 1, xv. 7, is likewise to be noted (cf. *ZKom. Matt.* 303, 442). In continuing an account καί is frequently replaced by δέ, also by οὖν, which is used over frequently, and by the omission of a connecting particle altogether, *e.g.* i. 40, 41, 42 (twice), 43, 45, 46*b*, 47, 48, 49, 50, frequently in conversation by the unconnected λέγει αὐτῷ (vol. ii. 591, n. 7 on Matt.). It is as if there were

writing a Jew, to whom someone had said : You must not always say "and." The rhythm of the language, while impressing the reader with a certain solemnity, shows on the other hand a monotony due to poverty of expression.

15. (P. 340.) Cf. FRANKE, *Das AT. bei Jo.* 1885, S. 255–316. The freedom with which John everywhere makes his citations (*e.g.* ii. 17, *καταφάγεται* instead of *κατέφαγε*, xii. 15, *μὴ φοβοῦ*, variations which suit the situation) renders it difficult to determine the relation of the passages to the original text and to the LXX. In i. 23, cited from Isa. xl. 3, *εὐθύνατε* corresponds to *εὐθείας ποιεῖτε* (LXX and Syn.) in the second part of the verse not quoted by John, but is an exact translation of יַשְּׁרוּ independent of the LXX. If i. 29 were based upon Isa. liii. 4, which is very questionable, *αἴρων* would be a new translation of נשׂא. The citation in vi. 45 from Isa. liv. 13 could be changed into an independent sentence very easily if taken from the original text, but with difficulty if taken from the LXX. The abridged citation in xii. 15 from Zech. ix. 9 does not contain a word which shows its dependence upon the LXX; on the other hand, *πῶλον ὄνου* is a translation from the Heb., independent both of Matt. xxi. 5 (cf., however, Matt. xxi. 2) and of the LXX. The citation in xiii. 18 from Ps. xli. 10 shows no resemblance to the LXX, and is an exact translation of the Heb., especially if we read *μοῦ* with BCL, not *μετ' ἐμοῦ* with ℵAD; cf. Matt. xxvi. 23; Mark xiv. 20. The same is true of the citation in xix. 37 from Zech. xii. 10, where the LXX has *ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο* (the LXX MSS., *e.g.* Cryptoferr. rescr., and others in Field, *Hexapla*, ii. 1026, which have also *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν*, some of them before, others after *ἀνθ' ὧν κατ.*, are, of course, interpolated from John xix. 37). Only in the later Greek versions, all of which seem to have retained *ἐπιβλέψονται πρός με* (this is proved in the case of Theodotian), is the text corrected : Aquila, *σὺν ᾧ ἐξεκέντησαν*; Theod. *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκ.*; Symm. *ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεξεκέντησαν*. Cf. also Rev. i. 7, *οἵτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν*; *Barn.* vii. 9, *ὄψονται αὐτόν . . . κατακεντήσαντες*,; Just. *Dial.* xxxii. *ἐπιγνώσεσθε εἰς ὃν ἐξεκεντήσατε*. In view of these examples, the supposition that in the Gospel and Rev. John is dependent upon some unknown Greek version, in which was found the characteristic forms *ὄψονται* (only in John and *Barn.*) and *εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν* (Just., Theod., only partially in Aqu.), only serves to prove that there are some who refuse to recognise what is perfectly evident, namely, that John is citing Zech. xii. 10 in the Gospel and Rev. from his own knowledge of the original text, and that *Barnabas* and Justin are dependent upon John.

16. (P. 342.) Once, in xviii. 36, Jesus speaks to the Romans of the Jews, who have cast Him out (cf. Acts xxv. 10, xxvi. 2, 4), which is less strange than the remark in xviii. 20, where before the high priest Jesus says "all Jews," instead of "our entire people." Yet the present writer is not disposed to consider this impossible historically, after Jesus has been called a Samaritan (viii. 48), charged with the intention of going to the Gentiles (vii. 35), and arrested with the help of the heathen cohort (xviii. 12). In Acts xxi. 21 Luke represents the presbyters of Jerusalem as speaking in the same way to the Jew Paul.

17. (P. 344.) Matt. xi. 25–30=Luke x. 21 f.; Matt. xii. 12 (Mark iii. 4; Luke vi. 9 (cf. John x. 32, *ἔργα καλά*); Matt. xv. 13, xvii. 26 (John viii. 35 f.), xviii. 3 (John iii. 3–5), xviii. 7 (*τῷ κόσμῳ*), xviii. 14 (John vi. 38 f.), xix. 11

xxvi. 38 f. (Mark xiv. 34 ff.; cf. John xii. 27, v. 30, vi. 38), xxviii. 18 (John v. 27, xvii. 2), have a Johannine sound.

18. (P. 345.) In opposition to the view that John sometimes permits a speech of Jesus to shade off into theological expatiations of his own, instances to the contrary may be cited. John iii. 19–21 is a fitting conclusion of the address to Nicodemus, who was still afraid of the light (iii. 2, xix. 39, *νυκτός*). In John v. 42 the relation is manifest between the place (Bethesda) and the character of action which suggested the discourse (vol. i. 28, n. 15). There is no discourse where it is difficult to imagine the source of John's information. If the gradual acceptance of the gospel by Nicodemus, which John describes, terminated, as it undoubtedly did, in his reception into the membership of the Church, John could have learned from him what he recalls in iii. 1–21, vii. 45–52, xi. 47–50. The contents of iv. 7–26 were probably repeated more than once by the Samaritan woman, and John had abundant opportunity both at the time (iv. 40) and later (Acts viii. 25) to hear her tell it on the spot.

§ 70. THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

Both of the smaller writings which have come down to us under the name of John bear the stamp of genuine Epistles, in spite of the fact that the author calls himself simply "the Elder"; but the larger writing, which we are accustomed to call 1 John, lacks almost all the elements that constitute that form of composition. Not only is the greeting wanting, as in Hebrews, but in the course of the letter, and notably at the close, there is an absence of all that otherwise marks Hebrews as an Epistle. In this respect it is comparable rather to James, which, however, is introduced as an Epistle by its opening greeting. That 1 John has not lost its epistolary form by accident or design, is proved by the opening words (i. 1–4); as is the case in Hebrews in so far as its beginning might give occasion for a similar suspicion. Even after a greeting supposedly lost, an *Epistle* could not begin with such phrases as 1 John presents to us (vol. ii. 312 f.). On the other hand, it does not represent a speech put into writing before or after delivery; for the author indicates everywhere throughout the document (i. 4, and twelve times from ii. 1 onwards) that

writing is the form of the communication he is making. Only once does he allow a λέγω (v. 16) to intrude in place of γράφω—a change which Paul often makes. 1 John is then, like James,—except that it lacks the form of a pastoral Epistle which is peculiar to the latter,—a written address to a circle of Christians, all, or the majority of whom, live at a distance from the author. Furthermore, inasmuch as there is wanting in this Epistle, just as in James, and even to a greater degree than in the latter Epistle, all regard for special, personal, or locally conditioned relations between the author and the readers, there can be no doubt that a somewhat large circle of congregations—as, *e.g.*, the Christians of a district or of a province—are here addressed. The warning against idols, v. 21, which, as the last word of the writing, leaves all the deeper impression, indicates that these Churches have grown up on heathen soil. If we may trust the tradition and the first impression made by the comparison of 1 John with the Gospel of John, which would lead us to suppose that both writings have the apostle John for their author, we may assert even upon this basis that the author in this address has to do with the Churches of the province of Asia. The author who does not find it necessary to introduce himself personally to the readers—for i. 1–4, in which he does not speak of himself alone, is not a substitute for the introduction—possesses the authority of a father among them. Although he uses the name of "brother" often enough, he employs it only once in addressing the readers (iii. 13). On the contrary, he addresses them seven times as τεκνία, and twice as παιδία, with which ἀγαπητοί, occurring six times, is almost equivalent, because of the frequent combining of ἀγαπητός with υἱός or τέκνον (n. 1). Despite the differentiation between old and young in their company, which occurs twice, he admonishes them all as a father would his children. Such language befits only an old man. This seems so much the

more certain when one notices that this fatherly relation is not such as would be based upon the fact that the writer was the missionary who had instituted their religion among them (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 14–17 ; 1 Tim. i. 2, 18 ; 2 Tim. ii. 1 ; 1 Pet. v. 13). He declares repeatedly and emphatically that he has nothing new in the way of doctrine or exhortation to offer them, but only that which they have heard and adopted from the very beginning (ii. 7, 18, 20 f., 24, 27, iii. 11). In none of these passages is there, however, any hint that the author had taken a personal part in this original evangelisation and fundamental instruction of the readers ; cf. *per contra* 2 Pet. i. 16 ; 1 Cor. xv. 1 ; Gal. i. 8 f. If, therefore, despite this, he adopts toward the readers the attitude of paternal authority, he must have been active in these communities for a considerable period of time, as a teacher and a leader, though they had been founded by another.

But this is not true of him alone. Since he persistently uses "I" when he speaks of himself as the author of this writing, it is clear that the "we"—where it is not used as a general term for all Christians—(i. 6–10, iii. 1 f., 14–16), comprehends, besides the author, a number of persons who, in distinction from the readers, share in some way the author's position (i. 1–5, iv. 6, 14, 16). What they possess in common is, first of all, the fact that they have heard with their ears, seen with their eyes, and touched with their hands, the Son of God, sent by Him to be the Saviour of the world—the life which had existed from eternity, but which had been revealed in this historical personage—the personal Word of life (above, p. 329, n. 6) in all its manifestations (i. 1, 3, 5, iv. 14). In words which cannot fail to remind us of John i. 1, 14–16, vi. 68 f., the author reckons himself as one of the personal disciples of Jesus. But with this experience is given the commission to preach and bear witness regarding what he has seen, heard, and experienced, to those

who have not enjoyed such an advantage (i. 2, iv. 6, 14; cf. John xv. 27). Even if this preaching (i. 2 f., 5) is spoken of as directed toward the readers, the absence of an ὑμῖν in iv. 14 reminds us of the evident fact that the mission of the disciples of Jesus to testify to others of the revelation of the eternal life in Jesus, which they had experienced, was not limited to the circle of readers of 1 John. More than this, it is very emphatically stated in i. 3 that John and those whom he includes with himself, announce to the readers (καὶ ὑμῖν) *also*, what they have seen and heard (n. 2). In other words, what they here proclaim they announce or have announced to others. The purpose of the proclamation is that the hearers may be in fellowship with the preachers, which is at the same time fellowship with the Father and with Jesus Christ. Inasmuch, however, as this purpose, as regards the readers, is expressed by the words ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς κοινωνίαν ἔχητε μεθ' ἡμῶν, it is thereby stated that John and the other disciples—with whom he here includes himself—have at some former time preached to others, outside their circle, and with the same purpose and success, what they have experienced in their intercourse with Jesus.

John speaks, then, in the name of several of the disciples of Jesus, who formerly in other places and in other communities pursued their calling as witnesses, and who are now carrying it on among those congregations to which 1 John is directed. If we turn to history we shall find that, from about the year 68, besides John several other disciples of Jesus who had formally been at work in Palestine, had settled in the province of Asia. We can name with certainty Aristion and Philip; but there is no lack of support for the assumption that still other members of the apostolic circle—whether understood in the narrower or wider sense—lived there for a more or less extended time (n. 3). Of himself and of these companions of his, John says, "And these things (which we have announced

and still announce to you as well as to others) we write, that our joy may be made full." It should be self-evident that this does not refer solely to the letter he is writing or solely to the Gospel he had written. That it does not refer to the letter is evident: (1) Because John, as has been remarked, always speaks of himself as the author of this letter, in the singular only. The other disciples, who likewise live and preach in Asia, have not the smallest share in this letter. It is the address of John the individual, who assumes toward this circle of readers the entirely unique position of a father. Whether it is his age, or apostolic dignity, or both which raises him above the other disciples in Asia, we cannot gather from the letter; but we may conclude that he probably did not share his peculiar position in the circle of readers with the companions mentioned in i. 1–5, iv. 6, 14, 16. (2) In ver. 4, according to the genuine text (n. 2), no reference is made to any connection existing between this literary work and the present readers—a reference which could not possibly have been wanting at the place where the author would first have called attention to his authorship of the letter. Ver. 4 does not refer to the satisfying of some need of the readers (cf. *per contra* ii. 1, v. 13), but to the joy and satisfaction which it affords the eye-witnesses to set forth in writing what they have heralded by word of mouth. Similarly the reference in ver. 4 cannot be to the Gospel. This would not agree with the tense nor with the plural number of γράφομεν (cf. *per contra*, John xix. 35, xxi. 24, above, p. 239). It is rather a statement without reference to time, embracing all of the literary work of the eye-witnesses, both past and future. This general statement refers, therefore, quite naturally to the writing in which it occurs, as well as to others. With these words the apostle expresses the joy with which he now resorts to *writing* as a means of conveying to the readers his testimony to the "Word of Life"—his message

to them upon many former occasions having been delivered *orally*. It affords him pleasure to employ writing also as a means to the fulfilment of his mission. Whether he has employed it often before, either in letters to his present readers (n. 4) or to others, or in the composition of a Gospel, cannot be ascertained from this passage, since it does not refer to the writings of John alone.

If he had at that time written the Gospel,—which is more likely than 1 John to have been the writing referred to by the object (*ταῦτα*) of *γράφειν*,—or if he was then busy with its composition, or even with the project of its composition, he must have had this also in mind; we do not know. But as far as the others are concerned, who like him not only testify, but also write, ver. 4, which does not speak of any connection between the *γράφειν* and the present readers, therefore does not compel us to think of the other writers as just these disciples in Asia. Further, the lack of any element of time in *γράφομεν* gives us no occasion to think solely of recent writings or of writings which are about to be made. From the literature which has come down to us we must exclude the Epistles of Paul, who was not an eye-witness, as well as the Epistle of James, which contains nothing of the object of *γράφειν*, as it is summed up in the *ταῦτα* of ver. 4. On the other hand, we must remember that Peter, the witness to the Passion and exaltation of Jesus (1 Pet. v. 1; 2 Pet. i. 16–18), toward the end of his life recognised it as his duty to supplement his oral testimony by writings of various kinds, and so to give his teaching permanent form. *One* of these letters has *not* come down to us. We do not know whether any further literary purpose which he may have had was ever realised (vol. ii. 200 f.). We learn of this same desire on the part of Jude, who wrote his Epistle after the year 70 (vol. ii. 241 f.). Moreover, before this year the Apostle Matthew, and Mark, the disciple of Peter, had written their Gospels, and at the time John was living in Ephesus

both books were known in the Churches of the province of Asia. The close relation of Mark's Gospel to Peter, which John discussed with his disciples, justifies our considering this Gospel also as part of the literature referred to, although Mark himself had been only in a very limited sense an eye-witness. Briefly, it is the Christian literature which since the sixties had been in process of formation and which had not yet reached completion, written directly and indirectly by the eye-witnesses of the gospel story, which John includes with his own written testimony. By this address John wishes to strengthen the readers as a whole in that Christianity which has been brought to them not by him, but by others before him. He wishes to write, not that they may believe, nor that their present belief may be strengthened (cf. John xix. 35, xx. 31), but that they may become thoroughly conscious of the possession of eternal life, which they have as believers on the name of the Son of God (v. 13, cf. 1 Pet. v. 12). They have received forgiveness of sins and the anointing of the Holy Spirit (ii. 12, 20, 27); they have known the Son of God who is from the beginning; and through the faith in Him which is common to all Christians, they have overcome the World and the Evil One in whose power the present transitory world is held (ii. 12–14, v. 4 f., 18 f.).

From the very beginning they have heard the whole truth, which alone is the important thing for them to hold fast (ii. 7, 24, 27, iii. 11). Moreover, as to the prediction of the end of the world, they need only to be reminded of what they have formerly heard (ii. 18); they all possess truth not recently received through the anointing (ii. 20 f., 27), but truth which they have always possessed (ii. 7, εἴχετε not ἔχετε), *i.e.* before John became connected with them. But the old truth must again and continually be preached, and taken to heart, and its consequences followed out; and this is to be done in two ways: as regards *morality*, and as regards appreciation of the *person of the Son of God.*

A superficial survey gives one the impression that i. 5–ii. 17 inclines toward the former, that ii. 18–iv. 6 leans at least predominantly toward the latter, and that iv. 7–v. 12 or to v. 21 unites both lines of thought. But the division cannot be strictly carried out. Even in the first two divisions the ethical is inseparably connected with the religious. The demands for purity of life in God's light, which includes the confession of sin (i. 5–10); for the observance of the commands of Jesus in emulating His holy life (ii. 4–6, cf. iii. 3), especially for brotherly love (ii. 7–11, iii. 11–18), as well as for the forsaking of the love of the world (ii. 15–17),—are everywhere derived from the highest truths of faith and religious experience. The one and only will of God, the fulfilment of which brings to man eternal life, embraces both: belief in the Son of God, and brotherly love according to the standard of the command of Jesus (iii. 23, cf. ii. 7 f., 17). Nevertheless, it must be recognised that the ethical admonitions are occasioned in a different way from the Christological statements. In the first section i. 5–ii. 17, in which the purpose assigned for the discussion is the very simple one, that the readers may not sin (ii. 1), there appear as occasions for the exhortation only the undeniable facts that the Christians also are still burdened with sin, and that they still live in a world which exercises a seductive influence upon those who live in it and in the flesh (i. 8–10, ii. 1*b*, 16). Even in the further injunctions as to moral requirements, iii. 3 f., 9–18, iv. 7–21, we meet everywhere only such motives for sinning as lie in the general depravity and weakness of human nature, and never a theoretical support of immorality, such as Paul—and Peter and Jude in a much more developed form—had to combat (vol. ii. 279 f.). The warning against being led into error (iii. 7), which occurs only in a single isolated instance among the ethical discussions, and in a later passage, points unquestionably to the fact that there were

persons in the circle of the readers who spoke as though one could be righteous without practising righteousness and avoiding sin. With an eye to such false teachers (ii. 29–iii. 12), the contrast between the *righteousness* which has its origin in the righteous Jesus, and which has as its goal the future perfecting of the children of God in likeness with the Son of God, and *sin*, which is rebellion against God's law, and which makes one a child of the Devil, is described as an unreconcilable antagonism, extending from Cain and Abel down through human history. Perhaps one may here adduce the likewise isolated and exceedingly brief, but by reason of its position at the close, very effective warning in v. 21. Inasmuch as it is directed to the readers, who are here again tenderly addressed, and who in the whole letter appear in a very favourable light, it cannot mean that they are not to fall away to formal idol-worship, but that they are to avoid that dangerous approximation to the heathen cult against which the apostolic decree was directed (Acts xv. 20, 29, xxi. 25, φυλάσσεσθαι), and against which Paul had so insistently warned (1 Cor. viii.–x., especially x. 14, vol. i. 296, n. 2). Living in a land where there was a high degree of culture (ii. 16) and a flourishing cultus (v. 21), the readers do not want for enticements, and there is no lack of Gentile Christians who take lightly the duty of keeping oneself unspotted from this world. But still there is no trace of any libertine theory. Neither is there any hint of a connection between the phenomena by which John felt himself led to his treatment of ethical matters, and those phenomena which led him to very definite, positive and negative statements in regard to the person of Jesus. The first section which has this purpose in view, ii. 18 ff.; closes formally at ii. 26, and is followed in ii. 27 f. by a peroration, by means of which the ethical section ii. 29–iii. 18 is separated from the first warning against the false teachers in ii. 18–26, just as it is separated by iii.

18–24 from the second warning against the same false teachers. With these two portions directed against the same distortion of the picture of Christ, and the peculiar statements of 1 John concerning Christ which are occasioned by them, we may without hesitation connect the evidently similar passages in 2 John.

Many deceiving teachers have appeared who seek to lead the readers astray to their own doctrine (ii. 26; 2 John 7). They have gone forth from Christianity—not specifically from the circle of the present readers, which would in that case be stated in ii. 19. According to the opinion of John, however, they have not from the beginning, not even before they appeared with their peculiar teaching, belonged inwardly to Christianity. For him they are, as the Pharisaical Jewish Christians were to Paul, ψευδάδελφοι from the very beginning (Gal. ii. 4; 2 Cor. xi. 26) people who, when they entered the Church, did not break completely and conscientiously with ideas and aims which proceed from their former religious condition. That became evident from the fact that they appeared with their peculiar teaching concerning Christ; and so perfectly evident did that become, that they could no longer remain in the Church. They are expelled from the Church (ii. 19), and that, too, against their will; the Asiatic Churches have overcome them (iv. 4). But in spite of this they themselves seek to exert their seductive influence upon these congregations, and to claim, as Christian brothers, friendship and hospitality in the houses of the members of the Church. On this account John demands that they be refused greeting and hospitality (2 John 10 f.).

Their appearance is to him an omen of the approaching end; for they seem to him to be forerunners of the antichrist of whom Christian prophecy, based upon the prediction of Jesus, had warned men, and in this sense they themselves are antichrists (n. 5). Although they

are called "false prophets"—*i.e.* teachers inspired with the spirit of the antichrist—and even "spirits" which are to be proved (iv. 1–3), there is nothing to lead one to suppose that they employ certain forms of address characteristic of the prophets, and base their claims upon visions or special revelations. It is sufficient for this characterisation, which occurs but once, to say that they preach their pseudo-Christian doctrine with the pretension of an inspiration coming from God. The fundamental falsehood which they champion is said to be the denial of the proposition that Jesus is the Christ; and this is characterised as a denial of the Son (ii. 22 f., v. 1, 5), which might in itself be said of every Jew or Gentile who rejects the fundamental article of Christian belief (John i. 41–49, vi. 69, xx. 31). But inasmuch as it has to do with people who not only have belonged to the Christian Church but who also wish still to be accounted Christians, it is impossible that they have in every sense denied the identity of the person of Jesus with the idea of the Christ; as also their designation as antichrists, and false prophets animated by the spirit of the antichrist, would be inappropriate if they had fallen away from the confession of the Christian faith to a simple negation and dispute of the same. Their doctrine is rather a distorted picture of Christian belief clad in its forms. What they deny is that Jesus Christ came in the flesh (iv. 2; 2 John 7). They do not deny the idea of the Christ, nor the fact that the promised One came, but they deny Jesus, or, according to the evidently original reading, they resolve into its human and divine elements the historical person of Jesus (n. 6). They deny that the man Jesus is the Son of God (v. 5). In opposition to them, therefore, the author testifies that this man of history who went through water and blood, *i.e.*, who not only allowed Himself to be baptized, but dying, also shed His blood,—the Jesus of the gospel history and the Christ

of the Churches' belief—is the Son of God (n. 7). In addition to the witness, which is in the baptism by water and in the bloody death of Jesus, there is the testimony of the Spirit—of that Spirit we may say, who before Jesus, in the Prophets, including the Baptist, had borne witness to Jesus as the Christ and Son of God; who came upon Jesus at His baptism, and who has passed over from Him, as the one baptizing with the Spirit, to His Church. The testimony of the Spirit, of the water, and of the Blood is a triple and yet single witness of God that He has, in Jesus, a man living in the body, sent His Son to the world, and in Him has given it life (v. 7–12). The matter here in dispute is not to be characterised by the one word "docetism." The reality of the human person and of the human experiences of Jesus is not denied, but the complete identity of this Jesus with the Christ and the Son of God. Excessive emphasis was laid upon the baptism of Jesus, while the significance of the death of Jesus, on the contrary, was disparaged. One can hardly understand this otherwise than that the false teachers said that in the baptism of Jesus, the Christ and the Son of God had a part, in so far as He united Himself with Jesus at the time of and by means of the baptism; but that in the death upon the cross He had no part, in so far as He separated Himself again from Jesus before that event.

In the broader sense this doctrine was, to be sure, docetic; and it is with perfect propriety that John, in answer to it, testifies that the Christ, who is inseparable from Jesus, came in the flesh (iv. 2; 2 John 7); that he emphasises the redemptive power of the blood not so much of Jesus as of the Son of God (i. 7); that he teaches the recognition of the essential purpose of the sending of the Son of God in the propitiation for sin, which is to be conceived of only through the shedding of blood (iv. 10, ii. 2); and that he, at the very beginning of the Epistle,

i. 1–3, gives assurance with such incomparable energy, that the Man whom they perceived with their senses, with whom he and his companions were allowed to associate so intimately, was the revelation of the life which had existed with the Father from the beginning. He does not say, nor prove by means of reminiscences of isolated events in the gospel narrative, that Jesus was a man, perceptible to the senses, incarnate, revealing Himself as human in all that He did and suffered; but with the still incontestible presupposition of that time, when many disciples of Jesus were still living, that these things were true of Him, he bears witness that this man was the Son of God, sent as Redeemer of the world (iv. 14), the personal and incarnate manifestation of the eternal life (i. 2). From this standpoint the polemic and apologetic attitude of the Fourth Gospel becomes more intelligible (above, p. 321); not only to crass identification of the revelation accomplished through Jesus, with the incarnate, living man, but also the emphasis upon the reality of the death of Jesus and the shedding of His blood, of which John himself was one of the witnesses.

When the false teachers laid excessive emphasis upon the baptism of Jesus, and when they admitted only at His baptism a temporary personal union of the Christ and Son of God with Jesus, Jesus the man was not, to them, specifically different from other persons through whom revelation was given; and it is at least conceivable that the Baptist, through whose mediation God first made Jesus the instrument of the Christ, occupied almost as high a place as Jesus Himself. How intelligible then does it become that the Fourth Gospel, with an unmistakably polemical purpose, portrays the Baptist as the humble witness—vastly inferior to Jesus—of the coming Son of God, manifested in Him! If we look in the history of heresies for the original of the false doctrine depicted and contested by John, we shall find what we

are seeking in the teaching of Cerinthus, the contemporary of John of Ephesus, in so far at least as we free the true portrait of this teacher from the foreign additions by which the ignorance of the later writers on heresy have disfigured it (n. 8). The report that Cerinthus enjoyed an Egyptian education has nothing against it. If he came from that country to Ephesus, as Apollos did, the theory obtains new support from this parallel that a school of thought, connected with that of the Baptist, outside the Church from the very beginning, was formally received into the Church of the province of Asia, though it did not give up altogether its peculiar opinions (above, pp. 323, 331). In accordance with this theory is also the fact that the false teachers of 1 John had their origin probably in Christendom, though not in the Asiatic Church (ii. 19, above, p. 364), so that the prophecy in Acts xx. 29, not that in Acts xx. 30, was fulfilled in their appearance.

After all this evidence has been considered, there can be no doubt as to the answer to the question regarding the origin of 1 John. The unanimous tradition which attributed this writing to the author of the Fourth Gospel, is corroborated by an affinity of thought, vocabulary, and style, such as can hardly ever be proved between an historical and a didactic writing of the same author, to say nothing of different authors (n. 9). If, without considering the varied problems which John had to solve, it be claimed on the basis of certain differences, that both writings have merely issued from the same school, it is equivalent to treating these writings as impersonal works of art, or as school exercises. In 1 John it is not a school, nor the single member of a school, who speaks to these eager readers; but, as has been shown, it is a teacher of unimpeachable authority who addresses a somewhat large circle of Gentile Christian Churches lying outside of Palestine. It is a personal disciple of Jesus who speaks

here; one who has been active formerly as a Christian teacher in other regions, but who has had for a long time the position of a spiritual father in this new field of activity. He shares this career with several others, but so far surpasses them that he does not once find it necessary to allude to himself by name. Such a state of affairs existed, as far as we know, only in the province of Asia, and between about 68–100 A.D. At the same time, we find there also the false doctrine which 1 John combats (n. 10). There must be taken into account also the fact that a writing which was originally anonymous cannot be called pseudonymous. The author cannot have intended to pass for the apostle John, without being so in fact, for he does not employ the means which are customary and indispensable for such purposes. He is, therefore, in the light of this writing, the writer of the Fourth Gospel, the John of Ephesus, and the apostle of that name. As to whether he wrote the letter earlier or later than the Gospel, the present writer would hardly be able to decide. A direct reference to the Gospel would have been very natural, if it had been already written and delivered to the Church. The Epistle must certainly have been written earlier than Revelation. All that we learn from the latter—a book intended for the same circle of readers—as to the condition of the Church in its relation to heathenism and to the State, as to the internal condition of the Churches, and as to the Nicolaitans and other matters—could not have failed to leave a trace in such a detailed writing as 1 John. On the other hand, John must have been at work in Asia for years, to have been able to address the Churches there in such a manner. 1 John can hardly have been written before the year 80.

1. (P. 356.) The ἀδελφοί which appears in ii. 7 and iii. 13 is genuine only in the latter passage. The readers as a body are addressed as τεκνία either with or without μου in ii. 1, 28, iii. 7, 18, iv. 4, v. 21, unquestionably, also in ii. 12. The expression does not mean that the Christians so addressed are youthful, as distinguished from aged, members of the Church—as is clearly

proved by the fact in this case the order, "children, old men, young men," ver. 12 f., would be senseless. The same is true also of *παιδία*, ii. 14 (in some texts ver. 13*b*), which in ii. 18 is certainly used to designate the readers as a body. Consequently the readers, who are alternately addressed as *τεκνία* (ii. 12) and as *παιδία* (ii. 14) (cf. John xiii. 33, xxi. 5), are twice divided into two classes, *πατέρες* and *νεανίσκοι*; cf. *πρεσβύτεροι* and *νεώτεροι*, 1 Tim. v. 1 f.

2. (Pp. 358, 359.) The text of i. 1–4, in regard to which Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort agree, is not subject to improvement. The *καί* before *ὑμῖν* in ver. 3, removed in the Antioch recension, and the second *καί*, to which there is no serious objection, are attested by the *Passio Perp.* chap. i. The double *καί* is not pleonastic; in which case we should have it also in ver. 2 and ver. 5. Moreover, the relation between the disciples and the readers is already so strongly expressed by the conception *κοινωνία μεθ' ἡμῶν* that the double *καί*, still deemed necessary, must be explained by a contrast between the readers and other groups of Christians; cf. Eph. vi. 21, vol. i. 490, n. 6. The variations of ver. 4 from the original text are due, for the most part, to the feeling that this must refer to the composition of the Fourth Gospel. Therefore the reading *ἐγράψαμεν* is presupposed in the *Acts of Peter* (above, p. 250), Can. Mur. line 31, and some MSS. of the Vulgate. More widely diffused is the reading *ὑμῖν* instead of *ἡμεῖς* (so as early as the Canon. Mur.), and *ὑμῶν* instead of *ἡμῶν*. Not only are *ἡμεῖς* and *ἡμῶν* better attested, but they are also favoured by the fact that these readings could not have been easily invented. Since *ὑμῖν* is spurious, *ἡμῶν* cannot as in 2 John 12, assuming that it is genuine in the latter passage, include the readers with the author and his companions. The reading *ἡμεῖς*, which is peculiar both in itself and because of its position (cf. iv. 14, 16), refers back to the group of eye-witnesses previously mentioned.

3. (P. 358.) In regard to John and the other disciples in Asia Minor, see vol. ii. 435, 451 f., above, pp. 191 f., 193 f. In 1 John i. 1–4 the reference is not to apostles but to disciples of Jesus. There is nothing which prevents us from including Aristion and other *μαθηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου*. Even Philip of Hierapolis is not to be excluded. This Philip, who, because of his prophetically endowed daughters, who likewise resided in Asia Minor, is held in Eus. (*H. E.* iii. 31) to be the evangelist Philip, might the more easily be confounded with the apostle of the same name—as is done by Polycrates about 195 (Eus. *H. E.* v. 24. 2)—if he had been a personal disciple of Jesus. Nothing which makes this impossible is suggested in Acts vi. 5, viii. 4–40, xxi. 8 f. Cf. *Forsch.* vi. 158-175. Whether Andrew, also, was temporarily in Asia Minor is more uncertain. Regarding Andrew and Aristion, see *Forsch.* vi. 217–224. The present writer thinks that in *Forsch.* vi. 187 f., cf. S. 177, 183, he has paid sufficient attention to the attempts to refer 1 John i. 1–4, iv. 14–16 to the mystical contemplation of an epigone, instead of to an experience of the senses on the part of a life companion of Jesus.

4. (P. 360.) The word *ἔγραψα*, which is thrice repeated in ii. 14, is not equivalent to *γράφω* as used in letters; because we find *γράφω* used in ii. 1, 7, 8, 12, 13 with reference to what is to be written immediately following. Neither does it refer to a previous letter; for in that case first of all ver. 14 would have to precede ver. 12 and a contrast indicated between the present

letter and the earlier one by means of a *νῦν, ἄρτι, πάλιν* (cf. Gal. i. 9 where the antithesis is to earlier oral statements), or Τὸ *δεύτερον* (cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 1 f.; 2 Pet. iii. 1). Secondly, the object of the *ἔγραψα* is practically the same as the object of *γράφω* in ver. 12 f. Consequently *ἔγραψα* is to be taken here, as in ii. 21, 26, v. 13, as an aorist referring to what immediately precedes (cf. 3 John 9). John is fond of repetition, but likes at the same time to vary his language. Paul expresses himself more tersely, cf. Phil. iv. 4.

5. (P. 364.) In 1 John ii. 18 the idea that an antichrist will come is presupposed as part of the common Christian teaching familiar to the readers, in fact we have already seen that such an idea was actually part of the common Christian faith (vol. i. 226 ff.). Only at the time when 2 Thess. was written the name *ἀντίχριστος* does not seem to have been as yet in common use. Neither is it strange that the readers had heard of a spirit of antichrist yet to come, iv. 3, 6; because it was predicted that he would appear in the full glory of pseudo-prophetic signs and wonders, 2 Thess. ii. 9 f. Just as Paul saw the *μυστήριον* of the antichrist already at work in his time, so John saw the spirit of the same manifesting itself in his day (iv. 3, *ἤδη*; cf. 2 Thess. ii. 7). In every teacher inspired by this spirit he perceives a preliminary incarnation of the future antichrist (ii. 18, 22, 2 John 7). The relation of this preliminary to the complete manifestation is conceived of in the same manner as in John iv. 21–23, v. 25. The first is not merely analogous to the second; it is the beginning and indication of it. Because there are many antichrists, John recognises that "it is the last hour," naturally not in the general sense, in which the beginning of the end comes with the appearance of Christ (1 Pet. i. 20; 1 Cor. x. 11; Heb. i. 1), nor yet in the sense that "*the* last hour or *the* last day" has come (John xi. 24, xii. 48; Matt. xxiv. 36); but in the sense that the present, which is full of significant portends of the coming end, for this very reason partakes of the character of the end, cf. Jas. v. 3, 5, 8.

6. (P. 365.) The text of iv. 3 has been very much corrected, which is proof that its original language was unusual. In the first place, it is certain that the correct reading is Ἰησοῦν without Χριστόν, which is frequently added (KL S^1 S^3, Sah. Copt. Vulg., once also in a free quotation by Tert. *Jej.* i.) or *κύριον* (א). Other readings are as follows: (*A*) ὃ *λύει* Ἰησοῦν, so Iren. (Lat.) iii. 16. 8; according to the scholion of the Athos MS. *ad loc.* (von der Goltz, S. 48), also in the Greek text of Irenæus. In this same scholion it is stated that Clement of Alexandria in his work on the Passover (*Forsch.* iii. 32), and Origen in tom. 8 of his *Commentary on Rom.*, quote the passage in this way. This is confirmed by Orig. (Lat.) *in Matt.* § 65, Delarue, iii. 883, cf. tom. xvi. 8 *in Matt.* p. 727, *οὐ λύω τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ* Χριστοῦ (according to Cramer, *Cat.* v. 226 on 1 Cor. xii. 6, Origen, however, seems, moreover, to have known the *B* reading, which is found also in the text of the Athos MS.). Here belong also certain "ancient MSS." referred to by Socrates, *H. E.* vii. 32, who appeals at the same time to ancient interpreters; also by Tertullian (*c. Marc.* v. 16, *negantes Christum in carne venisse* [according to 1 John iv. 2; 2 John 7], *et solventes Jesum* [according to iv. 3]; *Jej.* i. *nec quod Jesum Christum solvant*); Lucifer, ed. Vindob. 262. 3; Priscillian, p. 31. 3; Augustine, Vulg. (+Christum) etc. (*B*) ὃ *μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν AB*, with the added Χριστόν, Sahid. Copt. (*C*) The reading *B* with the addition

ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα, ℵKL S^1 S^3. (*D*) The reading *A* with almost the same addition in Ticonius, *Lib. Reg.*, ed. Burkitt, p. 68. 1, *qui solvit Jesum et negat in carne venisse.* (*E*) Quite as isolated is the reading in Cypr. *Test.* ii. 8, where simply *qui autem negat in carne venisse* is added as ver. 3 at the end of 1 John iv. 2. Other very early witnesses, such as Polyc. vii. 1; Tert. *Carn. Chr.* xxiv., refers rather to 2 John 7—a passage which Irenæus, Priscillian, and others quote in connection with 1 John iv. 3, which also Tert. *c. Marc.* v. 16 freely quotes in connection with the same passage. Readings *CDE* are clearly derived from 2 John 7 under the influence of 1 John iv. 2. *B* likewise is only an "improvement" of the original *A* text.

7. (P. 366.) In regard to the sentence v. 6*a*, which is interpreted in very different ways, the following remarks may be made: (1) The οὗτος which points backward can take up again only the predicate ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, not the subject Ἰησοῦς in ver. 5, and is itself the predicate; otherwise ὁ ἐλθών instead of ἦλθεν and the appositional phrase Ἰησ. Χρ., added at the end, are impossible. The expression is not smooth, but such language is often found in John (John vi. 50, 58, cf. 33). The name "the Son of God" is applicable to Him, who has gone through water and blood, namely, to Jesus Christ. (2) ὁ ἐλθών is not equivalent to ὁ ἐρχόμενος. It certainly, therefore, cannot refer to a repeated coming in the sacraments, or yet to the coming of Christ into the world, or to His public appearance. For, in the first place, in that case it would be necessary to refer to the flesh (cf. iv. 2; 2 John 7); and, in the second place, water and blood were not the medium through which Christ came into the world or entered upon His public work, nor were they associated with His coming or with His public manifestation (cf. 2 Cor. ii. 4, "I wrote unto you with many tears"). Still less does the passage mean that Christ thus equipped and clothed came into the world, in whichever sense this is taken. That would require ἐν not διά. The word ἔρχεσθαι means here, as it does elsewhere (vol. ii. 589, n. 4, also John iv. 30, vi. 17, xxi. 3), "to go"; consequently with διά=διέρχεσθαι, "to go through." Jesus underwent the baptism of blood as well as the baptism of water (Mark i. 9, x. 38 f.). On the strength of this statement John could add that Jesus the Christ is to be found not "in the water alone, but in the water and in the blood." Whoever seeks Him and hopes to find Him in the water alone "has not the Son," and so is without the Father and without the life" (v. 12, ii. 23). With reference to the so-called "Comma Joanneum" about the three heavenly witnesses after 1 John v. 7, it is sufficient to refer to Tischendorf *ad loc.*, Westc.-Hort, *App.* 103, and to Scrivener, *Introd.*[4] ii. 401–407, for the literature. But none of these authorities cite the earliest quotation of the passage which is certain and which can be definitely dated (*circa* 380), namely, that of Priscillian (p. 6) and the possibly contemporaneous quotation in the *Expositio Fidei Cathol.* (in Caspari, *Kirchenhistor. Anecd.* S. 305), which quotation is apparently taken from the proselyte Isaac (alias Ambrosiaster). Nevertheless, on the 13th of January 1897, the Congr. S. R. et U. Inquisitionis declared that denial or doubt of the authenticity of this passage was not unobjectionable; cf. the present writer's lecture, *Über die bleibende Bedeutung des ntl. Kanons*, 1898, S. 26. Conscientious Catholic theologians, however, have not allowed this declaration to prevent them from proving so much the more thoroughly the apocryphal origin of this interpolation. So especially Künstle, *Das Comma Joanneum auf seine*

Herkunft untersucht, 1905, who seeks to show that Priscillian is the author of it.

8. (P. 368.) Concerning the real teaching of Cerinthus, see vol. i. 515, n. 4; concerning the opinion of the Alogi that Cerinthus was the author of the Johannine writings, see above, p. 200 f. n. 11; for his personal relations to John, above, p. 204, n. 24. If he denied the possibility of the virgin conception and birth of Jesus (Iren. i. 26. 1), the fact throws a new light on John i. 13 f. (above, p. 265 f.). John's references to Mark, which are particularly evident, must also be considered in the light of the fact that Cerinthus admitted only this Gospel to be genuine (vol. ii. 456, n. 16). No trustworthy witness charges Cerinthus with gross immorality or antinomian ethics, and this agrees with the tone of 1 and 2 John (above in the text, p. 362 f.). Not even 2 John 11 can be made to support such theories and practice on the part of heretics; since *τὰ ἔργα τὰ πονηρά* is only a description of their moral attitude as a whole, and their conduct as tending to mislead the children of God; cf. John iii. 19, vii. 7; 1 John iii. 12; 3 John 10. But it is evident that John failed to discover in them the true love of God and of their brethren. The *πολλοί* in 1 John ii. 18, iv. 1; 2 John 7 does not refer to a number of different types of errorists, but to the strong following secured by one type of them. The reason why their teaching found acceptance, is their use of non-Christian ideas and forms of expression, 1 John iv. 5. Cerinthus was learned in Egyptian wisdom and culture (Hipp. *Ref.* vii. 33, x. 21); he was a Gnostic.

9. (P. 368.) Regarding the relation of 1 John to the Gospel of John, see Holtzmann, *JbfPTh*, 1881, S. 699; 1882, S. 128, 316, 460. In order to show the close relationship between 1 John and the Gospel of John, it would be necessary to place beside nearly every sentence of 1 John two or three parallels from the Gospel. They agree, too, in not using certain conceptions, elsewhere widely current, such as *εὐαγγέλιον* (in the Johannine writings only in Rev. xiv. 6, and there not of preaching; *ἀγγελία* is used instead in 1 John i. 5, iii. 11), *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* (neither word is found in James, Jude, and 2 Peter). That the resemblance between 1 John and the Gospel is not greater, only goes to confirm what is apparent from the Gospel itself, namely, that John in writing the Gospel was conscious of the difference between the language of Jesus and the understanding of the disciples at that time on the one hand, and the language and understanding of the Church on the other hand. He does not represent Jesus as using the name Logos, but himself employs it as a well-known phrase. Comparing 1 John i. 1 with John i. 1, 14, perhaps one can say that in the letter the conception of the Logos seems to be less fixed and the name less formal. There is nothing strange about the use of *παράκλητος* in 1 John ii. 1 to describe the relation of the exalted Jesus to God and to the Church (vol. i. 64 f.); because in John xiv. 16, Jesus represents Himself as having been heretofore the paraclete of the disciples. Not in every respect does He cease to be a paraclete because of His exaltation. But His Church, which remains on earth, needs for its life in the world another Paraclete which will remain with it. Neither Jesus nor Paul mention the "antichrist" by this name (above, n. 5). It is a misconception, however, to assume that the Fourth Gospel excludes the common eschatological views of the early Christians. To show this in detail would

require a complete exposition of John iii. 17–19, iv. 21–23, v. 20–29, vi. 39, 44, 54, xi. 24–26, xii. 48, xiv.–xvi.

10. (P. 369.) Of the heresies of the post-apostolic age none has nearly so many points of contact with the errors which John opposes as the real teaching of Cerinthus, certainly not the Jewish docetism of Ignatius or the gnosis of Basilides. While in Cerinthus the cosmological speculations and the speculations relating to the history of religion appear to be little developed, Basilides has a well developed system. Although Basilides may have laid a certain emphasis upon the baptism of Jesus (Clem. *Exc. e. Theodoto*, 16 ; *Strom.* i. 146), there is no evidence that his teaching on this point was the same as that of Cerinthus. The errorists of 1 John exhibit none of Basilides' phantastic docetism (Iren. i. 24. 4) and loose morals (Iren. i. 24. 5 ; Clem. *passim*). Furthermore, there is no evidence to show that the teachings of Basilides spread from Egypt to Asia Minor.

§ 71. THE LESSER EPISTLES OF JOHN (N. 1).

The Third Epistle of John is evidently a letter of recommendation which the author has given to some Christians who wish to journey from his place of residence to that of Gaius, the person addressed. Their purpose, however, is not to settle in this new place, but to continue their journey. They are commended to Gaius that he may show them hospitality and send them forward on their way (5–7, n. 2). Apparently, not long before the same brethren have experienced similar kindness from Gaius. The author expresses his pleasure and gratitude (n. 2) that these brethren, who had recently returned to his home, which seems also to have been their own, have borne witness not only to the genuineness of Gaius' character and manner of life, but also to his love ; and have commended it before the assembled congregation (3–6). It is this same love which Gaius is again to show them. These brethren are not, however, persons who, as private individuals, live a restless, roving life ; they are preachers of the gospel, or rather travelling missionaries. As such they receive no help from those outside the Church, and are therefore so much the more dependent upon the hospitality of fellow-Christians (7). Whoever entertains such persons co-operates in the spreading of Christian

truth (8). This describes quite fully the occasion and purpose of the letter; since what follows serves really to explain why the author addresses the communication to Gaius and not to someone else. This would require no justification if Gaius occupied an official position in the local Church, upon which rested the duty of caring for missionaries and other Christians passing through the place. But there is no hint of this. Gaius seems to be a member of a congregation, who is upon friendly terms with the author, and whose means, as in the case of his namesake at Corinth, enables him to practise hospitality upon an extraordinary scale (n. 3). Since, however, the exercise of such Church hospitality is the business of the congregation, and therefore the affair of its presiding officer (n. 3), it is most strange that the travellers are recommended to Gaius exclusively, instead of to the local Church or to Gaius as its leader, with the injunction to interest the remaining members of the congregation in the matter. It is this, however, which is explained in vv. 9 ff. To be sure, the author also wrote a letter to the congregation to which Gaius belonged; but in this he could not and would not write what he writes to Gaius alone; for he could not be sure that his request would be granted (n. 4). Although we should expect him to have exhorted the congregation, either directly or through their leader, to entertain the missionaries,—especially since, apart from this, he had, at that time, to write to the congregation, and actually did write to them,—the remark about Diotrephes makes any such hypothesis impossible; for Diotrephes does not recognise the authority of the author and of the other disciples of Jesus (n. 5), who like him have come into the circle of the local Church. He will not be advised by them, and ventures even to make derogatory remarks about them. In fact, not satisfied with this, he refuses to receive the brethren recommended by the author—such as the travelling missionaries who

are the bearers of the letter to Gaius; and not only forbids their reception by the members of the congregation, who would have been inclined to receive them, but excludes from its membership such as do not submit to his orders. Diotrephes, consequently, possesses great power in the local Church, and exercises it in a direction hostile to the author, and directly opposed to the measures which he recommends. The author is not at all inclined to allow Diotrephes to continue to do as he pleases. He plans, when next he visits the place where Diotrephes and Gaius reside, to bring to issue the evil conduct of the former (10, 14), and to do this before the assembled congregation; for his purpose is not simply to remind Diotrephes of his duties, but rather to bring to their minds his evil words and deeds (10, *ὑπομνῆσαι* without *αὐτόν*; cf. 1 Tim. v. 20). Until such time, however, the author refrains from addressing letters of recommendation in behalf of journeying brethren to the congregation in which this imperious man rules, or to the man himself. The description of the conduct of Diotrephes, especially the *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβάλλει*, presupposes that he occupies an official position, formally recognised even by those who do not agree with him, and one which even the author is bound to consider, and which enables him successfully to play the autocrat. The conclusion drawn from the description of him as *ὁ φιλοπρωτεύων αὐτῶν*, that Diotrophes was only striving for the position of autocratic bishop, is shown from the facts adduced to be unjustified (n. 6). He already has this official position, and what he is accused of is simply that he employs it in an imperious and ruinous manner; that he is an ambitious hierarch who does not follow the precept of Jesus (Mark x. 44) and the example and exhortation of the apostles (1 Pet. v. 3; 2 Cor. i. 24), being in addition an opponent of the author and of the other disciples of Jesus in that Church circle. This assertive and hostile attitude is not due merely to

the fact that, as lord in his own house, he will not allow himself to be dictated to by these men in the affairs of his congregation. The insufficiency of such a theory is evident from the simple fact that it is unproved, and that it is unlikely that others of the apostolic circle besides the author occupied a similar superior ecclesiastical office in the Asiatic Church. His attitude is rather, like the instance in 1 John iv. 6, one of contradiction of the apostolic teaching (n. 5). The leader of this congregation is an enemy of the author and of his companions; but there are in the same place we know not how many persons such as Gaius, and perhaps also a certain Demetrius (12), upon whom the author looks as his friends and to whom he sends greetings by name (15). That which distinguishes these persons from Diotrephes, however, is not merely a respectful friendship for the author or a greater measure of practical brotherly love for the Christians travelling through their locality (6, 10, *τοὺς βουλομένους*); for the thing to which the missionaries bore witness upon their return from the home of Gaius, and that at which the author particularly expresses his pleasure, is that Gaius possesses the truth and walks therein (3, 4), which, according to 2 John 4 ff., 1 John i. 7 ff., certainly cannot be taken to mean a theoretical orthodoxy, still less an active brotherly love alone. It is rather the firm adherence to the apostolic teaching which shows itself in life. That this is the testimony given of Gaius, distinguishing him from others (3, where *σύ* is not to be disregarded), shows clearly enough that Diotrephes is not attached to that truth, and that he is, principally on that account, unfriendly towards its advocates—*i.e.* to the author and the other disciples and missionaries recommended by him. It by no means follows that he was on this account a declared false teacher. The false teachers of 1 John were expelled from their congregations; not one of them could have been the leader of a local Church.

But one who refuses as decidedly as does Diotrephes to give ear to the apostolic wishes (cf. 1 John iv. 6), and who speaks so disrespectfully of those who communicate them (3 John 10), marks himself thereby a confederate of these errorists; and it may be assumed that his rejection of the missionaries recommended by the author carries with it a suspicious toleration of the πλάνοι. In spite of the schism which divided the congregation, and the strained relations existing between Diotrephes and himself, the author wrote a letter to the Church of which the former was the presiding officer (3 John 9). When, in consideration of the power of Diotrephes over the congregation, the author does not take up the subject of practical demands which call for immediate fulfilment, he surely does not contemplate giving up his position of authority over that local Church. He intends soon to assert it in person (10*a*), and he already manifests it in his letter. He has friends there who at times are oppressed by Diotrephes (1, 10*b*, 15), and he looks upon all the members of the congregation as his children, even if he is able to take pleasure only in those who walk in the truth (4).

Fortunately we are not constrained to guess what the author wrote in the letter to the congregation, of Diotrephes, since we possess it in 2 John. According to 3 John 9 (ἔγραψά τι) it was brief in form,—in fact it is shorter than any other Epistle in the N.T. with the exception of 3 John. It is so exactly like 2 John in extent, that one must assume that the author used two pages of papyrus (χάρται, 2 John 12) of the same size for both these letters (n. 7). Furthermore, the stylistic form of both is so very similar, that, for this reason also, it cannot be doubted that both are from the hand of the same author, and were written at the same time (n. 7).

In both of them the author expresses his hope of coming soon to those whom he is addressing, and, instead

of the unsatisfactory epistolary communication, to speak to them face to face. In 2 John nothing is said about recommending travelling missionaries, just as there was nothing on this subject in the letter to the congregation mentioned in 3 John 9, if we interpret it rightly. But 2 John is really directed to a local Church which the author addresses as a chosen mistress, as the mother of its members, wedded to the Lord Christ, and as a sister of the Church in the place where he is living, 1, 5, 13 (n. 8). We find here the same contrast which existed in the congregation of Gaius. The author found only a few children of the congregation to be walking in the truth (4). In fact, it must have happened that persons who did not hold the apostolic doctrine, but the same false doctrine that is combated in 1 John, received hospitality among the people, if we are to understand why the author so earnestly warns against the very thing which is condemned in the first Epistle, and stigmatises even the friendly greeting of such persons as participation in their evil ways (10, 11). The author includes all the members of the congregation in sincere love; not because of their virtues, but because of his faith in the enduring truth, which in Christians is not easily destroyed (1 f.). He uses great moderation of expression when, instead of rebuking the others, he speaks of his special pleasure at the good behaviour of many of the members of the congregation (4). His appeal goes out to the whole congregation to hold fast to the old command of love, to the old truth of Jesus Christ as come in the flesh, and to the doctrine of Christ Himself, and the warning not to lose, in their folly, the whole harvest of the labour of their Christian life (5–9; n. 9). The danger in which this local congregation stood was great; but Diotrephes had not yet reached the point where he could hinder the reading of the letter before the assembled congregation. The author does not give the congregation up, but trusts, by means of both letters, to

prepare the way for the discussion in which he hopes to contend with Diotrephes and to restore the congregation to the right and proper way of thinking.

The author mentions by name neither himself nor the locality to which he is sending the letter by the hand of travelling missionaries; he characterises himself rather as "the Elder" (ὁ πρεσβύτερος) who has a right to consider as his children also the Christians of other parts of the province in which he lives (2 John 1; 3 John 1, 4). This is the name applied in the circle of his disciples to the John who lived in Ephesus (vol. ii. 435 ff., pp. 451 ff.; above, 184 f.). A man of letters who wished to pose as the apostle John, would have brought himself into the Epistle under the name and plain title of the latter. The apostle John could, thanks to his unique position in the Church of Asia, either neglect entirely the introduction of himself (1 John) or, in the case of real letters (2 and 3 John), select an appellation which had become current in daily life. Concerning the date of the composition of the Epistles only conjectures are possible. The disinclination to write (2 John 12; 3 John 13), which stands in such contrast to the pleasure which it gives him in 1 John i. 4, may be due to the painful occasion which gave rise to the lesser Epistles, but may also be explained by the increasing age of the author, in which case the term ὁ πρεσβύτερος which he gives himself would be most appropriate. The aggravation of the internal factionalism of the congregation, which is merely hinted at in 1 John iv. 6, may be due to the fact that 1 John is directed to the Churches of Asia, which on the whole were a source of satisfaction to the apostle; while, on the other hand, the lesser Epistles refer to a local Church in which exceptionally critical conditions had developed. But a further development may have taken place. The abuse which Diotrephes made of his episcopal position seems to take for granted that this institution was not one which was entirely new. At the

same time it is likely that 2 and 3 John were written several years later than 1 John.

1. (P. 374.) Recent works on the subject are : POGGEL, *Der 2 and 3 Brief des Apostels Jo.* 1896 ; HARNACK, *TU*, xv. 3*b*, 1897, on Third John ; CHAPMAN, "The historical setting of the 2. and 3. epistles of St. John," *JThS*, 1904, p. 357 ff., 517 ff. Chapman infers from 3 John 7 that the strangers, who had been hospitably received by Gaius, had journeyed to the East from Rome, on account of the persecution of Nero. One of these was Demetrius (ver. 12), identical with Demas (Col. iv. 14 ; 2 Tim. iv. 10), in whose home city, Thessalonica, Gaius was also resident; the same Gaius as the native of Corinth mentioned in Rom. xvi. 23, who, according to a tradition referred to by Origen, became the first bishop of Thessalonica. Diotrephes also lived in the same city ; and the letter, referred to in 3 John 9, but not extant to-day, was directed to that city. 2 John is subjected to similar caprices.

2. (P. 374.) The reference to hospitality is given in ver. 5, *καὶ τοῦτο ξένους*; ver. 6, *προπέμψεις* refers to aid on the journey (vol. ii. 54, n. 4). For *ἐχάρην λίαν* in ver. 3, cf. Philem. 7 ; Phil. iv. 10 ; Polyc. *Phil.* i. 1 ; vol. i. 456, n. 3. In ver. 3, *ἀδελφῶν*, which is without an article, might refer to other than the persons mentioned in ver. 5, except that in ver. 6 *μαρτυρεῖν*, which we find in 6 as in ver. 3, is attributed to those who are now journeying to Gaius, only in ver. 6 the word has a more definite object. For *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος*, cf. Rom. i. 5 ; for *τὸ ὄνομα*, which = the name of Christ, see Acts v. 41 = ix. 16, xv. 26. In the *Didache*, xi. 3–6, we learn of the itinerant missionary preachers of a somewhat later period, called *ἀπόστολοι* (cf. also vol. i. 290 f., 302, 306).

3. (P. 375.) This Gaius can hardly be identical with the Gaius of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14 ; Rom. xvi. 23), nor with the Macedonian of the same name (Acts xix. 29), but perhaps he is the same as the Gaius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4 ; vol. i. 209, n. 2). This Gaius is referred to in *Const.* vii. 46, where he is represented as having been ordained by John as bishop of Pergamum, just as Demetrius, mentioned in 3 John 12, is made bishop of Philadelphia. That *φιλοξενία* was a duty everywhere incumbent upon the Christians is evidenced by 3 John 8 ; cf. Tit. iii. 14 ; 1 Tim. v. 10 ; Rom. xii. 13 ; Heb. xiii. 2 ; 1 Pet. iv. 9 ; but because it was the duty of the Church, it was a special obligation on the part of those at the head of the Church (1 Tim. iii. 2 ; Tit. i. 8 ; Herm. *Sim.* ix. 27 ; Just. *Apol.* i. 67). Letters of introduction in the apostolic Church were always directed to the Church (Rom. xvi. 1 ; 2 Cor. iii. 1, viii. 23 f. ; Polyc. *ad Phil.* xiv.).

4. (P. 375.) The reading *ἔγραψα ἄν* instead of *τί*, ver. 9, is due either to the feeling that it is improper for an apostle to confess that he is powerless against the Church, or, less probably, if the reference to 2 John is denied, to the desire to avoid the necessity of assuming a lost letter. It is of itself quite conceivable that John should say that in a letter to the Church he had already made the same request and recommendation that he does in 3 John, knowing, however, that it was useless, because Diotrephes would use his influence against it. But (1) in that case we should have, instead of *τί*, rather *περὶ τούτων*, *αὐτὸ τοῦτο*, or some similar expression ; (2) it is hardly likely that John would have made his request of the Church when he knew that it would be refused

because of the opposition of Diotrephes; (3) it is certain also on other grounds that our 2 John is here meant, which says nothing concerning the introduction of travelling Christians. The situation, therefore, is rather that outlined above, pp. 374, 381.

5. (P. 375.) Of course, after the constant use of the personal pronoun "I" in the letter, the ἡμᾶς in vv. 9 and 10 cannot mean John alone, nor John and all who thought as he did, for the reason that the reference here is not to the hospitable reception of travelling brethren, as in ver. 10*b*, but to the recognition of authority and respect for exhortations. Consequently the reference here, as in 1 John i. 1–4, iv. 6, 14, must be to John and the other eye-witnesses who were in the province; above, p. 357 f.

6. (P. 376.) The word φιλόπρωτος = English, ambitious (Artemid. ii. 32; Plut. *Mor.* 844 E), does not mean one who is not yet πρῶτος, any more than φιλάργυρος means a poor man merely desirous of obtaining money (cf. φιλόλογος, φιλόσοφος, φιλότιμος, φιλόπονος, φιλόνεικος, φιλόξενος). It can refer to persons of distinction, ambitiously inclined, who lay undue weight upon their position as such and misuse it, as well as to those who are desirous of winning such a position for the first time (cf. Matt. xxiii. 6 = Mark xii. 38 f.; Clem. *Ep. ad Jac.* ii. ἡ τοιαύτη καθέδρα (the bishop's chair) οὐ φιλοκαθεδροῦντος πολμηροῦ χρείαν ἔχει, Iren. iv. 26. 3 speaks of presbyters, *i.e.* of holders of the πρωτοκαθεδρία (cf. Clem. *Strom.* vi. 106 f.; Herm. *Vis.* iii. 9. 7), who *contumeliis agunt reliquos et principalis consessionis* (πρωτοκαθεδρίας) *tumore elati sunt*; cf. 1 Tim. iii. 6. To this class belongs Diotrephes, although, according to 3 John 9–10, he is not, like the προηγούμενοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας in Rome in the time of Hermas (*loc. cit.*, and vol. ii. 124, n. 5), a member of the πρεσβυτέριον, but a ruler. What John may write to the Church is without effect save as Diotrephes allows it to be effective. He determines how travelling Christians shall be received. Those who do not submit to his will he excommunicates. If there were even moderate opposition on the part of other office-holders, or if there were co-operation between him and them, there would be some hint of it. Demetrius, who is mentioned in ver. 12, may be a presbyter who opposed Diotrephes—an assumption which possibly gets some support from the reading ἐκκλησίας instead of ἀληθείας, ver. 12 (see Gwynn, *Hermathena*, 1890, p. 304). But in that case the official position of the presbyter, as over against the bishop, must have been very weak. Demetrius may also have been one of the missionaries (vv. 3–8), the leader of the company of travellers. John makes no attempt to weaken the *official* position of Diotrephes by defining the latter's rights and the rights of others; he simply reproves Diotrephes' opinions, words, and deeds on *moral* grounds.

7. (P. 378.) According to Nestle's edition, 2 John consists of only 33 lines, of which two contain only a few words, and two are not complete; 3 John likewise consists of 33 lines, of which six are incomplete. Counting the letters, and allowing 36 letters for the ancient line, gives for 2 John 32 lines, for 3 John not quite 31 lines; cf. *GK*, i. 76, ii. 397. The resemblance of style is closer than between Eph. and Col., or between 1 Tim. and Tit. Cf. ὁ πρεσβύτερος (without a name) . . . οὓς (ὃν) ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ (2 John 1; 3 John 1), ἐχάρην λίαν . . . περιπατοῦντας ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, καθώς (4 and 3), εἰργάσασθε (8 and 5); cf. especially 2 John 12, and 3 John 13–14.

8. (P. 379.) It is true that Κυρία does occur, although seldom, as a proper

name, and is found in Asia Minor (cf. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Exped.* p. 138, No. 237; p. 389, No. 564; *Epigraph. Journey*, p. 167, No. 159), as does also Κύριος, which is found even in the Talmud, Jer. Shabbath, 7*c*; Beza, 61*d*; cf. the Aramaic name Martha, with the meaning κυρία. Even if this rendering were possible in 2 John 5, it is out of the question in ver. 1, where we should certainly expect Κυρίᾳ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ (cf. ver. 13; Rom. xvi. 13, cf. 8–10, and the entire list of names in this passage where similar epithets are used; see also Ign. *Smyrn.* xiii. 2). Neither can κυρία be the title of a woman of rank; because, in the first place, the early Christians by common consent refrained from the use of such titles (above, p. 81, n. 3); in the second place, while such a title might be used in address (ver. 5; cf. Phil. iv. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 11), in a greeting it would have to stand in apposition to a proper name (1 Tim. i. 2; Philem. 1). While S^2 S^3 transcribe κυρία as a proper name, ἐκλεκτή is so taken by Clement of Alexandria. He seems to have discovered the same name in ver. 13 also, where he construed it in apposition to σοῦ. On this basis he appears to have justified the identification of the woman addressed in 2 John as Ἐκλεκτή with the συνεκλεκτή of 1 Pet. v. 13. In this way he makes her a Babylonian, and maintains that under existing political conditions she and her children, who are likewise addressed, were Parthians. In this way arose the mythical title or subscription to 2 John, πρὸς Πάρθους (misread παρθένους by the Latin translator of Clement). In the West this was transferred to 1 John, and even to all three of the Epistles (cf. *Forsch.* iii. 92, 99 ff.). The opinion that κυρία is a figurative name for a local church is not a new discovery (cf. Scholion of Matthæi, pp. 153 and 242, where, however, the question as to whether the reference is to a man or to a church is left undecided); Jerome, *Ep.* cxxiii. 12, Val.^{2} i. 909. Since 1 Pet. was highly esteemed by the disciples of John in Asia, to which province the Epistle was directed, it is not unlikely that John was acquainted with it, and that 1 Pet. v. 13 led him to personify the Church, and to employ the word ἐκλεκτός, which is very rarely used by him elsewhere (only in John i. 34, above, p. 284, n. 2, and Rev. xvii. 17). The Church is not only the bride of Christ (John iii. 29; Rev. xxii. 14), but also His wife (Rev. xxi. 9; Eph. v. 22–32; cf. Rom. vii. 4), and what is true of the Church as a whole is applicable to the individual Church (2 Cor. xi. 2), only in this case the Church is not "the wife," but a "wife of the κύριος," so that κυρία stands without the article. The transfer of the name κύριος in its feminine form to the wife is not a customary Jewish, Greek, or Roman usage, but yet it finds a certain analogy in the use of the term *Shulamite* in Cant. vii. 1 [Eng. vi. 13], the choice of which word is, without prejudice to its original meaning, determined by its relation to Solomon. Neither does the interpretation of the word to mean an individual woman agree with the contents of the Epistle. If John wished to say that he had had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with some of this woman's children while on a visit to their aunt (ver. 13), and of hearing that they were good Christians,—while in ver. 1 he assumes the same to be true of the woman's other children, whom he did not know personally,—the language of ver. 4 is impossible. This is practically Poggel's position (work cited n. 1), S. 137 ff. Moreover, the greeting in ver. 3, the apostolic fulness and solemnity of which are in strong contrast to the almost secular tone of 3 John 2 (vol. i. 78, n. 2; 119, n. 7), shows that it is not a friendly family

which is here addressed, but a Church in which there was much to be desired in the way of grace, compassion, peace, love, and truth.

9. (P. 379.) It is assumed that *εἰργάσασθε* (Iren. iii. 16. 8; Lucifer, p. 29; ℵA S^2 S^3) is the correct reading in 2 John 8. The recollection of such passages as 1 Thess. iii. 5; Gal. iv. 11; Phil. ii. 16, caused the correction to *εἰργασάμεθα* (B Sah. Vulg. Cop. margin of S^3, *i.e.* Egyptian texts), in conformity to which were written *ἀπολέσωμεν* and *ἀπολάβωμεν* (KLP, *i.e.* Antiochian texts), whereas, as a matter of fact, John vi. 27–29, 1 Thess. i. 3, are a close analogy.

§ 72. THE NATURE, STRUCTURE, AND UNITY OF REVELATION.

The book which we are accustomed to call the Revelation of John after its author, who speaks of himself repeatedly by name (i. 1, 4, 9, xxii. 8), styles itself the revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave to Him to impart to His servants, announcing through it prophetically what must shortly come to pass. In carrying out this divine commission, Jesus, through His angel, imparted the revelation given Him to His servant John, who committed to writing all that it had been given him to see, and so presented, in his book, the word of God and the testimony of Christ (i. 1–2, n. 1); for in the last analysis it is God who speaks to John, and Christ who testifies to him.

The decision to put into writing the revelation which he had received, and to send it to seven Churches of Asia, was not his own; it was the execution of a task repeatedly imposed upon him in the vision, both as regards the whole of what he had seen, and in respect of its separate parts (i. 11, 19, ii. 1, 8, etc., xiv. 13, xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 10). Only once is he forbidden to write down a communication made to him (x. 4). The condition in which he represents himself when he saw and heard that which goes to make up the contents of his book is described as one of ecstasy, and his seeing and hearing as that of a vision (i. 10, iv. 2, n. 1). On the other hand, when the revelation comes to him through an angel, even when the appearance is not a visible and audible one (i. 1, xxii. 6, 8, 16, n. 1), the author

will have us understand that the ecstatic state and all the events therein experienced and impressions therein received are the direct results of the influence upon his nature, of this heavenly messenger. It is upon this origin of the book and its contents that the author bases the consciousness that in it he has, as a human witness (i. 2; cf. xxii. 8, 18), presented the word of God and the testimony of Christ; and thus has the right to call his work a revelation (i. 1) and a word and book of prophecy (i. 3, xxii. 7, 10, 18, 19). It is but another way of expressing the same thing when this communication to John, and through him to different persons and Churches, is said to be the word of the Spirit to those for whom the book is intended (ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22; cf. xx. 16); for even the recording of the revelation, bidden as he is to make it, is a προφητεύειν (x. 11), and what the prophet speaks or writes is everywhere a declaration of the Spirit (Acts xxi. 11, 1 Tim. iv. 1; 1 Thess. v. 19 f., n. 2).

The Revelation of John consequently takes its place as a part of Christian prophecy, which, as a source of knowledge, edification, and action, was such a powerful and highly esteemed manifestation of the Spirit in the time of the apostles. Revelation is distinguished from the other products of this Christian prophecy merely in the fact that it is a *written* record of revelation received; whereas the prophets, so far as we know, had up to this time contented themselves with *oral* utterance. In this Revelation becomes a continuation of the writings of the O.T. prophets (n. 2). An understanding of the contents, origin, and value of Revelation, indeed even of the meaning of many individual passages, and of the nature of the book itself, is impossible until one has at least stated clearly the question with what right the author speaks thus of himself and of his book, and has answered it with the candour which is indispensable in scientific thinking. It is a misuse of language to speak of the author of the book

as the "Seer," and to hold at the same time that he saw nothing but some books lying about him within the light of his study lamp; while it is a violation of the laws of historical criticism to assume that the author himself was as confused in regard to the origin of the pictures represented as his visions, as are many scholars who seek to explain them. His statements mentioned just above leave nothing to be desired in the way of clearness; and the claim which he makes for his rendering of the revelations received (i. 2 f., xxii. 18 f.) bears no evidence of uncertainty. When, as author of the book, he represented himself to be a witness to the word of God and to the testimony of Jesus, he must have known as well as Paul, as a preacher, that there are false witnesses, who report as facts things which have never occurred (1 Cor. xv. 15). He protests the same horror at all lying (xxi. 27, xxii. 15; cf. xiv. 5) as the John of the Gospel and of the Epistles. In declaring his book to be prophetic—ranking himself thus on the one hand with the prophets of the O.T., and on the other with those of the apostolic age—he does not claim absolute infallibility; for the prophets of the apostolic age had to subject themselves to the criticism of their fellow-Christians, and were under necessity of being cautioned against unnatural excitement, and the infusion of their own thoughts and desires into what was given them by the Spirit (n. 2). But there is no doubt that, in so estimating himself and his book, he assures us of the absence of any conscious admixture of this sort. On the other hand, every Christian prophet of that time must have been conscious of the contrast between the true and the false prophets who appeared among them, especially one who was acquainted with such persons in his immediate neighbourhood (Rev. ii. 20; 1 John iv. 1, cf. Matt. vii. 15–23, xxiv. 11, 24; Luke vi. 26; 2 Pet. ii. 1; Rev. xix. 20). These are, without exception, depicted as immoral men, and in some cases as preachers of false doctrine. But the idea of false prophets involves

neither immorality nor false teaching (n. 2, end); it is rather the pretending to be a prophet and to have received divine revelation without this really having been the case (Rev. ii. 20; Jer. xiv. 14; Deut. xviii. 20–22). They are to be known by their fruits in life and in doctrine; but to these fruits belongs, first of all, the sincerity of their statements as to the origin of their preaching. In the case of the early Christian, there can be no suspicion of confusion in regard to these elemental truths. From the name ἀποκάλυψις, a title never borne by any writing before the time of Revelation, has been divined the idea of an "apocalyptic literature." The determining features of this class of writing (n. 3) are secured, however, not from the specific peculiarities of the Revelation of John, but from certain formal similarities between it and the *Book of Enoch*, the *Book of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Book of Jubilees*, *IV Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Sibylline Oracles*, the *Ascension of Moses*, and the *Ascension of Isaiah*. Even if one considers the Book of Daniel, the first specimen of the "apocalyptic literature," on the assumption that it was composed about 168 B.C., common sense and an uncorrupted taste rebel at placing in the same literary group the Revelation of John, although it be the one from which the group has been named. A presentation of the world's historical development in the form of prophecy purporting to be of an earlier date, if it occurs at all in Revelation, is an entirely subordinate feature of the book.

As far as the pseudonymy is concerned, which constitutes the very essence of this literature, who can compare the name of Enoch or Moses, or even Daniel, Baruch, or Ezra, with that of John! The writers of these books transported themselves hundreds and thousands of years into the past, clothed themselves with the illustrious names of hoary antiquity, and then addressed themselves to the credulous public of their own day, without even so much

as fabricating a personal relationship to it. In Revelation, on the other hand, a man speaks to seven Churches of the province of Asia, and commits to them his book. He is accurately acquainted with their present condition (§ 73), and speaks to them under the name of John—a name which *circa* 70–100 was borne by the most prominent ecclesiastical personality in that region; and all this is done, according to tradition, *circa* 95, *i.e.* at a time when the celebrated John of Ephesus was still living, and, by any conceivable hypothesis, at a time when the personal disciples of this John were yet alive. Although no intelligent person to-day believes that Enoch or Ezra wrote the books which bear their names, or that the daughter of Noah proclaimed the future in Homeric verses, but recognises the artificial character of such inventions, we have here to do with the product of the Christian Church in a time when visions, inspirations of different kinds and preaching based upon them, were part of the accepted order of the day. According to the testimony of Paul, the Book of Acts, and the literature of the Early Church, certain things, in spite of all the contemporary criticism, had maintained their character in the consciousness of the Church as a product of the prophetic spirit, independent of the personal desire and opinion of the speaker. He who has not the courage to characterise everything of this sort as artificial patchwork or pseudo-prophecy, has no right to treat a book, originating in that time and representing itself to be a book of prophecy based upon visionary experiences, as an artificial literary product, or a mixture of the effects of ecstatic states and the painstaking art of a man of letters at variance with the spirit of his time. Especially is this impossible when we consider that it was immediately recognised as contemporary and genuine by the Churches to which it was directed. To write a book on the basis of visions experienced is, of course, literary work which cannot be produced so mechanically as the

impressions of a photographic plate. That the recording of the visions received may be a προφητεύειν (x. 11), the prophet who employs the medium of writing must, to the same degree as the one who speaks orally to the congregation, reproduce vividly the *apocalypsis* which he has received. He must also have the prophetic spirit, which, however, does not, as in the state of ecstatic vision, raise his consciousness above the external world and limit his individual activity, but awakens and stimulates it to prophetic enthusiasm. But it does not follow from this that the book is an artificial product of the artist, which deliberately deviates from the content of the vision which he has seen. It would in so doing lose the very claim which it makes. The book cannot be understood without taking the standpoint of the author and his first readers; so that we must assume, if only for the sake of argument, that John in i. 10–xxii. 16 is giving an account of visions which he has really experienced.

Disregarding for the time being the extended title of the book, John gives it the form of an epistle to "the Seven Churches in Asia." As in the apostolic Epistles, he begins with an address (i. 4–5*a*), in which he speaks of himself and of the recipients of the letter in the third person; but, like Paul and Peter, and in contrast to the antique epistolary style, drops into the direct address—using "you" and "we" (including "I")—when he comes to the greeting itself. A doxology follows (vv. 5*b*–6; cf. Eph. i. 3; 1 Pet. i. 3), which is separated by an Amen from the next two sentences, that furnish a hint of the contents of the following writing. After this there comes an announcement of the return of Christ (ver. 7), given from the standpoint of the writer and strengthened by ναί, ἀμήν, and an utterance of the almighty God (ver. 8). The Epistle in which John speaks of himself throughout in the first person (i. 9, xxi. 8, 18)—a form to be expected in letter-writing—begins at this point. The fact that—

except for the words of Christ addressed to the individual Churches and their leaders (ii. 1–iii. 22)—the readers are not again addressed after i. 9 or in the closing greeting (n. 4), shows that the epistolary form, as in the case of many didactic and historical writings of that time (above, pp. 42, 81, n. 2, 223, n. 1), is intended merely to express in a clear manner the fact that the account is especially designed for certain definite readers. But this casting of the whole book in the form of an epistle does not exclude the use of a book title, any more than in other literature; indeed, this would be more in accord with common custom. It was all the more natural not to leave the book without a title, since its epistolary form might cause it, after a single reading, to be laid aside. But the author is persuaded of the importance of its contents for the Churches. It takes its place beside the "prophetical books" which the Church had inherited from Israel, as one of the same kind. It is to be to her an eternal possession, which she is to protect, as a sacred treasure, from every violation (xxii. 18 f.), and use diligently until the longed-for return of Christ (xxii. 17, 20), *i.e.* she is to make it accessible to her members by reading it in the meetings at public worship (i. 3; cf. 2, 7, 11, etc., xxii. 10, 17). Furthermore, the author is convinced that the contents of the book are designed and have significance not only for the seven Churches to which it is sent as an epistle, but for all the servants of God and of Christ (i. 1, xxii. 6)—for the whole of Christendom (xxii. 17), His Bride.

The Churches to which the prophetic spirit speaks through this book (ii. 7, 11, 17, 29, iii. 6, 13, 22, xxii. 16) are doubtless primarily the seven Churches of Asia; though its range of vision and purpose extend far beyond these to all the Churches (ii. 23). But just because the book was in the form of an epistle to the seven Churches, it was necessary by means of a formal book title to give expression to the fact that it was intended for the whole

Church, and for reading at divine service. A little reflection might have saved the writers of more recent literature on Revelation and their readers any surprise that the author, who in the body of the book speaks of himself in the first person, should employ the third person in the title (n. 5). There are also many things difficult to understand which vanish when one bears in mind that the make-up of the book presupposes that all of the preceding visions have already been seen (n. 6), and by remembering that under normal conditions, especially in ancient times (above, p. 80, n. 1), the title is the part of the book last written, just as it is to-day the part last printed. Therefore the writer is looking backward in the title not only on the revelations received at an earlier time (vv. 1, 2*b*, εἶδεν), but also upon his completed literary activity (ver. 2*a*, ἐμαρτύρησεν), and he pictures to himself the near future when the ἀναγνώστης will read the book before the assembled congregation (ver. 3). But even when he begins to put in writing the book opening with i. 4, the visions lie behind him, their content being present to his mind; and his mode of expression acquires a definiteness which can be accounted for only by them. Since in i. 11 seven local Churches lying in the province of Asia are designated by him as those to whom he is to send the completed book, and since, in the course of the first vision, he receives the commission to speak to each of the congregations a special word, which, as a constituent part of the book directed to all seven of them, each will receive, read, and hear (n. 6), these seven Churches must have been definitely present in his mind from the start (i. 4).

It is not *the* Churches of Asia which are here alluded to (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 19; Gal. i. 2),—as though there were not in this province, even as early as the time of Paul, independent congregations at Colossæ, Hierapolis, and Troas (Col. i. 1, ii. 1, iv. 13; Acts xx. 6 ff.; 2 Cor. ii. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 13),—but *the seven* Churches designated by the

angel which are all to be found in Asia. The definiteness with which he also speaks in i. 4 of *the seven* spirits before the throne of God, where, on the analogy of 2 Cor. xiii. 13, 1 Pet. i. 2, one would expect instead to find but one, is to be explained on the basis of the vision in which the Spirit revealed itself to John in the form of seven torches before the throne of God, and as the seven eyes of the lamb standing by it (iv. 5, v. 6). In Rev. ii. 7, xiv. 3, xxii. 17, however, it is the one spirit who is spoken of. One may characterise the definiteness of expression in i. 4, which is conditioned in this way, as literary awkwardness; but at any rate it bears witness to the origin of the written account, in visions previously experienced.

The division of the account into the two unequal parts i. 10–iii. 22 and iv. 1–xxii. 9, corresponds to the division of the subject-matter of all the visions into that which already existed at the time of the revelation, and that which is to come to pass in the future (i. 19, n. 6). The *first part* represents a single vision. John is sojourning upon the island Patmos. It is the Lord's Day. While the apostle is in an ecstatic state, Christ reveals Himself to him, in priestly array, as the Lord who rules in His Church, and who judges it with the sword of His word, and duriug the whole vision continues to speak to the apostle who has fallen at His feet, and through him to the "angels" of the seven Churches. At the close there is no mention of the vanishing of the vision or of the cessation of the ecstasy; but both are presupposed in iv. 1 f.

The indefinite term *μετὰ ταῦτα*, iv. 1 (cf. vii. 9, xv. 5; John v. 1, vi. 1), may denote hours and days quite as well as a very short intermission. As John tells nothing at all of the execution of the command to write out what he has seen, it is possible that in the intermission that occurred he may have proceeded with the writing down of the first vision, i. 10–iii. 22. According to iv. 2, John falls again

into a trance, which presupposes that he had returned to consciousness; and the fact that the voice of the angel who shows him what he sees is said to be the same as that which spoke to him in i. 10, enables us to recognise the beginning of another revelation. No feature of the picture which John had before him during the first vision passes over into the new one. When Christ appears later, it is in another form (v. 6, xix. 11), nor does He ever again speak with the apostle face to face (on xxii. 10–16, 20, see n. 4). In the *second vision* (iv. 1–viii. 1), which is interrupted toward the close by two episodes (vii. 1–8, 9–17), John feels himself transported to heaven and beholds the Creator and Ruler of the world (chap. iv.) sitting upon His throne adorned with the attributes of His might over the world, surrounded by the council of His spirits, and unceasingly praised by all the adoring creatures of heaven. Not until John has received the impression of this picture as a whole does he become conscious of a *βιβλίον* on the right of the Enthroned, which is written only within, and on the back close sealed with seven seals (v. 1, n. 7). When it becomes evident that in the whole circle of creation no one can be found who would be able by loosing the seals to open the *βιβλίον* and read the writing contained in it, John breaks out into loud weeping over the fact, but is comforted by one of the twenty-four elders who sit around the throne of God, and reminded him of the Lion of the tribe of Judah, who has won a victory by virtue of which He can break the seven seals and open the book. Only now does John observe in the vision a Lamb, standing in the midst of the throne, and bearing marks as though it had been slain. This Lamb, amidst the songs of praise from the spirits of heaven, and from all creatures, receives from the hand of God the *βιβλίον*, and breaks in succession its seven seals (vi. 1–viii. 1).

The word *βιβλίον* itself permits of a great many inter-

pretations, but for the readers of that time it was designated by the seven seals on its back beyond the possibility of mistake. Just as in Germany before the introduction of money-orders, every one knew that a letter sealed with five seals contained money, so the most simple member of the Asiatic Churches knew that a *βιβλίον* made fast with seven seals was a *testament* (n. 8). When the testator dies the testament is brought forward, and, when possible, opened in the presence of the seven witnesses who sealed it; *i.e.* unsealed, read aloud, and executed. The making of a will assumes that the death of the testator lies in the future, while its opening and execution imply that his death has taken place. But, as is well known, the Christians of earliest times, although mindful of the fact that God does not die (Heb. ix. 16 f.) and that *omne simile claudicat*, do not hesitate to imagine the property supposed to belong to God, to His Son, and to His Church, and the entrance of the Church into possession of it, under the figure of inheritance (heritage and inheriting), and accordingly, to compare the assurance of these properties on God's part with a testamentary disposition. Jesus Himself uses the figure (Luke xxii. 29, cf. Matt. v. 5, xxi. 38, xxv. 34; Mark xii. 7; Luke xx. 14), and all the N.T. writers (Gal. iii. 15–iv. 7; Rom. viii. 17 ff.; Eph. i. 14, 18, v. 5; Col. i. 12, iii. 24; 1 Pet. i. 4; Heb. i. 2, vi. 17, viii. 6, ix. 15 ff.; Jas. ii. 5). So also here, the document fastened with seven seals is an easily understood symbol of the promise and assurance by God to His Church of the future *βασιλεία*. This irrevokable disposition of God, similar to a man's testamentary disposition of his goods, has long ago occurred, been documented and sealed, but not yet carried out. The inheritance is still laid up in heaven (1 Pet. i. 4), and the testament therefore not yet opened and executed. That its content has been proclaimed through the prophets, and through Jesus and the Spirit which rules in the Church (1 Cor. ii. 10),

and has to a certain extent become known, does not destroy its resemblance to a sealed testament still waiting to be opened, any more than the oral communication of a human testator, concerning the content of his will, destroys the importance of the document and renders its opening unnecessary. Apart from the fact that the heritages promised to the Church are to exceed all previous human experience, imagination, and anticipation (1 Cor. ii. 7–9, xiii. 12; 1 John iii. 2), and that not until they are delivered over will their true nature be disclosed (Rom. viii. 18), the point of comparison, since the promise of future glory and royal dominion is likened to a sealed will, lies not so much in the fact that no one *knows* the contents, as that they still *await realisation.* No one is authorised to open the testament and thereby to put into execution the will of God therein laid down, except the Lamb, who by dying gained the victory like a lion, and delivered the Church (v. 5, 9 f.). The returning Christ will open the testament of God and execute it. The fact that a will is opened by breaking all the seven seals at one time, but that in the vision the seals are broken one after the other by the Lamb, and that the opening of each seal is accompanied by a vision (vi. 1–17, viii. 1), does not destroy the applicability of the symbolism. At the same time, the breaking of the seals of a testament is a complicated act, which may be divided into seven operations, and which primarily prepares the way for its opening and execution. For this reason it is well adapted to show what, through the returned Christ, *preparatory to it* must precede the final fulfilment of the promise. The visions which occur as the first six seals are opened naturally bear upon the contents of the still unopened testament in this way: (1) the word of God must take its victorious way through the world (vi. 2, cf. Matt. xxiv. 14); (2) bloody wars must come (ver. 3 f., cf. Matt. xxiv. 6; Mark xiii. 7); (3) times of scarcity (ver. 5 f.); (4) plagues

destroying part of the people (ver. 7 f., cf. Matt. xxiv. 7; Luke xxi. 11); then (5) bloody persecutions of the Church, the punishment for which is delayed (vv. 9–11, cf. Matt. xxiv. 9; Mark xiii. 11–13); but at last (6) events in nature which are to convulse the world and fill earthly despots with terrible anticipation of the wrath of God and of the Lamb which is about to be outpoured upon them (vv. 12–17, cf. Matt. xxiv. 29 f.; Luke xxi. 25, xxiii. 30). After the events which prepare the way for the end have thus led up almost to the day of the parousia, the opening of the seventh seal can bring only the parousia itself. But this is also to be seen from the figure of the testament itself with its seven seals; for with the loosing of the seventh seal the testament is opened and will thereupon be executed. But instead of there being any description of this act or the statement that it has occurred, a silence of about half an hour intervenes in heaven, where the apostle has been since iv. 1 (viii. 1), and neither here nor in the further course of the narrative does there follow anything which can be taken to be the phenomena accompanying the opening of the seventh seal.

When, therefore, in place of an apocalyptic description of the opening of the testament—*i.e.* the induction of the Church into the inheritance vouchsafed by God through Christ, the opener and executor of the will—this long silence occurs, it may be meant that not only is this act, which has been prepared for by the opening of the six seals, not to be described now or at all by word or picture, but also that this silence is a symbol of the condition which has thereby come upon the Church. God's people have entered into the Sabbath rest promised them (Heb. iv. 1–11).

This was all the easier to understand, since both the inserted episodes (vii. 1–8, 9–17) answer the pressing question as to what the condition of the Church is to be

during the world-convulsing events immediately preceding the parousia (vi. 12–17), which is now described under the new figure of a devastating storm (vii. 1 ff.). The first answer is that one hundred and forty-four thousand of the people of Israel will be kept from this world-disaster and saved out of the midst of it (vii. 3–8). But the further question as to how it will be at that time with a much larger congregation collected from all the nations (vii. 9; cf. v. 9), is answered by the second episode: they are taken up into heaven, dying, from the final tribulation of the Church (a familiar idea, vii. 14; cf. Matt. xxiv. 15–28) which was alluded to in iii. 10 and vi. 11*b*, and there enjoy the repose of the blessed.

The impression that the silence in heaven, after the opening of the last seal, lasted about half an hour (viii 1), could not but have constituted a sharp division for the apostle's consciousness, before whose eyes the vision of iv. 1–viii. 1 must have passed in a much shorter time. With viii. 2–xi. 18 comes a *third vision*, which is interrupted before the seventh trumpet-blast by two episodes (x. 1–11, xi. 1–14), just as the second vision is interrupted by two episodes before the seventh seal is opened. In viii. 2 we do not hear, as in iv. 2, of another ecstasy. The scene of action and the place where the apostle is stationed remain the same as in iv. 2–viii. 1. Nothing follows, however, which can be made to connect with the opening and execution of the testament by the returning Christ; but a description begins here which refers back to a point preceding this time, and one which, as the reference to vii. 3 in ix. 4 shows, takes us back to a point immediately preceding the parousia. As a consequence of the first four trumpet-blasts (viii. 6–12), which are separated by ver. 13 from the three following, occur catastrophes in nature, which in each case affect one part of the earth only; while, as a result of the fifth and sixth trumpet-blasts, such judgments are pronounced as affect

men themselves, without, however, moving them to repentance (ix. 1–21).

At the seventh blast of the trumpet, which is closely connected with the fifth and sixth by ix. 12, xi. 14, in spite of their being separated by the episode in x. 1–xi. 14, there is again, as in the case of the opening of the seventh seal, no description of what happens; but we have here expressed by the songs of praise in heaven, just as in the former case by the silence, what takes place when the seventh act is performed. God and Christ have begun their world rule (xi. 15): God is no longer the One who is to come in the future (xi. 17; cf. *per contra* i. 4, ὁ ἐρχόμενος), but the One who has come to judgment in order to punish enemies and to reward the godly. It is, in fact, the "last trump," of which Christian prophecy had already spoken elsewhere (1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 12). As announced beforehand in x. 7, and as we saw in viii. 1, the end has again been reached; but it is not described.

The first episode expresses the thought that the apostle is not to communicate to the Church (x. 4) everything which he sees, but that he shall later experience and preach to the Church more than formerly the judgments of God upon the nations (x. 8–11).

Jerusalem, the once holy city, forms a contrast to the heathen; in punishment for the crucifixion of Jesus, it has, like Sodom and Egypt, experienced judgments which have brought it nigh unto destruction (n. 9). By the chronological statement (ver. 26) we are transported into the time of the last calamity brought about by the antichrist, made familiar by Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7, 11. This tribulation will extend even unto Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv. 15–24), and at that very place will reach its culmination in the killing of the two prophets who are still to be a last protection to the Church; but a sacred area, and a congregation of the true worshippers of God remain, protected from the antichrist (xi. 1 f.; cf. vii. 3–8, ix. 4); and

even the people of Jerusalem, who do not belong to this congregation, will, after a severe judgment, repent (xi. 13).

A *fourth vision* (xi. 19–xiv. 20) is introduced by a view of the Ark of the Covenant, set up in the Holy of Holies. The forms in which it is presented are borrowed from the O.T. sanctuary, but the expressions used show that the technical terms are not employed as familiar names for the objects themselves, but in accordance with the real meaning of the terms, and as symbols for higher things. It is the temple of God in heaven which is meant, in which there is no longer any barrier to shut out from view the holy of holies (Heb. vi. 19 f., ix. 8–12); and what the apostle sees is the ark in which the διαθήκη of God is deposited: *i.e.* no longer the long-vanished tables of the Law, but the documents of the eternally valid testament of God. The conception is similar to that of the sealed testament in v. 1, with but the difference that in the former instance the expressions are borrowed from the heathen legal institutions, while here they are taken from the holy institutions of Israel. In the former instance the subject is that which God has promised to His Church collected from all nations, including Israel; in the latter case, that which He has promised His Church in so far as it is the continuation of the O.T. Church and realises its purpose in a believing Israel.

The first readers of this must have understood the vision, xi. 19–xiv. 20, more easily than we; for this idea, which was already alluded to in the prophecy of Jesus, and which Paul had before him in developed form, could not have been strange to them; and they were well acquainted with the preaching of Christian prophecy—drawn chiefly from the Book of Daniel—concerning the last battle of the rebellious power of the world with the Church, and concerning the antichrist (1 John ii. 18, above, p. 371, n. 5, also vol. i. 228 ff.). It is of a

thoroughly eschatological character in the narrower sense of the term. The same is true according to xv. 1 and xvi. 17 (γέγονεν) of the *fifth vision* (xv. 1–xvi. 17), in which the last judgments, which are comparable to the plagues of Egypt, and which in vain call men to repentance, are represented in the form of seven angels who pour out vials full of the wrath of God. In the *sixth vision* (xvii. 1–xviii. 24), introduced by xvi. 18–21, an incident already touched upon in xiv. 8, xvi. 19—the judgment upon Babylon, the metropolis of the antichrist —is depicted in a retrospective view of her history. The songs of praise, which are directly connected with this vision, glorify the fall of Babylon as the beginning of the kingly dominion of God and as a last event before the marriage of the Lamb, *i.e.*, before the final union of Christ with the Church which is now prepared for it (xix. 1–8). In this will participate, however, according to the word of the directing angel (xix. 9, 10), not only those then living, but all who have ever obeyed the invitation to the wedding and have held fast the witness of Jesus.

With this the *seventh vision* (xix. 11–xxi. 18) is introduced. Here is at last represented the event which was by intimation anticipated as far back as viii. 1 and again in xi. 15–18, and in xix. 7 announced as being in the immediate future. Jesus Himself comes upon the scene of action in order that, after overcoming antichrist and binding Satan, He may enter upon His kingly rule of a thousand years upon earth,—a reign in which there shall participate not only the congregation who live to witness His coming, but also those who remained true till death, and who on that day are to be brought to life. Not till the millennium has expired do the general judgment, the destruction of death, and the creation of a new world take place. In this new world there is also a new Jerusalem. It is this city which is unveiled before the eyes of John in a last and *eighth vision*, xxi. 8–xxii. 5 (or

–xxii. 15). However, it is not conceived of as a part of the new world, but, during the period of the kingly rule of Christ, as the glorified centre of a world not yet completed, to be transformed into a new and eternal world (n. 10) when the kingly rule of Christ is over. With this the course of the story closes most appropriately; for the longing of the Church is directed not to an endless eternity, but to the specific coming of Jesus into union with His Church, and to His royal reign, limited in time, but broadening out into eternity (xxii. 17, 20).

The foregoing attempt to sketch the structure of Revelation was also intended to bring out the evident unity of the book, in spite of the lack of all literary art. It would have been labour in vain to attempt to refute the manifold hypotheses by which Revelation is represented to be a patchwork compiled from different writings, partly Jewish, partly Christian; inasmuch as this could be done convincingly only by means of a complete exegesis (n. 11). None of the inventors of such hypotheses has really come to satisfactory terms with the tradition concerning the origin of Revelation, which extends back to the circle of persons and to the times in which it was written. None of them seems once to have weighed earnestly the undeniable fact without which the story of the book would become wholly inconceivable, namely, that the book, as was required by its own statement (i. 11), was delivered immediately after its completion to the Churches of Asia which stood in close personal relation to the author, was received there as a work of the John, who was well known to these Churches, and as a true account of visions which he had experienced; and as such was read before the assembled congregation. None of these scholars has supported his claim by an exposition of the book which would satisfy even the most modest claims. Several matters which ought to be corrected have been stated already; others will be discussed in §§ 73–75.

1. (P. 384.) In no other writing of the N.T. are the difficulties of literary and historical investigation, unaided by a detailed commentary, so great as in Rev. The style of the book alone, apart from the peculiarities of its contents, makes it very difficult to understand—a fact which has called forth the most remarkable interpretations. As regards i. 1–2, it is sufficient to observe that *ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ κτλ.* (cf. Matt. xi. 2) agrees in content with *ἀπέστειλεν . . . δεῖξαι*, xxii. 6; *ἔπεμψα . . . μαρτυρῆσαι*, xxii. 16, which also refers to the whole of Rev. with this difference, namely, that *σημαίνειν* refers more particularly to the *prophecy* of future events which follows in the form of allusions, images, and figurative language (John xii. 33, xviii. 32, xxi. 19; Acts xi. 28), while *δεικνύναι* means rather the *disclosure* to the prophet by the *display of images* of things invisible and future. For the idea of the revealing angel, cf. Zech. i. 9, iii. 1, iv. 1; Herm. *Mand.* procem. § 5; *Sim.* ix. 1. 1–3, and Zahn, *Hirt des Hermas*, S. 274 ff. Through this angel, even without his becoming visible, John was enabled to hear and to see revelations (iv. 1). The reference in the latter verse to i. 10 shows that this is true of the first vision, i. 10–iii. 22, just as i. 1, xxii. 6, 8, 16 show it to be the case with all the visions of the book. Not until xvii. 1, xix. 9–10, xxi. 9–15, xxii. 1, 6–9 does the revealing angel become visible to John and communicate with him. The fact that the latter presents himself as one of the seven angels with the vials of wrath in xv. 1–7, does not prevent John from conceiving of him as the angel through whom he received all his revelations. In the account of the impressions of his visions, John has no more intention of speaking dogmatically or statistically regarding the angelic personages than in i. 1 and xxii. 6; he implies that Jesus and God have only one angel at their command (cf. Acts xii. 11), or that by *ἄγγελος* without an article the evangelist would imply in Matt. i. 20, ii. 13, 19 that the angels which appeared to Joseph were in every case different. No special importance is to be attached to the fact that in i. 10 f. John's ecstasy is mentioned before anything is said about what he hears and sees through the angel, whereas in iv. 2 the ecstasy appears to be a result of the angel's voice, since in iv. 1 John sees things which he could not have seen in a waking state. In iv. 1 f. he reproduces accurately sensations which he remembered, and which those who can claim no visions are able to conceive only by the analogies of sleeping and dreaming. Before normal consciousness disappeared completely, he saw a door opened in heaven. Then, when he hears again the voice which he heard at the beginning of the first vision, he feels himself entirely separated from his earthly surroundings and translated to heaven (2 Cor. xii. 2). In this way the command of the angel to ascend into heaven is realised, and the vision which follows fulfils the angel's announcement *δείξω σοι*. That *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι*, i. 10, iv. 2 = *γενέσθαι ἐν ἐκστάσει*, Acts xxii. 17 (x. 10, xi. 5 in contrast to *ἐν ἑαυτῷ γενόμενος*, cf. *τῷ πνεύματι . . . τῷ νοΐ*, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 19), means a change into an ecstatic condition, does not need to be proved.

2. (Pp. 385, 386, 387.) For incidental remarks concerning prophecy in the N.T. cf. vol. i. 228 ff., 505 f.; vol. ii. 97 f., 110–118; in respect of *τὸ πνεῦμα* see vol. i. 207, n. 1, 234, n. 2, 237, n. 6; above, p. 16. The richest source is 1 Cor. xiv., from which two definite conclusions are to be derived: (1) that prophets, in contrast to those speaking with tongues, remain self-conscious and retain control of their powers when speaking, using language the form and contents

of which are intelligible. (2) So that prophets, as contrasted with teachers and preachers without prophetic gifts, do not speak as a result of their meditation, investigations, and inferences, but always as a result of a special ἀποκάλυψις (1 Cor. xiv. 30, cf. vv. 6, 26; Eph. iii. 5). For the criticism to which it was necessary to subject even the inspired utterances of the prophets, cf. 1 Thess. v. 19–22; 1 Cor. xiv. 29; Rom. xii. 6, and the present writer's lecture on *Die bleibende Bedeutung des ntl. Kanons*, S. 36–46. Rev. xviii. 20, 24 (cf. xvi. 6, xvii. 6, xix. 2; vol. ii. 165, n. 4) refer to N.T. prophets, and there is no reason why x. 7, xi. 18 should be taken as having in mind the O.T. prophets exclusively and not also those of the N.T. Prophecy is a continuous chain, which reaches from the oldest prophets of the O.T. to John, their youngest brother (xxii. 6, 9). The analogy of ψευδάδελφος and ψευδαπόστολος shows beyond doubt that the idea of false prophets was familiar. Those who are in the habit of lying are not apostles and Christians, but persons who say that they are Christians, or apostles, when they are not; cf. vol. ii. 232, n. 2.

3. (P. 387.) Lücke, *Komm. über die Schriften des Ev. Jo.* iv. 1 (1832),—"an attempt at a complete introduction to the Revelation of John and the entire apocalyptic literature,"—introduced the latter idea. The present writer offered some objections to Lücke's classification in his work on the *Hirt des Hermas* (1868, S. 70 ff.) (which cannot be classified as apocalyptic literature any more than can Rev.), and in his "Apokalyptischen Studien" (*ZfKW*, 1885, p. 523 ff.). The latter are quoted in what follows as *Ap. Stud.* i. (1885) and ii. (1886). Herder's remark (*Maranatha*, 1779, S. 13; *Werke*, ed. Suphan, ix. 111), perfectly correct in itself, that the pictures in Rev. cannot be represented artistically, or at least not all of them, has had a confusing effect upon the interpretation of the book. Dürer and Cornelius knew what could be drawn or painted. But from this it does not follow that there is no need to reproduce imaginatively the changing scenes of the book in order to understand them.

4. (P. 390.) The correct reading of xxii. 21 is either μετὰ πάντων without τῶν ἁγίων (thus B, and S^2 which adds αὐτοῦ), and certainly without ὑμῶν, or μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων with ℵ. In xxii. 16 it is not John but Jesus who says ὑμῖν, for in xxii. 12 (or 10)–16 Jesus again speaks to John, *i.e.* addresses him together with all the other Christians. It will be noted also that this final address of Christ as well as the separate saying of Jesus in xxii. 20*a* are, like the word spoken by God in i. 8, outside the visions the series of which ends with xxii. 8–9 (or –11). God and Christ speak through the prophet, *i.e.* through John, the author of the book, without becoming visible to him (God in i. 8; Christ in xxii. 12–16, 20).

5. (P. 391.) Völter (*Entstehung der Apoc.*, 2 Aufl. 1885, S. 8 f.) holds that the later origin of i. 1–3 as compared with i. 4–6 is proved by the fact that in vv. 4–6 John introduces himself and declares his relation to the readers, whereas vv. 1–3 "are characterised by an objectivity, impossible if the verses were written by the apostle John" (similarly also Spitta, *Offenb. Joh.* 1889, S. 10 ff., and also J. Weiss, *Offenb. Joh.* 1904, S. 35 f.). But Völter overlooks the fact that this has always been and is the character of a book title, whether written by the author himself or added later. Among the Hebrews (Jer. i. 1–3 and i. 4) and the Greeks (Herodotus, i. 1, Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης

ἀπόδεξις ἥδε κτλ., cf., on the other hand, ii. 23, ἔγωγε οἶδα, and wherever he speaks of himself as an investigator or narrator), and, as is well known, among modern European writers, in the title of a book the author speaks of himself in the third person (*edidit*), where it is possible, adding all his titles as if he were writing his epitaph. On the other hand, in the preface and in the course of the book, he allows himself to use the first person—even using the familiar "thou" in the dedication to a friend (among the ancients this was permissible in the course of the book or at the end—above, p. 223, n. 1). On the other hand, in a serious book the use of the first person in the title would be a violation of style permissible only for novelists, and then in quotation marks, e.g. "*Graham and I*," "*We Two*," "*My Wife and I*." In i. 4 also the author speaks of himself and the readers in the third person, in a wholly objective way, as is required in ancient letter-writing, and allows himself only in the extended greeting itself to change to a "you" and a "we." But enough has already been said on this point in vol. i. 369, n. 1; above, p. 226, n. 7.

6. (P. 391, 392.) When John, before seeing anything whatever, is commanded by the voice of the revealing angel: ὃ βλέπεις γράψον εἰς βιβλίον (i. 11), and when in i. 19 (where reference to ver. 11 is indicated by οὖν) he is commanded by Christ Himself: γράψον οὖν ἃ εἶδες ἃ εἰσὶν καὶ ἃ μέλλει γενέσθαι μετὰ ταῦτα, it is perfectly self-evident that John was not directed to write down what he saw while in a state of ecstasy, accompanying as it were the visions step by step with his pen at lucid moments in his ecstasy. There is no place for such a lucid moment before iv. 1. There is no interruption in the discourse of Jesus in i. 17–iii. 22. If the vision were written out while the writer was yet in a state of ecstasy, the fact itself would necessarily be recorded like the falling down of the prophet (i. 17), and such a procedure would destroy the dramatic vividness of the visions. Moreover, it would serve no conceivable purpose; since a record originating in this way would itself be of the nature of a vision, *i.e.* when the prophet awoke from his ecstatic state, it would have no more objective existence than what he had seen in a state of ecstasy. Just as the present βλέπεις (ver. 11) has the force of a fut., so the aor. εἶδες has the force of a fut. perfect (cf. x. 7, xv. 1), and both alike refer to all that John sees in his ecstatic state. There is a corresponding division of what John sees and afterwards is to commit to writing into things existent in the present and events to take place in the future. To the first class belong mainly the contents of chaps. ii.–iii.; to the second class mainly the contents of chaps. iv.–xxii. The division of the contents of all the visions that follow is to be understood *a potiori*, as is also the designation which covers the contents of the entire book in i. 1, xxii. 6. Spitta's interpretation of the passage (*Offenb. des Joh.* 1889, S. 29) as meaning "what thou hast seen up to this time and what it means and what may further take place, *i.e.* what may further be perceived by thee," seems to the present writer scarcely to need refutation either from a grammatical or logical point of view. In ii. 1, 8, 12, 18, iii. 1, 7, 14 γράψον is naturally to be taken as in i. 11, 19, as a command to the writer that when the vision is ended he shall include these several sayings to the separate Churches in the book which in i. 11 he is directed to write and send to all the seven Churches. One should not speak any more, at least in scientific literature, of the seven apocalytic letters.

These are not independent letters, but each Church receives its special message from Christ only as part of the book which, as a whole, is sent to them all (i. 4). The same is true of γράψον in xiv. 13, xix. 9, xxi. 5. In this way attention is called to separate sayings particularly worthy of notice. Neither can x. 4 be made a basis for the opinion that the writing of the book and the seeing of the visions took place at the same time. Since John was to regard the recording of the sevenfold voice of thunder as forbidden by God just as the recording of the other visions was commanded, during the vision he must have felt a desire to record what he heard. This made the impression of the prohibition more profound.

7. (P. 393.) The only text of v. 1 which can be regarded as genuine is γεγραμμένον ἔσωθεν καὶ ὄπισθεν κατεσφραγισμένον σφραγῖσιν ἑπτά (A, numerous cursives, Cypr. *Test.* ii. 11, *i.e.* the earliest Latin Bible; Orig. *in Ps.* i., Delarue, ii. 525; cf. Epiph. *Hær.* lxiv. 6; S^3). Since there was at an early date an inclination to connect καὶ ὄπισθεν with what precedes instead of with what follows (S^2 [the earlier Syr. version edited by Gwynn, 1897] inserts καί, S^3 a relative before κατεσφραγισμένον), unavoidably an effort was made to get rid of the apparent disagreement between "within" and "behind"; sometimes ἔξωθεν was written for ὄπισθεν (B [in this passage=Vatic. 2066, Sæc. viii.] P, also Hippol. *in Dan.*, ed. Bonwetsch, 276. 1; Orig. *Philoc.*, ed. Robinson, p. 37. 10; Primas. *Forsch.* iv. 95; S^2), and sometimes ἔμπροσθεν was used for ἔσωθεν (א, Orig. *Philoc.* p. 46. 15). If, then, the inharmonious readings ἔσωθεν and ὄπισθεν be correct, it follows that ἔσωθεν has no correlate, either here or in iv. 8 (which correlate would necessarily be ἔξωθεν) (Matt. xxiii. 25, 27, 28; Luke xi. 40; 1 Cor. v. 13; 2 Cor. iv. 16), and that καὶ ὄπισθεν is to be taken with κατεσφραγισμένον, as even Grotius perceived in spite of his inaccurate text. Consequently, the idea of a papyrus roll written on both sides, a so-called opistograph (against Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, S. 506), must be given up. Such a poor document as this would give an unfavourable impression of this book, which rested upon the hand of the Almighty, upon which also the salvation of the whole world depends. The ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιάν shows that it was not a roll, in which case we would necessarily read ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ (i. 16, ii. 1, x. 2. 8; Ezek. ii. 9), if the idea be that God is holding a roll in His hand. A roll would fall from an open hand, such as John saw the βιβλίον resting upon, unless an unusual effort to balance it be assumed. Moreover, if the document were a roll, the opening of the book, which necessarily precedes the seeing and reading of the text, would not be four times described by ἀνοῖξαι, to say nothing of the opening of the seal (ver. 2), but we should certainly have ἀνειλεῖν (Ezek. ii. 10), ἀνελίσσειν (*revolvere*, the opposite of ἑλίσσειν, Rev. vi. 14), or ἀναπτύσσειν, as in Luke iv. 17. That the βιβλίον was not written on the outside is further evidenced by the fact that it was sealed seven times, the only purpose of which was to make it impossible to open the βιβλίον and to see and read its written contents. Not until the last seal was broken was it possible to open the βιβλίον and to see and read what was written in it. This βιβλίον is altogether different from the open βιβλαρίδιον in x. 2. 9; Ezek. ii. 8–iii. 3. It is not a rolled sheet, or the larger book roll, but has the form of a codex, or codicil, *i.e.* of a modern book. Naturally, John did not *see* what was written in the book, since he saw only the closed βιβλίον; but in his vision he received the impression that it was written within, just as in

dreams we associate ideas with objects, although these ideas cannot be represented to the senses (cf. Gen. xl. 16). It is hardly likely that he saw the seven seals; since these were on the back of the book, *i.e.* certainly not on the upper side, the side turned toward the spectator, but on the side turned away from him, the side resting upon the hand of Him who sat on the throne. It is, of course, self-evident that the βιβλίον did not consist of empty pages, but that something was written in it. But to say this was not superfluous, since a letter, for example, which sometimes is called βιβλίον, has an address on the outside, a document has a mark of registration on the outside, and a literary work has a title pasted on the outside from which some idea of the contents can be derived. This βιβλίον contains writing only on the inside. No one can know what it contains, until the seals are loosed. The only suggestion as to its contents is given by the seven seals.

8. (P. 394.) E. Huschke (*Das Buch mit 7 Siegeln*, 1860), following out the idea of his essay on the wax tablets found in the Seven Mountains in Austria (*Zt. f. gesch. Rechtswiss.* xii. 173 ff.), is the first writer to set forth the essentially correct view, except that he is influenced by many ancient exegetical prejudices, and unnecessarily substitutes for the idea of the Testament —first transferring to other documents processes used in preparing a testament (Huschke, S. 15)—the more general idea of legal documents. The so-called Prætorian Testament must have had on the outside, more particularly on the threads with which, according to ancient custom, documents, consisting of little wooden tablets covered with wax, or of leaves of parchment or of papyrus (*Dig.* xxxvii. 11. 1), were tied together, the seals of seven genuine witnesses, with their names inscribed beside the seals. Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Privatleben*, 2 Aufl. p. 805 f.; Bruns, *Fontes jur. Rom.*, ed. 5, pp. 292–303, especially p. 302; Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 119, 147; Ulpian, *Fragm. Vatic.* 23. 6, 28. 6. In *Berl. Aeg. Urk.* No. 361, col. 3, line 12, καὶ περὶ τῆς διαθήκης δὲ ἀποκρίνομαι, ὅτι ἐν πάσαις διαθῆκαις ἑπτά εἰσιν σφραγισταὶ κτλ. Cf. in the same collection the will, Nos. 86 and 326; also the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. Grenfell and Hunt, i. 171, No. 105.

9. (P. 398.) The present καλεῖται in xi. 8 represents the point of view of the time when the book was written, as does also ἐσταυρώθη. Sodom and Gomorrah, however, are not merely types of a sinful city, but of a city condemned because of its sins (Isa. xiii. 19; Jer. i. 40; Matt. x. 15, xi. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 6; Jude 7). Therefore Isaiah before the first destruction of Jerusalem and Paul before the second, declare that Israel would have been made like Sodom and Gomorrah, had not God left it a remnant (Isa. i. 9; Rom. ix. 29). Ezekiel, on the other hand, after the first destruction of Jerusalem, declares (xvi. 49–50) that Jerusalem has become a sister of Sodom; and this is the way in which John speaks here after the second destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70.

10. (P. 401.) It seems as if xxi. 2 must be taken to mean that John beheld the descent of the Jerusalem, which until then had been in heaven, and that this descent was subsequent to the establishment of the new world. Against this interpretation is the analogy of xxi. 10, where the same thing seems to be stated more explicitly, and where John does not witness the descent of a city, but is shown a city built upon a mountain. Moreover, the new Jerusalem is the Bride of Jesus, whose marriage with Him takes place

at the parousia—*i.e.* at the beginning, not at the end of the millennium (xxi. 2. 9, xix. 7). It is also to be noticed, that in xxi. 2 as distinguished from iii. 12 (*τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ καταβαίνουσα*) we read, "the Holy City, *a* new Jerusalem (the adjectives which follow are likewise without the article), coming down out of heaven from God, made ready as a bride adorned for her husband." As seen by John it is primarily a part of the new world, to the establishment of which the vision extends. Here all national limitations are set aside, and even Christ Himself retires into the background (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 24–28). But this Jerusalem has already existed during the millennium on the earth, prior to the establishment of the new world, and so it is represented in xxi. 9–xxii. 15. In this passage the Lamb is everywhere prominent (xxi. 9, 14, 22, 23, 27, xxii. 1, 3), and at the end of the last vision Jesus Himself speaks, uttering both a promise and a threat (xxii. 12–15), just as God is represented as speaking in xxi. 6 ff. In the latter passage God and humanity are represented as united without any suggestion of differences among men (xxi. 3–7), whereas in xxi. 9–xxii. 15 Jerusalem retains its Israelitish character, as is evidenced by the prominence of the number twelve; the heathen are visitors, but not citizens of the city (xxi. 24 f.). In xxi. 6 ff. everything is accomplished and everything has become new, and sinners have been delivered over to the second death (xxi. 5–8, cf. xx. 10–15); but in xxi. 9–xxii. 15 without the holy walls are a mass of Gentiles for whom the unlocked city stands open, that they may bring their gifts, and receive blessings of healing (xxi. 24–26, xxii. 2). Only the unholiness and immorality which still exists among men is excluded from the city (xxi. 27, xxii. 15).

11. (P. 401.) A review of the more recent hypotheses will be found in Hirscht, *Die Ap. und ihre neueste Kritik.* 1895 (see also the supplements in the preface). For the more important attempts to distinguish different sources, strata, or literary hands in Rev., see Völter, *Entstehung der Ap.* 1882; much revised in the second edition 1885 (cf. Zahn, *Apok. Stud.* i. 525 ff., 567). The main part of Rev. he represents as written originally by John (at first by the presbyter, afterwards by the apostle), in the year 65 or 66. It was afterwards enlarged by the same author, and was constantly revised by Christian hands up to 140 (originally 170). Völter represents the matter in still a different manner in *Das Problem der Ap.* 1893. Vischer (*Die Off. Jo. eine judische Ap. in christlicher Bearbeitung*, 1886), starting from the observation that chaps. xi.–xii. present difficulties if taken as Christian prophecy which disappear if the chapters are Jewish, finds iv. 1–xxii. 5 to be a Jewish Apocalypse written in Hebrew, to be dated before the year 70. This was later superficially worked over by some unknown Christian into what at first glance seems a Christian book by the addition of chaps. i.–iii., xxii. 6–21, and numerous interpolations. Spitta (*Off. des. Jo.* 1889) distinguishes (1) a Christian Apocalypse which, omitting some interpolations by the redactor, is preserved in i. 4–vi. 17, viii. 1, vii. 9–18, xxii. 8–21 (printed on S. 549–560), and which belongs in the year 60 (S. 504, not the year 70, nor about the year 62, as Hirscht, S. 5, 7, states) by John Mark, who is, however, not the author of the Gospel of Mark (S. 528); (2) a Jewish Apocalypse, belonging to the time of Pompey (Rev. x. 8–xi. 18, xiv. 14–xv. 8, xvi. 1–xvii. 6, xviii. 1–xix. 8*a*, xxi. 9–xxii. 3*a*, and ver. 15); (3) a second Jewish Apocalypse

belonging to the time of Caligula (Rev. vii. 1–8, viii. 2–x. 7, xi. 15, 19, xii. 1–xiv. 11, xvi. 13–20, xix. 11–xxi. 6). All this was edited either under Domitian or Trajan by a Christian, who thought that he was acting "in the spirit" of the Apostle John (who perhaps was still living), and "therefore was justified in seeking to give authority to the writing (the original Christian Apocalypse of John Mark?) in falling back upon the judgment of (the apostle?) John" (S. 543, cf. *GK*, i. 952). Thus the authorship of Rev. was transferred from the real John of the year 60 to the apostle John of the year 95 or 100 (cf. vol. ii. 263). Erbes (*Die Offenb. Jo. kritisch untersucht*, 1891) simplified Spitta's hypothesis, and declared the whole work to be of Christian origin. Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit, eine religionsgesch. Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Apok. 12, mit (babylonischen) Beiträgen von Zimmern*, 1895). The chaos into which the cosmos of Rev. is changed in this work can hardly be described, at least it cannot be described briefly. Joh. Weiss. (*Die Offenb. des Joh.* 1904), in many points depending on Spitta, comes to the opinion that an original apocalypse, which was written by the John of Ephesus between 65–70, is preserved for us, with the exception of a few additions and changes from the later edition in chaps. i. 4–viii. 1, viii. 13–ix. 21, xii. 7–12, xiii. 11–18, xiv. 14–20, xx. 1–xxii. 21. The editor of the whole book, who worked into the original Johannine apocalypse an original Jewish apocalypse, written between May and August of the year 70, published his compilation in 95, while the original apocalyptic writer, the John of Ephesus, was still alive.

§ 73. THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO REVELATION I.–III.

The opening words with which John begins his account (i. 9) remind the Asiatic Churches that they are all, like himself, suffering under the oppression of a hostility which their Christian belief has brought upon them. This fact constitutes a bond of union between the readers and himself—isolated, though he is, upon the little island of Patmos, for the sake of the word of God and the witness of Jesus—which strengthens the tie of Christian brotherhood. In this statement we are told what the first readers must have already known before, that John had been banished to the island because of his activity as a preacher, and on account of his Christian belief (n. 1). To this reference is to be added the tradition concerning the exile upon the island of Patmos, which has in its favour, at least, the fact that it cannot be proved to have

arisen through an expansion of the passage before us. Banishment to an island can have occurred only as the result of a legal sentence, and, in the case of the province of Asia, of a sentence imposed by the proconsul of that district, who would not have been able, upon his own authority, to punish in this way a preacher of the gospel and an adherent of the Christian faith, if he had not felt himself authorised so to act by some decree issuing from the Imperial Government, or some regulation tolerated by it, by which the propagation of the Christian religion was to be checked by the courts or the police. When we attempt to shed more light upon this fact by the application of other data in the book, we must not, of course, employ indiscriminately everything which is said in regard to the persecution and slaughter of the faithful. We must disregard first of all the repeated reference to the great tribulation of the latter days, which is assumed to be well known (iii. 10, vii. 14, xii. 17–xiii. 17, xiv. 9–13, xx. 4; cf. Matt. xxiv. 15–28); secondly, we must ignore the retrospective references to all the martyrs and martyrdoms for the sake of the Christian faith which have occurred in the past (vi. 9 f.). At the same time, it must be noted that the standpoint from which the author makes these declarations is in most cases that of one who is speaking at the moment when judgment is being pronounced against the antichristian power of the world, and against its antichristian capital; so that even what, from that point of view, is past, must, when viewed by one living at the time when the book was written, lie partly, at least, in the future. In vi. 11, persons who, from the standpoint of those living at the time, are about to become martyrs, are included with the Christians who have already suffered. In xx. 4, again assuming the standpoint of the parousia, the martyrs of the antichristian persecution are especially mentioned along with all those beheaded for the sake of the Christian faith.

Similarly, in xviii. 24 are included with the prophets and saints whose blood was shed in Babylon, all those who at any time or place have been slain for the same cause (cf. xvi. 6; Matt. xxiii. 35). But since in pre-Christian times it was not Babylon on the Euphrates, but Jerusalem, which was the murderess of the prophets (Matt. xxiii. 37; Luke xiii. 34; 1 Thess. ii. 15; Acts vii. 52), and since apostles are also named among the martyrs whose blood is avenged by the judgment against the capital city, xviii. 20, it becomes clear that here, as in xvii. 6, where Babylon is described as drunken with the blood of the witnesses of Jesus, and in xviii. 24, xix. 2, where more general terms are employed, the author refers to the Roman martyrs of the time of Nero, and especially to Peter and Paul (vol. ii. 165, n. 4). The reference in chaps. ii.–iii. are temporally and locally less remote. The angel of Smyrna is already experiencing tribulation arising from the slanders of the Jews in that place. More suffering is predicted for him in the future. Punishment by imprisonment is to overtake some of the members of the Church. But the angel himself is required to remain faithful till death (ii. 9 f., see below). In Philadelphia also it is the synagogue of Satan, made up of Jews unworthy of the name, which is hostile to the angel of the Church. If we may draw conclusions concerning the present and future attitude of the Jews from the statement that the angel has kept the word of Jesus loyally, and has not denied His name (iii. 8–10), it is evident that Jewish hostility has brought persecution upon him. But the situation was different in Pergamum (ii. 12–17, n. 2). The angel in that place is subject to a special temptation to deny Jesus and belief in Him, because he lives where Satan's throne is, and he has up to this time successfully resisted. He has demonstrated his loyalty apparently not long before, since a certain Antipas was killed in Pergamum as a faithful witness of Christ, an occurrence

which is explained by the fact that Satan dwells there. This change of expression alone betrays the fact that it is not something external, like a prominent building or work of art, which is meant, but an institution or custom there prevalent in which the Christians recognised a striking embodiment and activity of the dominion of Satan. This is the cause of the martyrdom of Antipas, and of the continued danger in which the confessors of Christ are placed. It cannot well be doubted that the author means the cult of Æsculapius, the God of healing, in Pergamum, which flourished there as nowhere else. The serpent, which was to the Christians a symbol of Satan (Rev. xii. 9, xx. 2; 2 Cor. xi. 3), was also the chief emblem of Æsculapius. His most common epithet was *σωτήρ*; he was not infrequently called *ὁ σωτήρ* without qualification, and was looked upon as *σωτὴρ τῶν ὅλων*. He became in Pergamum, especially, *Ζεὺς Ἀσκλήπιος*, and the most exalted king. He absorbed all other deities, and even became identified with the Emperor. It was inevitable—and the fact is well attested—that he should appear to the Christians to be, more than any of the other heathen sons of God, a devilish caricature of the true *σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου* (n. 2). How easily it might have happened that in daily life, or at the celebration of the feast of Æsculapius, Christians in Pergamum came into conflict with the heathen population, and that a Christian who openly expressed his abhorrence of this cult might have been killed by fanatical worshippers of the divinity! It is very improbable that Antipas was executed upon sentence of a court (n. 3). It is evident, then, that at the time Revelation was written the Jewish congregations at Smyrna and Philadelphia knew very well how to fan into a flame the slumbering hostility of the populace; and that things had reached such a state in Pergamum, especially in connection with the worship of Æsculapius, that the devotees of the old cults had employed violence

against the Christians, and were likely to do so again at any time. Such acts of hostility had been encountered by the Christians in Asia and Europe from the very beginning. On the other hand, compared with conditions in the time of Paul and of 1 Peter, it was an innovation for the Roman government to take measures which—as in the case of the banishment to a small island of a prominent Christian teacher from the field of his activity—could aim only at preventing the spread of Christianity. Equally new was the state of affairs in which the Asiatic Churches had come to suffer a general persecution of such a character that they were compelled to confess or to deny the name of Christ—a situation which forces us to assume that legal measures were employed. It cannot be shown that the Christians ever faced such conditions at any time previous to the later years of the reign of Domitian (n. 4). The tradition, in itself unassailable, that Revelation was written about 95 A.D., is thus corroborated (above, pp. 183, 201).

A consideration of the internal affairs of the Church leads to the same result. We are to draw no conclusions from the fact that, among the seven Churches enumerated, some are missing which were in existence even when Paul was living (n. 5, and above, p. 391 f.). We know, for example, that the Church of Hierapolis continued to flourish. This city was the residence of the evangelist Philip and his daughters, and the episcopal residence of Papias (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 31. 3 f., 39. 9). It may be a mere coincidence that Pergamum, Smyrna, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Thyatira are not mentioned in even such early writings as Acts and the Pauline Epistles. But as regards Smyrna, we know from the trustworthy testimony of Polycarp, the local bishop, that during the lifetime of Paul no Church as yet existed in that place. From the life of Polycarp we may conclude that it was not until *circa* 67–70 A.D. that a Church arose in that place,

through the efforts of the apostle John and others of the apostolic circle (n. 5). As there is no hint in Rev. ii. 8–11 that the Church of Smyrna—the second to be addressed—was founded in the immediate past, Revelation must have been written considerably later than 70 A.D.

The apostle John, obedient to the command which had come to him, sent the Book of Revelation to the seven Churches, from Ephesus to Laodicea, in the form of a single letter, of which seven copies were probably made, if he had scribes at his disposal (i. 4, 11). In the framework of the first vision he receives the commission to set down in the very beginning of this book, which he is commanded to write and despatch, what Christ has to say to the seven different Churches, or rather to their "angels" (above, p. 404, n. 6). That he may gain an immediate and correct understanding of this commission, which is to be seven times repeated, but which is not yet alluded to in i. 11, two elements of the vision before him are interpreted immediately preceding the first utterance of this command (i. 20, n. 6). The seven stars which Jesus holds in His hand, united as if by an invisible hoop in the form of a wreath or diadem, are angels (but not *the* angels) of the Churches previously mentioned; the seven candles, in the midst of which the author sees Jesus stand and move, are the Churches themselves. The omission of the article before ἄγγελοι shows that the latter is no technical designation derived from the real conditions surrounding the author, or from the group of ideas familiar to him, or from the revelation which has just begun, but that it is a qualifying characteristic, and therefore in some way a figurative designation of the persons meant. The theory first found in the writings of Origen, that real angels are here meant, to each of which was given the guardianship of a separate Church, must be rejected; for the idea is absurd that the Lord should make known His will to the spirits which like Himself belong to the invisible heavenly

world, through the agency of John, a being of this earth, and that they should learn of this will only as unseen visitors at the meetings of the Churches when John's book is read (i. 3). Moreover, the praise and blame which Christ bestows upon them is incompatible with the idea that they are real angels, sent by God, *i.e.* good angels. The interpretation which makes the angel the personified spirit or heavenly idealisation of the individual local Church is equally bad. This is a modern conception, in itself obscure, which seeks in vain for support in Dan. x. 13–21, xii. 1, or from other biblical views concerning angels (Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Rev. xiv. 18, xvi. 5), and which has arisen from a mixture of ancient heathen ideas with the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit. On this point Goethe's *Faust* has said all that it necessary. According to the early Christian view, the Christian Churches have no other spirit than the one Spirit of God and of Christ, common to them all, which cannot be punished or called to repentance for the sins and weaknesses of the members of the congregation. All other dominant ideas and common tendencies which arose in a Church were conceived to be the effect of forces at work in the non-Christian world and in the unregenerate nature of the members; and were not ascribed to a mythological subject, called the "Spirit of the Church of Ephesus," or the "Spirit of the Phrygian Church." Only human beings can be meant, and only such as are in a high degree responsible for the condition of the Churches in which they occupy a position called figuratively ἄγγελος. But one must also reject the conjecture that these "angels" are emissaries of the seven Churches who have come to John at Patmos, and who are now to return to their homes with his written account of the visions which have been granted him. The theory is untenable: (1) because the author could not have applied to these persons such an indefinite term as ἄγγελοι (i. 20 without the article), but must have

spoken of them as the representatives of the seven Churches, known to him, present with him, and perhaps awaiting orders from him, and so would have used *οἱ ἄγγελοι*, or better *οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῶν ἑ. ἐκκλ.* (2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25); and the author could hardly have omitted calling the attention of the readers in i. 9–11 to these conditions. (2) It would be a very strange proceeding in the addresses to each of the seven Churches, to direct these not to the congregations in question, but to the messengers present with the author, who were to deliver these communications. If there were seven letters, each of which was to be brought to the Church for which it was intended by an *ἄγγελος* as a letter-carrier, it is at least conceivable that these messengers would have been indicated in the outside addresses of the sealed letters, to avoid confusion. But such is not the case. What the author sends—no matter by whom—to Ephesus, Smyrna, and the other cities, is the whole book, and in this book the *ἄγγελοι* are addressed by Christ. (3) What is said to the *ἄγγελοι* would be appropriate only if they were men definitely responsible for the condition of the Churches to which they belong, *i.e.*, leaders of these Churches; it is immaterial whether they are with the apostle at the time, as envoys, or remain at home. But since it is usual to deal with persons present, not in writing but orally, it follows from *γράψον* (used seven times from ii. 1 onwards) that the *ἄγγελοι* are not on the island of Patmos, but in Ephesus, Smyrna, and the other cities. The point of departure in determining their station is not from the strange epithet *ἄγγελοι*, but from the way in which the author makes Christ address them. That "thou" everywhere in the address indicates the *ἄγγελος* is self-evident; and there is not a single phrase to lead to the assumption that this is a collective personality present only to the mind. When "thou" is occasionally replaced by "you," which probably applies to a number of Christians of the locality in question

(ii. 10, 13*b*, 24), it follows that the "angel" is a member of the Church; but this does not exclude his being at the head of the congregation (n. 6, end). When the candlestick (*i.e.*, according to the authentic interpretation of i. 20, the Church of Ephesus) is called the candlestick of the angel of Ephesus (ii. 5), it is clear that the "angel" is neither some member of the congregation nor the congregation itself. It is the bishop to whom Christ says "thy candlestick," *i.e.*, thy congregation. In accord with this is the fact that other "angels" are told that they "have" people in their congregations worthy or unworthy in their character (ii. 14 f., iii. 4). There are such persons in his congregation; and it is the bishop's duty to test and to ward off suspicious elements which force their way into his Church (ii. 2, 6, 14 f.). He is to strengthen the wavering members (iii. 2). He is severely censured when he allows impure elements to flourish and to exercise a seductive influence, as in the case of the angel of Thyatira (ii. 20). According to the reading, which is undoubtedly correct, it is the wife of the bishop, who, like a second Jezebel, along with her irresolute husband is introducing ruinous practices (n. 7).

None of the names of the ἄγγελοι is given. But, since Bengel's discovery, one should not again lose sight of the fact that in iii. 1 there is a play upon the name of the bishop of Sardes, Zotikos (n. 8). If Revelation was written *circa* 95, we know from other accounts the name of the ἄγγελος of Smyrna. Even at that early date Polycarp stood at the head of the Church in that place. A short period of persecution is predicted for the Church, which will culminate apparently in nothing more serious than the detention of some of the members; but of the bishop is required faithfulness unto *death*. He is to die as a martyr. The allusion of Christ to Himself as the One "which was dead and lived again" (ii. 8), and the closing words of ii. 11 bear this out. The fact that this prophecy

to the congregation and its bishop was fulfilled in the year 155 A.D. (n. 9) would lead one to regard it as a *vaticinium ex eventu*, if it were not an assured fact that Revelation had been written long before, and was at that time current in the Church.

The monarchical episcopate, of which in the period of the Pastoral Epistles there was no trace in this province of Asia (above, p. 195 ff.), had, when Revelation and 3 John were written, a firm foothold in that region (above, p. 376 f.); and the Epistles of Ignatius show the same condition at about 110 A.D. For this reason Revelation cannot have been written until a considerable period had elapsed after the death of Paul—not before the year 80, and very probably *circa* 95 A.D. The name ἐπίσκοπος seems not yet to have become the regular title of the individual bishops, as is the case in Ignatius; for then one would expect in i. 20 οἱ ἐπίσκοποι instead of the anarthrous ἄγγελοι. The apostle who felt himself upon the Lord's day (n. 10) transported involuntarily to the congregations assembled for divine service, must have understood the term bishop, probably borrowed from Jewish conditions, to mean the one who, appearing before God in the name of the congregation, leads in prayer and directs the service (n. 6, end). In the same way that he presents before God and Christ the petitions of the congregation, Christ speaks to him in order that the congregation of which he is in charge may through him hear the word of their Lord. It is incomprehensible how one can admit that the "angels" refer to the bishops, and still hold that Rev. ii.–iii. was written *circa* 65–70 (*e.g.* J. Weiss, S. 49).

In Ephesus, Pergamum, and Thyatira a pernicious theory (διδαχή, ii. 14 f., 24) and praxis (ἔρνα, ii. 6, 22) has sought to gain entrance; in Ephesus without result, in Pergamum with some, and in Thyatira with great success. Its advocates are in ii. 6, 15 called Nicolaitans. This name is not to be read into the conditions described in ii.

18–29, since it is clear that in Thyatira a single individual, the wife of the bishop himself, is at the head of the movement, and apparently supports it in a peculiar way. She represents herself to be a prophetess (ii. 20), and it is only here that we meet with any indication of a speculative basis for the movement (ii. 24). But the teaching is the same as that of the Nicolaitans (ii. 14, 20). Fornication and participation in heathen sacrificial meals are not merely regarded with indifference, but are frankly recommended, and have been instituted, at least by the prophetess of Thyatira, for the reason that one must acquaint himself with the deep things of Satan,—not, of course, to be engulfed therein, but that he may realise the powerlessness of the world of evil spirits, and attain freedom from evil (n. 11). Even though in Rev. ii. 14 this teaching is not said to be that of Balaam, we must recognise its essential agreement with the doctrinal tendency combated in 2 Peter and Jude (vol. ii. 223 ff., 232 ff., 276–281, 292 f.). The only difference is that in the latter case we read of a libertine doctrine which arose in a region of Gentile-Christians and which made its way among the Jewish-Christians; whereas Revelation concerns itself wholly with the Gentile-Christian Churches of Asia, where the errorists did not need to practise the reserve necessary among the Jewish-Christians (vol. ii. 281 f.). They found in their heathen surroundings the strongest support for their efforts. But it appears that this tendency had only recently become a threatening danger for the Asiatic Church. In the Epistles of John we hear nothing of it; and if this seems of little importance in view of the brevity of 2 and 3 John, the silence of 1 John is all the more significant. From 1 John v. 21 the only fact that can be gleaned is that the heathen cults subjected these Churches to temptations, as was the case with the Corinthian Church at the time of 1 Cor. viii.–xvi.; 2 Cor. vi. 14–vii. 1, and with the Churches in Asia Minor when

1 Pet. iv. 1–4 was written. The doctrine of the Nicolaitans must, therefore, have found favour in the province only at some time subsequent to that represented by 1 John. A comparison of Rev. ii. 2 and ii. 6 leaves no doubt that emissaries of this party had come to Ephesus some time before, and, after being turned away by the bishop of that place, had moved on to Pergamum and Thyatira, where they met with better success (n. 12). The fact that they represented themselves to be apostles, and were declared to be false apostles, makes them itinerant teachers who roamed about, like the followers of Peter in Corinth, but does not necessitate the assumption that, like these, they originated in Palestine and taught a doctrine more or less Judaistic (vol. i. 289 ff.).

The name "Nicolaitans" gives rise to more definite conjectures. The theory, not yet abandoned, that the name is a translation of "Balaamites" deserves at last to be buried (n. 13). But the tradition that Nicolaüs, the proselyte of Antioch (Acts vi. 5), later went astray as a libertine, deserves to be believed, if for no other reason, because it contradicts the nature of ecclesiastical legend-making, when it imputes evil to a Christian who is mentioned with honour in the N.T. Even as late as the time of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 118) there were persons, or writings of persons, who cited this Nicolaüs as authority for their libertine doctrine. The Book of Revelation cannot have led them to use the name in that way. It is clear, therefore, that it did not create this party and the name it bears, but that both existed independently of the book. In that case it is impossible to see whence the party could have got its name, if not from some man by the name of Nicolaüs; and since the party itself, as well as the teachers of the Church who oppose them, make the Nicolaüs of Acts vi. 5 the originator of the doctrine, it would be useless to seek for another person of that name. If, then, this Nicolaüs himself, like

Philip his former companion in office, emigrated to the province of Asia, or if adherents of his came to that place —which is more likely—it is quite conceivable that the representatives of this doctrine, because of its outward connection with the primitive Church, introduced themselves as apostles of a true gospel. This last discussion also confirms the tradition that Revelation was written *circa* 95. At all events, the words of Christ to the seven Churches were written at a time later than 1 John.

1. (P. 408.) The fact that θλῖψις stands first shows that this is not something which always accompanies the quest for the kingdom (Acts xiv. 22), but that it was present in the writer's mind at the time. The ἐν Ἰησοῦ, which is connected with it and which corresponds to the Pauline ἐν Χριστῷ, shows that it was persecution for the sake of Christianity. The ἐγενόμεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ (cf. Acts xiii. 5 ; 2 Tim. i. 17), which refers primarily to the arrival at Patmos (Athanas. in Montfauçon, *Coll. nova*, ii. 5 = παρεγενόμην), and which in this sense is connected with διὰ τὸν λόγον, affords even less basis than would ἦμην for the assumption that, at the time when he wrote, John was no longer on Patmos. By a mistaken reference to i. 2, Lücke, Bleek, and others are led to take διὰ τὸν λόγον κτλ. as meaning that John went to Patmos for the purpose of receiving the revelation. But (1) there is nothing which suggests this meaning in i. 9, while in i. 2 it is demanded by ἐμαρτύρησεν and by the context. (2) A Christian can do nothing whatever to induce revelation except to pray for it under certain conditions which give him a right to do so. Ecstasy certainly would not be induced by a twelve or twenty hours' trip by sail- or row-boat. Equally impossible is the interpretation, "in order to preach the gospel on Patmos." While the gospel preached by man can be called "testimony of Jesus" or "testimony of God" or "word of God" (vol. ii. 378 f. n. 2), it is contrary to all known usage by διά with the acc. to represent its proclamation as the purpose of an action (cf., *per contra*, such passages as 2 Cor. ii. 12 ; Phil. i. 5, ii. 22). Moreover, a missionary journey from the thickly populated mainland to the unimportant island on which there was no city (see n. 4, end) would be a strange proceeding. The interpretation given above is the only one in keeping with the usage of Rev. (vi. 9, xx. 4 ; cf. xii. 17, xix. 10) and of the N.T. (Matt. xiii. 21 ; Mark iv. 17 ; 1 Pet. iii. 14 ; Col. iv. 3 ; 2 Tim. i. 12) and with the context ("partaker with you in tribulation"). For the tradition concerning the exile, see above, pp. 197, 201, nn. 8, 14. According to a doubtful Latin fragment (*Patr. ap.* ii. 171), Polycarp mentioned the *exilia* of John.

2. (Pp. 410, 411.) Pergamum (τὸ Πέργαμον since Polyb. iv. 48. 11) or Pergamus (ἡ Πέργαμος, the earlier form, occurs Xenoph. *Hell.* iii. 1. 6, but is found later in connection with the later form, Ptolem. v. 2. 14), *longe clarissimum Asiæ Pergamum* (Plin. v. 126), had in the time of Galen (*Opp.* v. 49) 120,000 inhabitants, and was at that time the principal city of one of the 13

or 14 judicial districts (*conventus juridici*), but was in no sense the capital of the province of Asia, a distinction claimed by Ephesus (Cicero, *ad Famil.* v. 20. 9; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10. 11; *Digest.* i. 16. 4). Consequently it is wrong to explain Rev. ii. 13 on the assumption that Pergamum was the centre of the Roman government. Moreover, to treat the latter as an incarnation of the rule of Satan is contrary to the views of Rev. as well as to those of Paul. Nor is the reference to the temple of Augustus built in 29 B.C. upon the highest point of the acropolis; since there is no apparent reason why this seat of the worship of an emperor should have aroused the aversion of the Christians more than did numerous other such places in the province. The passage has also been connected with the huge altar, rediscovered in 1878, famous on account of the relief work upon it. Cf. in general, *Beschreibung der Skulpturen von Pergamon*, i. *Gigantomachie* (edited by Puchstein), 2te Aufl. 1902. This structure, evidently built under Eumenes II. about 180 B.C., and dedicated to Zeus and Athena Nicephoros (cf. Fränkel on No. 69 of the *Inschriften von Pergamon*), was much less a place of worship than an artistically adorned monument allegorically commemorative of the victory of Attalus I. over the Gallic hordes about 240 B.C.; cf. Tondeur, *Die Gigantomachie des pergam. Altars, erläutert von Trendelenburg*, 1884; Ranke, *Weltgesch.*[1] ii. 1. 286. This work could be regarded by Christians as the throne of Satan even less than could a temple; certainly there was nothing about it to make Pergamum dangerous for Christians. This would, however, be in a high degree true of the worship of Æsculapius. For information on this subject, cf. the article "Asklepios" by Thrämer in Roscher's *Lex. der Myth.* i. 615–641, and *Pauly-Wissowa*, ii. 1642–1697. For the Christian estimate, cf. Just. *Apol.* i. 21 (of the sons of Zeus comparable to Jesus besides the Hermes=Logos, is also a second Æsculapius, the god of healing, who ascended into heaven); i. 22 (where Æsculapius' and Jesus' healings and restorations of the dead to life are compared); i. 54 end (the fabricated fable of the demons converted in accordance with the prophecy of Christ); the contrast between Æsculapius and Christ in Origen (*contra Cels.* iii. 3; Arnob. i. 49, iii. 23, vii. 44–48). Under Diocletian, Christian stone-cutters from Rome without scruple carved in the quarries of Pannonia not only pillars, capitals, and baths, but also victories and cupids, and even the sun-god in his chariot; but they steadfastly refused to make an image of Æsculapius. For this they were put to death as followers of Antipas of Pergamum; cf. *Passio quat. coron.* in Büdinger's *Unters. zur Kaisergesch.* iii. 324 ff., 331 ff.

3. (P. 411.) The legend of Antipas (*Acta SS.* April. ii. 3, 965), which in some form had been read by Andreas of Cæsarea (ed. Sylburg, p. 11), has no historical value. To this extent Görres (*ZfWTh*, 1878, S. 277 ff.) is right. That independent of Rev. Antipas was no distinguished martyr is evidenced also by the confusion in the tradition and interpretation of the text among the ancients. Probably the correct reading is ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντιπᾶ, ὁ μάρτυς (cf. i. 5). The nominative in apposition easily gave rise to the reading Ἀντιπᾶς, which was early interpreted as ἀντεῖπας ("thou contradictedst") and also changed into ὅτι πᾶς; see especially Gwynn, *The Apoc. of St. John in a Syr. version*, 1897, Notes on the Syr. text, p. 44 f. That Antipas was put to death in consequence of a judicial sentence is unlikely, because the throne of Satan is not to be connected with the Roman authority, and especially because the

mention of only a single bloody martyrdom in the recent past, from among the seven Churches, is incomprehensible, if in Asia at that time, as in Bithynia in 112 under Trajan and Pliny, confession of Christianity when proved before a court was regularly punished by death. John, who was certainly more prominent and not less courageous than the others, was punished simply by banishment.

4. (P. 412.) Concerning the difference between the status of the Christians in the time of Nero and in the time of Domitian, see vol. ii. 177–185, 189–191; cf. Zahn, *Hirt. des Hermas*, S. 44 ff., 118–135. The present writer regards it as certain that not before Domitian, but in the time of this emperor and under his personal leadership, the government of the empire and the provincial magistrates under it took a position antagonistic to Christianity, and adopted a regular procedure with reference to it. There is also a tradition to the effect that Domitian sent Christians into exile because of their confession; thus, for example, Flavia Domitilla was banished to the island of Pontia (Eus. *H. E.* iii. 18. 5; *Chron. an. Abr.* 2109, and after *an.* 2110; Dio. Cass. lxvii. 14). Reference is made to the banishment of Christians in Herm. *Sim.* i. (cf. Zahn, *Hirt. des Hermas*, S. 124). Sparsely settled islands were generally used as places of exile, such as Gyara or Gyaros (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 68 f., iv. 30; cf. xv. 71; Juven. i. 73, x. 170; Epict. i. 25. 19, iii. 24. 100, 109, 113; Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* vii. 16), an island among the Cyclades, of which Plin. *H. N.* iv. 69 says, as he does also of Melos and Calymna in iv. 71, that it had at least one city, a statement which in iv. 69 he is unable to make with reference to Patmos.

5. (Pp. 412, 413.) Polyc. *ad Phil.* xi. 3, speaking in his own name and in that of the presbyters of Smyrna, says concerning the Macedonian Churches with which Paul corresponded: "de vobis etenim gloriatur (Paulus) in omnibus ecclesiis, quæ deum solæ tunc cognoverant; nos autem nondum noveramus." For further particulars, see *Forsch.* iv. 252–259. Of the Churches of the province, mentioned by Paul or in the Acts but not in Rev. (Colossæ, Hierapolis, Troas), Ignatius in 110 mentions only Troas (*Smyrn.* xii. 1; *Philad.* xi. 2); of those first mentioned in Rev., he mentions Smyrna and Philadelphia, besides these, but first he mentions Magnesia and Tralles. The order in Rev. i. 11, ii. 1 ff. is geographical. The Church which can first be reached from Patmos is Ephesus. Then going north follow Smyrna and Pergamum, and following in a south-east direction lay Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea. Leucius in his "Wanderings of John" makes this order of the cities of Asia the basis of his entire treatment (*Forsch.* vi. 194–199).

6. (Pp. 413, 416.) After the comprehensive statement, given in i. 11, 19, of what John is to write (above, p. 404), τὸ μυστήριον κτλ., i. 20, naturally cannot be the object of γράψον in i. 19, a construction of the passage possible only on the absurb supposition that during the vision John produced pen and paper and begged the Lord, who stood before him, to cease speaking for a few minutes. The words are accusative absolutes and introductory appositives; cf. Luke xxi. 6; Rom. xii. 1. A somewhat freer use of the cases in apposition is characteristic of Rev. (i. 5, ii. 26, xxi. 17). "As regards the mystery of the seven stars, etc., the seven stars are the angels of the seven Churches." The fact that in this passage the article is missing before ἄγγελοι

is not to be overlooked any more than is the very peculiar use of language in the headings in ii. 1, 8 ff. Without entering with detail into the very complicated critical question as to the text, where special consideration must be given to S^2 and the old Latin version, the present writer believes it possible to affirm that the smooth reading, *τῷ ἀγγ. τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησίας*, is spurious. If the reading suggested by Hort, *τῷ ἀγγ. τῷ ἐν Ἐφ. ἐκκλησίας*, be correct, *ἐκκλησίας*, which is probably to be struck out altogether in ii. 18 as a modifier of *ἀγγ.*, is hardly a Greek construction, "To the church-angel in Ephesus." Origen discovers here *actual angels*, who along with the human bishops are charged with the oversight of the local Churches (*Hom.* xii. xiii. *in Lc.*; *de Orat.* xi.; Theoph. (Latin) ii. 6; see *Forsch.* ii. 67. 19; cf. Jerome on Matt. xviii. 10 (Vall. vii. 139 f.); Andreas, p. 8 on i. 20 (who also quotes Gregory Naz. as holding this view); moreover, p. 4 on i. 4 and p. 19 on iv. 5, Andreas attempts to identify the seven angels with the seven spirits, and makes an obscure statement about a similar view of Irenæus, which probably relates to Rev. i. 4, iv. 5 = viii. 2); among modern writers the same view is held, *e.g.*, by Bleek (*Vorl. über die Ap.* S. 167). Ambrosiaster (*Quæst.* 102, ed. Bass. xvi. 466) and Epiph. (*Hær.* xxv. 3) identify the angels with the *local bishops*; the latter, however, seems also to believe in mystical union between the bishop and an angel of the altar. Ebrard, Olshausen's *Komm.* vii. (1853) S. 144, and recently Spitta, S. 38, identify the angels with the *messengers of the Churches* who came to John. While the Jewish analogies adduced by Vitringa, *de Synag. vet.*, ed. ii. (1726) pp. 889–914; *Comm. in ap.*, ed. ii. p. 25; Lightfoot, *Horæ hebr.* on Matt. iv. 23 (*Opp.* ii. 278); Schoettgen, p. 1089, on Rev. ii. 1, clearly need sifting and supplementing, they contain the gist of the correct view. The expression שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר, which corresponds exactly in form (cf. the remarks above on the text of ii. 1), did not in itself and originally mean a fixed office, still less a humble office in the synagogue, but it meant the person in the congregation who was invested with full power, who acted in its name in all relations, especially in matters concerning the liturgy, the leading of prayers, etc. The idea is not that of the priest, who acts in the assembly in the name of God, or that of the prophet and apostle, who are sent by God or Christ, but that of an authorised agent of the Church, its representative before God and in acts of devotion. It is a noteworthy fact that the early Syrians, who were not familiar with Rev. or who at least did not have it in their canon, understood by *ἄγγελοι* in 1 Cor. vi. 3 and in other places the priests (Aphraat, p. 432; Ephr. *Carm. Nisib.* 42. 10; *Comm. in ep. Pauli*, p. 175), on the analogy of Mal. ii. 7; cf. Hag. i. 13. The best example of a transition from address to the bishop to address to the Church is Ign. *ad Polyc.* i.–iii., vi. 1–vii. 1, vii. 2, 3, viii. 1, 3; remote parallels are found in the concluding greetings in 1 Tim. vi. 21; 2 Tim. iv. 15; Tit. iii. 15.

7. (P. 416.) In Rev. ii. 20 the external authority for *γυναῖκα* followed by *σοῦ* (AB, many cursives, old Lat. version [Cypr. Primas.], S^2 S^3) is at least as great as that for *γυναῖκα* alone (ℵCP Copt. vg; Epiph. *Hær.* li. 33). The later insertion of *σοῦ* cannot be satisfactorily explained as a mechanical repetition of *σοῦ* used three or four times earlier. On the contrary, since *ἄγγελοι* was early understood to mean angels (see n. 6), *σοῦ* must have seemed out of place. However, when the earliest witnesses for *γυναῖκα*

without σοῦ were written, married bishops were objectionable exceptions, as the history of Synesius shows; especially a bishop who had such a godless wife in his house. Furthermore, the expression τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζ. is a gross violation of style, which in the nature of the case cannot be justified by examples like ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης (Mark vi. 14, "the king, namely, Herod"). Therefore, accepting σοῦ as correct, the reference can only be to the wife of the bishop. The daughter of a Phœnician king, who as the wife of the weak king Ahab used her position to introduce into Israel the worship of Baal and the unchastity associated with it (1 Kings xvi. 31, xviii. 4, 13, xix. 1, xxi. 25), and who herself is charged with adultery (2 Kings ix. 22, cf. ix. 30), was a fitting type by which to describe a bishop's wife who countenanced the teaching of the Nicolaitans, recommended without scruple unchastity and participation in the heathen sacrificial feasts, and who herself indulged in vice. If, as is clearly the case, πορνεῦσαι in ii. 20 is to be taken literally (cf. ii. 14; Acts xv. 20, 29; 1 Cor. x. 7, 8; 2 Pet. ii. 13–20; Jude 4, 11 f., vol. ii. 224 f., 245 f.), πορνεία in ii. 21 must be taken in the same way, and the fact that the sin of those who have had intercourse with her is called μοιχεύειν μετ' αὐτῆς, only goes to confirm the fact that she was married; all unchastity on the part of a married woman is adultery (cf. Matt. v. 32). But it is not likely that her children were the fruits of such adulterous relations (τέκνα πορνείας, Hos. ii. 6; John viii. 41). That would necessarily be expressed. They are the legitimate children of the wife and also of the bishop. They are to be swept away by a pestilence (cf. Rev. vi. 8 = דֶּבֶר, Ex. v. 3, ix. 3, 15). If there is any point at which a depraved woman can be deeply touched it is with reference to her own children. The comparison with Jezebel is imperfect in so far as the weak Ahab actually committed wrong, although not without misgivings (1 Kings xxi. 27–29). The bishop of Thyatira, on the other hand, is praised because of his constantly increasing good conduct (ii. 19); but it is a blameworthy weakness on his part that he permits his wife to do as she likes. As a husband and a bishop he ought not to have allowed his wife entire freedom in her movements, which made it possible for her to exercise her seductive influence on many members of the Church. From the manner in which Christ describes Himself in ii. 23, it is evident that Jezebel knew how to conceal her actions from the knowledge and criticism of others; hence also from her husband. She passed not as πόρνη, but as προφῆτις, and we do not know how far she and her followers went. In every century the history of the Church shows all degrees of confusion between immoral conduct and exalted religiousness. He who tries the hearts and reins calls the more refined use of feminine charms in order to allure admirers πορνεία, and in no allegorical sense, and in the case of a married woman he calls it μοιχεία; cf. Matt. v. 28. The idea, put forth by Andreas, p. 12, that Jezebel is a personification of the Nicolaitan party is to be rejected; (1) if the reading of ii. 20 advocated above be correct, then we are confronted by the incredible supposition that this godless party could be represented as the wife of the pious bishop; (2) Jezebel, who teaches others and who commits adultery with her admirers, and who has children, cannot be identical with the party, the members of which are distinguished from her as her adulterous companions and her children. Even weaker is Schürer's view (*Theol. Abh. C. Weizsacker gewidmet*, 1892, S. 37 ff.), that Jezebel is the

Chaldean Sibyl, Sambethe (*Prol. in Orac. Sibyll.*, ed. Rzach, p. 4. 28) or Sabbe (Pausan. x. 12. 9). This fancy is possible only on the basis of the wrong reading of Rev. ii. 20; furthermore, it is by no means settled whether the σαμβαθεῖον mentioned in an inscription at Thyatira, belonging to the time of Trajan or later (*C. I. G.* 3509), was a sanctuary of this Σαμβήθη; finally, how can this purely mythical figure be made to agree with the text of Rev. ii. 18–29, which unquestionably deals with actual events at the time when Rev. was written? It is necessary to suppose that at that time a priestess officiated in the sanctuary of Sambethe who pretended to be a prophetess, like the Sibyl, or a new incarnation of the Sibyl. In that case the name Jezebel would be the most unsuitable possible, since she was not a heathen prophetess, but the wife of an Israelitish king who had come out of paganism. Even accepting Schürer's false reading, there is still no doubt that "Jezebel" belonged to the Christian Church. (1) In ii. 20 it is very plainly indicated among whom she passes as prophetess and teacher; she does not teach and lead astray a few persons who have been Christians and who have fallen back into paganism, or weak individuals who, while attending the Church services, at the same time visited heathen oracles, but *the* servants of Christ in Thyatira. Those who have suffered themselves to be led astray by her (ii. 22), are contrasted with the members of the Church who remained faithful (ii. 24); it follows, therefore, that all are Christians. A heathen prophetess, who promulgated her "teachings" only among Christians, would be a peculiar saint. (2) The content of her teaching (διδάσκει, ii. 20; τὴν διδαχὴν ταύτην, ii. 24) is exactly the same as that which in ii. 14, 15 is called the teachings of the Nicolaitans, which were promulgated by alleged apostles (Rev. ii. 2, 6) among the Churches of Asia Minor. It is, therefore, evident that the false prophetess as well as the false prophets was outwardly a member of the Christian Church. (3) The angel or the bishop could not be blamed for permitting a heathen Pythia or Sibyl to do as she liked (ὅτι ἀφεῖς κτλ.); since he had neither power nor authority over her. The only thing he could be blamed for would be his failure to warn the Christians under his care against visiting the heathen temple and against the suggestions of this heathen soothsayer. (4) Jezebel and all her followers are under the discipline of Christ; more precisely the discipline of the Church exercised most signally and most comprehensively by Christ Himself (ii. 21–23, especially v. 23, πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι and ὑμῖν). The fact that the exalted Christ has a part in God's government of the world, and that God requires repentance also of the heathen,—something that does not need to be proved from the *Sibylline Oracles* (cf. Matt. xii. 41; Acts xvii. 30),—offers no justification for the assumption that Christ is here conceived of as the master who punishes Jezebel and her followers in order to bring them to repentance and as a warning to all the Churches (cf. *per contra* 1 Cor. v. 12).

8. (P. 416.) Bengel (*Erklärte Offenb. Joh.* 1740, S. 262) saw that in iii. 1 a proper name is presupposed connected with the word "Life." The popular interpretation, "Thou enjoyest the reputation of living when thou art dead," (1) presupposes the reading of the Text. rec. τὸ ὄνομα, which is entirely unauthenticated, and which even Luther was obliged to translate ("the name"). (2) There is no justification of the interpretation from usage. The passage, Herod. vii. 138, cited by Raphel, ii. 794, is not parallel, since the

reference there is not to a person who as such would have a proper name, but to a warlike undertaking, the real purpose of which was concealed by false statements—a thought which would be expressed by λέγεσθαι (1 Cor. viii. 5; Eph. ii. 11; cf. Rev. ii. 2, 9, 20, 39); ὀνομάζεσθαι (1 Cor. v. 11), or δοκεῖν. (3) On this hypothesis it would be necessary to explain how the angel secured the unjustified reputation of being alive. It would be necessary to call him a hypocrite and to unmask him. That ὄνομα is here a proper name is further evidenced (cf. ii. 17, iii. 12, ix. 11, xix. 12) by the fact that in the immediate context, iii. 4, and only here ὀνόματα occurs in the sense of "persons," and that in iii. 5 ὄνομα (cf. Phil. iv. 3) is again used to designate the proper name. If, then, the meaning be, "Thou bearest a name (which signifies) that you live," it must be either Ζώσιμος or Ζωτικός. The latter is the more likely, because this name occurs very frequently in the inscriptions of the province (*Forsch.* v. 94; cf. also Ramsey, *Cities and Bishoprics*, i. 390, 392, 475, 525, 533, 536, 539, 564, 656 f., 702, 705, 744, 760, 761, and the inscriptions in *Altert. von Hierapolis*, S. 87, 89, 114, 140, Nos. 41, 46, 133, 220); Zosimus, on the other hand, is comparatively rare (*e.g. C. I. G.* 3509; Ramsey, *op. cit.* 472 f., 535); moreover, ζώσιμος as an adjective is rare, while ζωτικός occurs frequently (=*vividus, vegetus*). The suggestion of the meaning of the word brings to mind not only the opposite idea νεκρὸς εἶ, but affects also what follows: ver. 2, ἀποθανεῖν; ver. 5, ἡ βίβλος τῆς ζωῆς. For a similar use of the literal meaning of proper names, see vol. i. 456, n. 5.

9. (P. 417.) According to *Mart. Polyc.* xix. 1, Polycarp was put to death in Smyrna in the year 155, either as the last of the twelve Christians, who in part, at least, had been brought thither from Philadelphia (according to the reading δωδέκατος), or as the thirteenth, after the twelve Philadelphians had preceded him in death (according to the more probable reading δώδεκα). If any other Smyrnæan besides Polycarp suffered martyrdom at this time, in the detailed account which we have there would necessarily be some trace of it.

10. (P. 417.) In the light of second century usage there can be no doubt that ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα means Sunday, and not the Christian feast of the Passover (cf. Zahn, *Skizzen*, 2 Aufl. S. 354, A. 16). The fact that Sunday is no longer designated by its Jewish name, as in 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Acts xx. 7, and in the Gospels, but by the Christian name in use later, is proof of the relatively late date of the composition of Rev. It would have been in bad taste to use this in John xx. 1, 19.

11. (P. 418.) If the saints in Thyatira are taken as the subject of ὡς λέγουσιν in ii. 24, these words are superfluous, since John's judgment concerning the teachings of the Nicolaitans cannot differ from that of the saints in Thyatira. If, on the other hand, the Nicolaitans are the subject, they would hardly be made responsible for the opinion that their pious opponents lack knowledge of the deep things of Satan; in that case ἐκεῖνοι would hardly be lacking before λέγουσιν. The meaning is rather, that the Nicolaitans themselves boast of such knowledge, and by the use of the slightly emphasised ὡς λέγουσιν John merely means to indicate that this expression is borrowed from the language of the Nicolaitans. In any case the saints are without "this alleged knowledge of the deep things of Satan," of which the Nicolaitans boast. Not satisfied with the knowledge of the

deep things of God (1 Cor. ii. 10), they feel that they ought also to penetrate the abysses of Satan (cf. vol. ii. 225 f., 246, 280 f.).

12. (P. 419.) The opinion of Baur (*Christent. der drei erst. Jahrh.*, 2 Aufl. S. 81) and his school, that Rev. ii. 2 is aimed at Paul, is refuted by the fact that we have καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν, not ἦσαν, which excludes all possible reference to the deceased Paul. The opinion that aspersions are cast on Paul, who wrote 1 Cor. vi. 12–20 and viii. 1–x. 33, as a representative of the teachings described in Rev. ii. 14, 20, and that the angel of the Church of Ephesus, which owed its existence to the work of Paul, is praised because he rejected Paul and his assistants as false prophets, and the opinion that the apostle John, whose attitude toward Paul we know from Gal. ii. 9, is responsible for such foolish utterances—need only to be stated to be refuted. There is no more definite description of the false apostles in ii. 2 or of the Nicolaitans in ii. 6. But since in ii. 2 the bishop's action in trying and rejecting the false prophets is mentioned as an example of his praiseworthy intolerance of evil men, and since in ii. 6 his hatred of the conduct of the Nicolaitans is the only praiseworthy act of his mentioned, we infer that the false prophets must have been representatives also of the teachings of the Nicolaitans.

13. (P. 419.) The best treatment of the Nicolaitans is that of Wohlenberg in *NKZ*, 1895, S. 923–961. The most important sources are Iren. i. 26. 3, iii. 11. 1; Clem. *Strom.* ii. 118, iii. 25–29; Hippol. *Refut.* vii. 36, and in the writing addressed to Mammæa (*Hippolytus' Kleinere Schriften*, ed. Achelis, p. 251). Victorinus also has some distinctive remarks on Rev. ii. 6 (Migne, v. col. 521). According to Irenæus and Hippolytus, Nicolaüs himself fell into error; while Clement, in order to prove Nicolaüs' innocence, charges the Nicolaitans with misconstruing innocent words and actions of his. The latter view only shows how hard it was to believe that an early Christian mentioned in the N.T. could become a heretic, and is proof of the historicity of Irenæus' account. The opinion current since the time of Vitringa (*Comm. in apoc.*, ed. ii. 1719, p. 65 f.), that Νικόλαος, from which the term Nicolaitans is derived, is a translation of נִקְלָעִם cannot be maintained. While those who really know Hebrew would rightfully and necessarily take exception to this translation, certainly inaccurate and probably false, to Christians in Asia Minor unfamiliar with Hebrew, the term would be entirely blind. They would more naturally infer that the teaching referred to in ii. 15 was different from that referred to in ii. 14. Actual translations, such as ζηλωτής, Luke vi. 15, or passages where it is expressly said that words are translations, as John i. 38–42, xix. 13, 17, xx. 16, Rev. ix. 11, cannot be cited as parallels. Such a translation would have served no purpose, since Balaam, like Jezebel, was a familiar historical figure, having a typical significance (2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11, vol. ii. 235, n. 3), and therefore Balaamites would have been much more intelligible than Nicolaitans, if there were no real Nicolaüs and no real Nicolaitans. If there were such, however, these must be meant; and it would be a strange accident if the name Balaam, which is unquestionably mentioned because of the historical importance of this person, and not because of the literal meaning of the name, could seem to one imperfectly acquainted with Hebrew to be a translation of Nicolaüs. Furthermore, the right place for the comparison of Balaam and Nicolaüs would be ii. 6, not ii. 14 f.

§ 74. THE AUTHOR OF REVELATION.

Since the author, who gives his book the form of a message to the seven Churches, begins his writing with a greeting, he has occasion to introduce in the greeting his own name (i. 4). But he calls himself by this name also in i. 9, xxii. 8, and in the title of the book, i. 1. From the explicit manner in which the author says in xxii, 8, "I, John, am he who saw and heard this," we infer that the reason for the repeated mention of himself is the feeling that the one who has received revelations (i. 2, xxii. 18) should in person testify to the truthfulness of his account (Dan. vii. 2, 15, viii. 1, ix. 2, x. 2). The name indicates that he was a Hebrew (n. 1), and this is fully confirmed by his language. He is, therefore, to be regarded as a Christian of Jewish origin from Palestine who settled in Asia Minor. From the absence of all modifying clauses attached to the name except that of "a servant of Christ" (i. 1), it is clear that he was the only person of this name known among the seven Churches, or, if there were other Hebrews with this name, they were entirely overshadowed by this John. Unless the author were distinguished throughout the entire circle of Churches addressed, and were familiar with their conditions, the passage i. 4–iii. 22 would be quite incomprehensible. This conclusion is not affected by the fact that the communications he sends had their origin in visions. From this it follows that he was, or pretended to be, the well-known John of Ephesus, the author of the Fourth Gospel and of the three Epistles bearing this name, whom we have found to be the apostle John.

Of writers who do not think that Revelation can be attributed to the apostle, Dionysius of Alexandria is the first to suggest the identity of the author of Revelation with John Mark; but he refuses to make John Mark the author of Revelation, because of his inability to make this

agree with the statements in the N.T. concerning Mark (n. 2). Nor have modern writers who hold Mark to be the author of Revelation, or of some parts of it, been able to get over this difficulty. This John, with the Roman surname Mark, is never designated among Gentile Christians (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; 1 Pet. v. 13) and in the tradition of the early Church by his Hebrew, but always by his Roman name. The name John is never added, except in passages where reference is had to his early history (Acts xii. 12, 25, xiii. 5, 13, xv. 37), and then always in such a way as to make it clear that in the Gentile Christian Churches the Roman had replaced the Hebrew name (Acts xv. 39), just as Paul had taken the place of Saul. In the year 62 Mark was as yet personally unknown to the Asiatic Churches (Col. iv. 10; vol. i. 442, 450, n. 4). Apparently he came to Asia shortly thereafter, but only for a short time; since we find him in Rome toward the end of the year 63, or at the beginning of the year 64 (1 Pet. v. 13). He was again in Asia in the year 66, but is directed to come again to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11). Mark's permanent residence in the province of Asia, prior to the year 67, is out of the question (vol. ii. 427 ff.). Since, however, the apostle John and others belonging to the apostolic group settled in this province not later than the year 69, it is impossible that thereafter Mark should come to occupy a position such as that occupied by the author of Revelation. Least of all could he introduce himself in this work as the one distinguished John known to the Churches in Asia; for this name belonged to the aged John of Ephesus, *i.e.*, the apostle John.

Surprise has been expressed that the author did not call himself an apostle; but this overlooks the fact that Paul even, who more than any other apostle had occasion to call attention to his apostleship, and who made use of such opportunities, fails to use this title in a number of

his letters to the Churches (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1), occasionally also designating himself simply a slave of Christ (Phil. i. 1; cf. Rev. i. 1). It is also to be remembered that in writing his Epistles John does not use the apostolic title, and that the use of it is almost entirely avoided in the Gospel (above, p. 227, n. 9). But the most important consideration of all is the fact that the present work gave him no occasion to call himself an apostle. Any member of the Church possessing prophetic gifts may become the recipient of a revelation, and the high regard in which John was held in the Church of Asia, such as is certainly presupposed by the simple manner in which he introduces his own name in Rev. i. 4, 9, is due much less to his position among the Twelve, than to the fact that he was able to bear testimony as one who had heard and seen Jesus (1 John i. 1–4, iv. 14). Of this fact the readers are reminded at the very beginning of the book. When he falls down as one dead before the majestic gaze of the Lord who appears to him, he is again heartened by the familiar summons, "Fear thou not, it is I" (i. 17). At the same time, the hand of the Lord, whom he has previously seen, heard, and handled (1 John i. 1), rests upon his head to comfort and reassure him (n. 3).

It has also been considered strange and inconsistent with the apostolic dignity of the author, that in xxi. 14 he should relate in so naïve a manner what he had seen, namely, the names of the twelve apostles written upon the twelve foundation stones of the wall of the Jerusalem coming down to earth. In that case words like Luke xxii. 30, Matt. xix. 28, which only apostles could have heard and repeated, must be the invention of persons who were not apostles; and when Paul wrote 1 Cor. i. 28 and Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11, he must have forgotten that in 1 Cor. i. 1, Eph. i. 1 he had very solemnly declared himself to be an apostle. John has never been able to satisfy his critics (n. 4). When, as in the Gospel and

the Epistles, he refrains from using his title of honour explicitly, it is evidence that he has occasion to conceal something; on the other hand, if, as in Revelation he mentions his own name, it is the sign of disagreeable obtrusiveness. If he emphasises, as in John xix. 35, 1 John i. 1–4, the fact that he was an eye-witness, it betrays a suspicious design; if, as in Revelation, he lets his historical relation to Jesus remain in the background, it is proof that the relation did not exist. When he happens to speak once objectively of the twelve apostles, this is just as conclusive evidence that he was not one of their number, as if he called himself the presbyter instead of the apostle.

Nor does any real problem arise from a comparison of the *teachings* of Revelation with those of the Gospel and of 1 John. The single fact, discussed above, p. 312 ff., that in all three of these writings, and nowhere else in the whole of early Christian literature, save in the writings which can be shown to be dependent upon the Johannine writings, ὁ λόγος is used as a comprehensive name for the Christ; and this usage presupposed, has more weight than all the objections based upon supposed irreconcilable contradictions between ideas found in Revelation and the other Johannine writings (n. 5). It would require almost an entire interpretation, not only of Revelation, but more especially of the Gospel, in order to correct all the misunderstandings, which in this instance have hindered the acceptance of the correct view concerning the relation of these two works—as, for example, when one discovers in the Gospel the disappearance of the early Christian prophecy and hope, or a universalism in which the special position of Israel is totally denied, or a tenderness nullifying all serious thought of the wrath and judgment of God. Furthermore, one who regards both the discourses of the Gospel and the visions of Revelation as pure inventions, will necessarily make demands relative to similarity in

idea and language between writings purporting to be from the same author, entirely different from the demands which one will feel himself compelled to make who regards the Gospel and Revelation not, to be sure, as stenographic reports, but as faithful accounts of a witness concerning what he had seen and heard. Jesus uses language in His earthly life and says things to His earthly companions different from the language and the message of the exalted Lord in visions to His servant and prophet. And still He is the same person.

The only real problem is that arising from the great *difference in style* observable between the Gospel and Epistles on the one hand and Revelation on the other. Here, first of all, it is necessary to correct the exaggerated statements made as early as the time of Dionysius the Alexandrian, concerning the good Greek of the Gospel and Epistles (n. 6). Even the Fourth Gospel must have been written by a Hebrew. Only by confining one's attention to a narrow group of expressions is it possible to overlook the gross violations both of the spirit and rules of the Greek language in the Gospel. Furthermore, in Revelation phenomena of this kind are for the most part due not to ignorance of Greek, but in particular instances to intention (n. 7), and to the dependence of the visions themselves and their literary form upon the model of the prophetic writings of the O.T. Oral and written prophecy in the apostolic Church had its own peculiar style, following closely the O.T. model, as did also the thoughtful didactic addresses and the historical narratives, and the Psalm. Consequently the same man, when writing as a prophet, would necessarily use language different from that which he would employ in a didactic communication to the Churches committed to his care, or in writing an account of the deeds and sayings of Jesus. Then it must be remembered that in the nature of the case the relation of the prophetic writer to his subject

is one of much less freedom than in any other form of composition. Particularly when his prophecy is based upon visions, received in an ecstatic state, everything is received, not only the material, but also the form. All that he has to do is to put what he has seen into words, and for this reason he is much less inclined than is the historian and the teacher to polish or to permit to be polished for him the style of his first draft. The original account, written under the immediate impression of the vision beheld, is the best, because the most faithful. The more important the contents, the less important the form. With all the difference of content and form, however, there are significant agreements between the language of Revelation and the Gospel (nn. 5, 6).

The tradition regarding the origin of Revelation, the testimony of the book itself in those portions which have to do with the circumstances under which it was written, and in single expressions, and in the impression received from the whole book that it is a genuine product of early Christian prophecy, are all in harmony with the position that Revelation was written by the apostle John in the year 95 during his exile on the island of Patmos, and that it was received and handed down by the seven Churches to which he sent it as being really what it claims to be in its title. This conclusion has yet to be defended against that construction of its prophetic contents—a construction frequently shown to be untenable, but nevertheless not abandoned—according to which the book, either as a whole or in many of its parts, is thought necessarily to have been written considerably earlier.

1. (P. 428.) The present writer knows no Jew of the Græco-Roman diaspora with the name of John; whereas, *e.g.*, Jude, Joseph, Jonathan, Samuel, Miriam, and Salome occur in Roman inscriptions. Cf. also *Forsch.* vi. 176, A. 1. It was not until long after the time of Revelation that the custom arose among the Christians of calling themselves by the names of apostles (cf. Dionysius in Eus. vii. 25. 14).

2. (P. 429.) Dionysius in Eus. vii. 25. 15 rejects the idea that Mark is

the author only because of Acts xiii. 5, 13. Hitzig (*Über Jo. Mr. und seine Schriften*, 1843) declares Mark to be the author of the whole of Revelation. Spitta (see above, p. 407, n. 11) declares him to be the author of an Ur-Apocalypse preserved principally in Rev. i. 3–iii. 22.

3. (P. 430.) Rev. i. 17 is correctly understood by Iren. iv. 20. 11 ("quoniam ipse est, in cujus pectore recumbebat ad cœnam"); also by Herder (*Maranatha*, S. 13, notwithstanding his wrong division of sentences, S. 11). In favour of this interpretation is the clear suggestion of John vi. 20; Matt. xiv. 27, cf. Luke xxiv. 38 f.; John xviii. 5. Furthermore, if ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος were here used predicatively, and not in apposition to ἐγώ, there would be absolutely nothing in it to relieve the overwhelming impression of the vision, and to allay fear, as is the case in all other sentences in the Bible which follow μὴ φοβοῦ, φοβεῖσθε. Following i. 8 (cf. xxi. 6) so closely, it would be even impossible to avoid the misunderstanding that the one who here appeared is God the Lord Himself,—a mistake which would not be corrected until i. 18. It is also to be observed that in Rev., which in this respect resembles the doctrinal Epistles rather than a Gospel, the person of the Lord is frequently called simply Ἰησοῦς, even when the reference is to His exaltation and the religious attitude toward Him (i. 9, xii. 17, xiv. 12, xvii. 6, xix. 10, xx. 4, xxii. 16). Naturally the author is acquainted with the solemn formulas of i. 1, 2, 5, xiv. 13; uses also Χριστός in suitable places, xi. 15, xii. 10, xx. 4, 6; prays to Him as "Lord Jesus," xxii. 20; but he is not in the habit of using ὁ κύριος or ὁ Χριστός instead of the proper name, any more than does the John of the Gospel and the Epistles. He is too close to the historical manifestation of Jesus to do this.

4. (P. 430.) Dionysius, in Eus. vii. 25. 6–13, is an example of false criticism of John's mention of himself in Rev. The Alogi also seem to have criticised 1 John i. 1–4; *GK*, ii. 50.

5. (P. 431.) As has been shown above, pp. 312 f., 327 f., in discussing the "Logos doctrine" of the Johannine writings, it is not a formula capable of several interpretations and differently understood by different writers, in the use of which the Gospel, Rev., and the Epistles agree, but it is the idea which comes out more clearly in Rev. than in any other early Christian writing, whereas the form in which the idea is expressed changes (Gospel, ὁ λόγος; Rev. ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἀμήν; 1 John, ὁ λόγος τῆς ζωῆς). Jesus could be called "Logos" even if He were not in an eternal manner God. But Rev., the Gospel, and Epistles agree in ascribing this estimate to His person. While the angels will not accept any worship (Rev. xix. 10, xxii. 9), there is no objection when John falls down at the feet of Jesus (i. 17). He addresses Him with the *marana tha* of the liturgy (xxii. 20; cf. vol. i. 303, n. 12), and all the inhabitants of heaven include Him in their worshipful praise of God (v. 9–14; cf. vii. 10, xi. 5). With God and His sevenfold Spirit He is the source of grace and peace, i. 5. To Him are ascribed the attributes, "the first and the last," which seem to belong inalienably to God, i. 17, xxii. 13; cf. also i. 8, xxi. 6. Like God, He stands at the beginning not only of history, but also of the created world, which is inconceivable without the presupposition that He had part in the creation (iii. 14; cf. John i. 3; Col. i. 15–18). And yet He calls God both His God (ii. 7, iii. 12) and His Father (iii. 5, 21; cf. John xx. 17), and confesses that all that He has was received from His Father

(Rev. ii. 27, i. 1 ; cf. John iii. 35, v. 22, 27, xvii. 2). In view of His earthly and human vocation He is called the faithful witness (i. 5, iii. 14), which agrees perfectly with the Fourth Gospel (xviii. 37). Reference to the Concordance under *μαρτυρεῖν* and *μαρτυρία* (found elsewhere only in Mark xiv. 55–59 with reference to false witnesses) shows that all the Johannine writings have the same author. Jesus is called *τὸ ἀρνίον* only in Rev., where the word occurs twenty-nine times ; the word occurs elsewhere only in John xxi. 15, while the figure itself is found in John i. 29, 36 in the testimony of the Baptist, which led this apostle to Jesus. Only in Rev. xxi. 2, 9, xxii. 17, and John iii. 29 is the Church directly called the *νύμφη* of Christ, etc. The claim of Dionysius, *op. cit.* § 22, that Rev. has not a single syllable in common with the Gospel and 1 John, is a foolish exaggeration.

6. (P. 432.) Dionysius' contrast between the style of Rev. and that of the Gospel, *op. cit.* §§ 24–27, is just as much exaggerated as what he says concerning the teachings (see n. 5). Cf., on the other hand, Origen's carefully weighed judgment of the style of Heb. in comparison with Paul's Epistles in Eus. vi. 26. 11. In the latter case the comparison is between writings of the same class ; but, leaving that out of account, the relation is altogether different from that existing between Rev. and John. Concerning Hebrew words and Hebraisms in the Gospel, see above, p. 353, nn. 13, 19 f. ; in Rev., see below, p. 447 f. It is noteworthy that in each writing John once neglects to make clear to the readers through translation the idea associated with a name which is called Hebrew (John v. 2 ; Rev. xvi. 16 ; p. 353, n. 13). To be noted also is the Hebraistic use of *ἐκ* in the sense of a partitive gen. (above, p. 283, n. 2). The use of the neuter to describe persons (John vi. 37, 39, x. 29) in Rev. iii. 2 ; the use of the article as in John iii. 10 ("the official teacher among us," or "of us two"), also Rev. iii. 17. Cf. also single characteristic phrases such as those found at the end of each book referring to their respective contents, Rev. xxii. 18, 19 ; John xxi. 20 (*γεγραμμένα ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τούτῳ*), or *οὐ οἶδας* ("thou knowest better"), Rev. vii. 14 ; John xxi. 15–17.

7. (P. 432.) When a writer who uses *ἀπό* with the gen. between thirty and forty times writes once (i. 4) *ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, it must be because he wants to indicate that *ὁ ὢν κτλ.* is used as an indeclinable proper name, as a paraphrase for Yahweh. Also *ὁ ἦν* (cf. also i. 8, iv. 8. xi. 17, xvi. 5) must likewise be an intentional substitute for an omitted imperfect or aorist participle. Just as *τό* can be placed before any part of speech whatever when the reference is to objects, so *ὁ* can be used (cf. *ὁ ἀμήν*, iii. 14 ; above, p. 329, n. 8) when the reference is to persons. In i. 5, xx. 2, likewise, the disagreement in case between the noun and the word in apposition seems to be intentional, designed to give the word in apposition more prominence, by making it an independent exclamation ; this may be true also in the case of *πλήρης* in John i. 14 (but cf. Blass, *Gr.*² S. 81). In other instances (ii. 20, iii. 12, vii. 4, ix. 14) there may be actual solecisms, carelessness such as would be likely to occur in the ordinary speech of barbarians not yet fully Hellenised. The present writer does not regard it as impossible that the style of John's other writings was revised by friends more familiar with Greek than himself (cf. vol. i. 63 on Josephus), but that, for the reasons suggested above, p. 433, he failed to have this done in the case of Rev.

§ 75. CONTEMPORARY-HISTORICAL OR FUTURIST INTERPRETATION.

Without due recognition of the very definite tradition, and the evident marks of time in chaps. i.–iii., the attempt has long enough been made to determine the date of the composition of Revelation by the so-called *contemporary-historical* interpretation of its prophetic contents (n. 1). Especially since it was thought that it had been discovered that the number 666 (Rev. xiii. 18) represents the name of Nero, it has been held by the majority of German critics to be a proved fact that Revelation was written soon after the death of Nero († June 9, 68 A.D.), and shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem (August 70). The five kings, who had fallen (Rev. xvii. 10), are said to have been the five emperors from Augustus to Nero, and the sixth, who was ruling when Revelation was written, either Galba († January 69) or—if Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who had brief reigns, are omitted—Vespasian. The seventh, who is represented as having already been emperor and as to come again as antichrist (xvii. 8, 11, cf. xiii. 3, 12, 14), is supposed to be Nero, who, according to popular belief, was to return from the realm of the dead. In setting over against this interpretation and others of a similarly *contemporary-historical* character a *futurist* view, it must be recognised that they are not in every respect mutually exclusive. The former does not indeed deny that future events—the appearing of the antichrist, the parousia of Christ, and the final judgment—are predicted by John; and the latter does not deny that these final events are announced as being near at hand, and are represented as intimately connected with present facts. This is the nature of all prophecy. It aims always at the final outcome, and is yet bound to the past and the present.

Moreover, the origin of this prophecy in visions actually experienced does not alter the question, since

the imagery of the ecstatic vision, as of the ordinary dream, is formed out of material present within the circle of vision of the seer or dreamer when awake. For Christians inquiring concerning the issue of the development of history and longing for the fulfilment of all of God's promises (xx. 17, 20, v. 4, vi. 10), such material was at hand in the predictions of the O.T. prophets, especially Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, above all, however, in the prophetic testimony of Jesus, the possession of which alone secures to them a portion of the spirit of prophecy (xix. 10, cf. John xvi. 13 f.), and in the prophecy of the Church —based upon this possession of the prophetic spirit (1 John ii. 18; above, p. 371, n. 5)—with which Revelation is connected as a new—and, as far as the present is concerned, the last—link of the prophetic chain beginning with the prophecy of Jesus Himself. The Christian prophets from the first had held in view the course of the historical development of the world and the signs of the times (vol. i. 228 f., 235 ff., vol. ii. 110 ff.); John did likewise. It is, moreover, simply in agreement with the form of all N.T. prophecy, from the Baptist onwards, that the end is announced as imminent, the final coming of the kingdom of God and of Christ as rapid, sudden, and near at hand (i. 1, 3, iii. 11, xxii. 7, 10, 12, 20, cf. Matt. iii. 2–12; Jas. v. 8 f.; Rom. xiii. 11 ff.; Phil. iv. 5; Heb. x. 37; 1 John ii. 18; above, p. 371, n. 5). None the less, however, Revelation maintains the underlying principle of true prophecy, in withholding from men outside, and from the Church itself, a chronologically definite knowledge of the coming of the end (Matt. xxiv. 36; Acts i. 5; 1 Thess. v. 1 ff.). It does not contain a single statement that even in obscure reference gives the period of time intervening between the present and the parousia. It also contains prophecies which must be fulfilled before the final events, if they are to be fulfilled at all. Among these are included not only the partly hypothetical words, ii. 5, 22, iii. 9 (iii.

3, 19 f. ?), but also the persecution which will come upon the Church of Smyrna, and will cause the death of its bishop (ii. 8–11 ; above, pp. 417, 426).

As far as the prophecies are concerned, which unquestionably have in view the really final events, it has already appeared (above, p. 406, n. 9) that the naming of Jerusalem as the spiritual Sodom—a name chosen from the point of view of the present — presupposes that the destruction of the former Holy City had already taken place. Further, the number of the forty-two months = 1260 days = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years (xi. 2, 3, cf. xii. 6, 14, xiii. 5 ; Dan. vii. 25, xii. 7, 11) proves that this prophecy transports us into the time of the rule of the antichrist. It does not take its forms and colours from the pre-exilic prophecy of an Isaiah and a Jeremiah, but bases itself upon the prophecies of Daniel, which were uttered after the conquest of Jerusalem, and foretold not a destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, but a desecration of the temple in the end of days. To be sure, it is in the abstract conceivable that a Christian prophet before the year 70, like Jesus Himself, might have combined both kinds of prophecies without clearly explaining their mutual relationship. He might in this way have combined a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, given in the tone and meaning of an Isaiah, a Micah, or a Jeremiah, with a prophecy of the "antichrist" in the meaning of a Daniel. However, apart from the fact that the Christian prophecy of the antichrist in the time of Paul shows no trace of a confused mingling of these radically different lines of thought (1 Thess. ii. 16 ; 2 Thess. ii. 1–12), nothing of the sort appears at least in Rev. xi. 1–18. There is no mention of a taking of Jerusalem by an army, but only of a rule of the Gentiles in Jerusalem during the period of the antichrist (xi. 2 f.). The destruction of only a tenth of the city, and the killing of only a small portion of the inhabitants, are not occasioned by a hostile army,

but by an earthquake (ver. 13), and the temple suffered so little destruction at the hands of the Romans, that the main building with the outer courts of the priests, in which the altar of burnt-offering stood, together with the congregation, worshipping there, is to remain protected from every desecration by the Gentiles (xi. 1 f.). No further proof should be needed to show that this prophecy could not have been made by a Christian before the year 70 who knew only of the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, prophesied by Jesus. It is only necessary to call to mind, that in the period from the death of Nero to the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish revolution had its reign of terror, with mutual destruction of the different party-groups. Since the Christians had fled to Pella, there was no longer in Jerusalem a worshipper of the true God, or a temple worthy of divine protection, but only Jews, who were no longer worthy of the name (Rev. ii. 9, iii. 9). No Christian could have judged this more mildly than the Jew Josephus (e.g. *Bell.* iv. 9. 10). All these events lie behind Revelation, just as the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians lies behind Daniel.

By the beast with the ten horns and seven heads, which at the command of Satan comes up out of the sea—an image of the world of nations—and begins the last struggle of wickedness against God and the Church of Jesus (xiii. 1 ff.), John could have understood only the world kingdom at enmity with God, and that too in its last development, since all the essential attributes and acts of the beast must have reminded him of Dan. vii. 2–27. However, in John's writing, as throughout Daniel (ii. 37 ff., viii. 20 ff.), the image of the kingdom changes to that of the kings who govern and represent it. The description of the transference of the rule to the beast (xiii. 2), the undoubtedly authentic masculine *αὐτόν* (ver. 8) and *ὅς* (ver. 14), as also the statement that the name of the beast is a man's name (xiii. 18), demand this personal

heading up of the conception, without, however, doing away with the fundamental idea of a new and final world kingdom. From the connection of xiii. 1 ff. with xii. 13–17 (cf. xi. 7), it appears that no more than its personal head was this last world kingdom in existence at the time of the writing of Revelation. Still more clearly it is stated three times in xvii. 8–11, with emphatic reference to chap. xiii., that the beast does not exist in the present, and twice that it will appear in the future (*μέλλει ἀναβαίνειν* and *παρέσται*, ver. 8). There also the ten horns are interpreted to mean ten kings, who are allied with it and place their powers at its disposal. They, together with the beast, will receive the authority for a short period; in the present, however, they have not received it any more than the beast (xvii. 12). On the other hand, however, the beast has already once existed and will again come up out of the abyss—*i.e.* the world of the dead (cf. ix. 1 f., 11)—(xvii. 8, 11 three times *ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν*). The antichrist and his kingdom are a power which had already appeared once in history, had then disappeared, and at the end of the times is to appear again in life. This is a fundamental thought of early Christian prophecy (vol. i. 251, n. 8). The same thought is expressed, xiii. 3, 12, 14, in the statement that one of the seven heads of the beast had received a mortal wound, which healed again. This means that the beast itself had received a death-stroke, and had come to life again (xiii. 12, 14). The healing of the wound of the one head caused the world to wonder in the same way as did the coming up of the beast out of the abyss (xiii. 3, xvii. 8). In a certain sense, therefore, the beast is identical with its seven heads. This is even more clearly stated in xvii. 10 f. Five of the seven heads had fallen, a sixth is standing at the time of Revelation, a seventh has not yet appeared. But one of the five beasts which had already fallen will appear again, and this head, which was and is to come again, is absolutely identified

with the beast (xvii. 11). On the other hand, the whole idea of the seven heads of the beast would be impossible were the meaning of the beast itself out and out identical with the meaning of one of its seven heads. An analogous relation must exist between it and the remaining six heads. The heads are consecutive phases of the greatness of the world kingdom at enmity with God through all changes of history, which the beast represents. This broader meaning of the beast, along with the narrower one, according to which it represents a single one of the seven phases,—namely, the antichristian kingdom and its ruler, who had existed once and was to return,—is expressed in xiii. 2 by the statement that the beast bears in itself the marks of the three world rulers, which, according to Dan. vii. 4–6, precede the fourth and last. Accordingly, the seven heads cannot be individual rulers of one and the same kingdom, but only kingdoms which follow each other, together with their respective kings; so, for example, the Babylonian with Nebuchadnezzar, the Græco-Macedonian with Alexander, and the Roman with Cæsar at the head. The seven heads are interpreted in xvii. 10 simply as seven kings (*βασιλεῖς* and not *βασιλεῖαι*); but this cannot lead one astray, for, as has been said, since the time of Daniel the idea of the kingdoms had become inseparably blended with that of their founders or representatives (n. 2).

Since Revelation was written at the time of the Roman Empire, this is, according to xvii. 10, the sixth head; another seventh kingdom will follow it, but will not long reign. Upon this follows the eighth,—that of the antichrist,—which, however, is only a revivification of one of the five earlier kingdoms. Without question this is intended to be the Græco-Macedonian and its typical ruler, the pre-Christian antichrist, Antiochus Epiphanes (vol. i. 227, 237, n. 4, 238 ff.). The interpretation of the seven heads as the line of Roman emperors from Augustus or from Cæsar onwards, which has confused many, is unten-

able. In passing judgment upon the Roman kingdom as the antichristian kingdom of the end of the world, Revelation, in the *first* place, would step entirely out of the position which we see was held in the presence of the Roman Empire by Jesus (Matt. xxii. 21 ; John xix. 11), by Peter (1 Pet. ii. 13–17), by Paul (Rom. xiii. 1 ff. ; 2 Thess. ii. 6 f.), and by the early Christian prophecy of which Paul approved ; further, by Clement of Rome, Melito, and Irenæus (vol. i. 229 f., 252 ff.). At all events the Roman Empire is one of the consecutive world kingdoms which together form a contrast to the kingdom of God and Christ, or, speaking figuratively, it is the sixth of the seven heads of the beast. So then Rome, *i.e.* the world-metropolis at this time, is represented as Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13 ; vol. ii. 163). The blood of saints and apostles has been shed in this Babylon-Rome, according to Rev. xviii. 20, under Nero (vol. ii. 165, n. 4). Probably also the seven hills, on which the harlot Babylon sitteth (xvii. 9), without detracting from their actual meaning (n. 2), are intended to refer to the seven hills of Rome. For that reason, however, Rome is by no means the Babylon of the last times, and the Roman kingdom the beast in his last antichristian development, or a Roman emperor of the immediate future the antichrist.

In the *second* place, by this interpretation it would be wholly inconceivable how the beast, who accordingly must be the Roman Empire founded by Cæsar or Augustus, could be represented as an appearance of the closing period of the world. That the beast has already once existed does not alter the case ; for the former existence, if fully separated from the future prophesied existence by a present non-existence (xvii. 8–11).

The Roman Empire, however, has not ceased to exist since it was established, at least at the time of Revelation, when the Christians came to feel its power heavily enough. The interpretation of the seven heads as the Roman emperors succeeding each other is in the *third* place

incomprehensible, as the killing of one of these heads is said to be at the same time the killing of the beast (xiii. 3 f., 12, 14, xvii. 8). By the death of Nero, or any other one of the emperors, before the time of Revelation, the continued existence of the Roman kingdom had never been questioned, much less had it ever ceased to exist (cf. vol. i. 229 f.). If a Cæsar dies, there is another Cæsar who immediately lives and reigns. In spite of the temporary disturbances of the national unity, which were occasioned by the simultaneous reigning of several pretendants during the two years from the death of Nero until the general recognition of Vespasian, in Asia Minor at least the governmental machinery continued in activity, and in that section of the empire no provincial in 68–70 A.D. could think of the Roman Empire as dead. This contemporary-historical interpretation makes in the *fourth* place any acceptable interpretation of the ten horns (xiii. 1, xvii. 3, 12–17, cf. xii. 3) impossible. The idea, however, that the representation of the revivification of the fatally smitten beast or of one of its heads (xiii. 3, 14, xvii. 8, 11) rests upon the myth of the return of Nero, is irreconcilable with the history of this myth (n. 3). The notion, which arose soon after the suicide of Nero and at first among his heathen admirers, that he had not died, but had fled to the Parthians, and would return from that country to Rome to take vengeance on his enemies and to assume the throne again, existed unchanged until the beginning of the second century,—namely, until the time when it was no longer probable that Nero, who was born in 37 A.D., was still alive. We find this notion in two Jewish Sibyllists of the year 71, and about the year 80. In the field of just this literature, about 120 to 125,—namely, at a time when Nero could no longer have been alive,—the idea of his return appeared in the changed form, that Nero, the instigator of the destruction of Jerusalem, though long since dead, would return again to life with

signs and wonders. Finally, however, he would be destroyed in punishment for his last attack on the Holy City of the Messiah. A Christian Sibyllist about 150 to 160 combined these Jewish notions with the statements in Rev. xiii. 3, 15, xvii. 8, 11, and thus introduced into the Christian world one of the most confused ideas of which it was possible to conceive. The idea of the return of the dead Nero first arose when he could no longer likely be among the living, and the original form of the popular belief evidently for this reason only underwent transformation into the complete fantastic form; consequently this idea cannot be present in Revelation, whether it was written in 69, when Nero, if still alive, would have been thirty-two years old, or about 95, in which year Nero would have completed his fifty-eighth year. An oracle had warned him with regard to his seventy-third year, which he would have attained in 110 (Suet. *Nero*, xl.). Earlier than that date neither friends nor enemies, who believed in his return, had any occasion whatever for believing in a return from the dead. No thoughtful person, however, can consider it possible that Revelation was written after the year 110.

Moreover, the interpretation of the number 666 as the alleged Hebrew form, נרון קסר (*Νέρων Καῖσαρ*), of the name Nero (n. 4), is extremely improbable. Revelation was written for Greek Christians, for whom it would be necessary to translate a Hebrew name, in order that they might grasp its literal meaning. The author makes use of only such Hebrew words as would be familiar to the readers from their liturgy or their Greek O.T., like *amen* and *hallelujah*. He paraphrases the Yahweh name by a Greek participial form (i. 4), and does not use the Hebrew (א—ת), but the Greek alphabet (*A*—*Ω*) when he employs the first and last letters as a figurative expression for beginning and end (i. 8, xxi. 6, xxii. 13). He does not in any way indicate (xiii. 18) that it needed a knowledge of

Hebrew and the numerical value of the Hebrew letters to solve the riddle. His readers could and had to understand him in no other way, than that the numerical values of the letters of the personal name written in Greek are summed up in the number 666. It was a fixed tradition (Iren. v. 30) in the circles of the disciples of John in Asia Minor, that the Greek alphabet was to underlie any interpretation of Scripture; and also those, who in the second century took the liberty of changing the number 666 to 616 in order to secure the name of the Emperor Caius (n. 5)—*i.e.* Caligula—follow this self-evident rule. In fact, we perceive from this early change of the test, on the one hand, how foreign it was to the Christians, even of the post-apostolic period, to consider Nero as the type of the antichrist; and, on the other hand, how still unforgotten the figure of the ἀντίθεος Caligula had remained (vol. i. 227, 237, n. 7).

The disciples of John, to whom Irenæus appealed not only for the authenticity of the number 666, but also for the principles of interpreting it, discarded rightly the interpretation that it meant a former or future Roman emperor. They did not know, further, what name the number represented, but were convinced that at the time of the appearance of the antichrist, this prophecy also would be fulfilled, and that the agreement between name and number would assist the Church, at once and with certainty, to recognise their last enemy. This method of consideration is in accord with the "spirit of prophecy" and the "testimony of Jesus" (Rev. xix. 10), as the apostle John has preserved it in his Gospel (John xiii. 19 and elsewhere; above, p. 330, n. 10). That is the position which Christianity has taken from the beginning toward all prophecy, recognised as genuine. Genuine prophecy contains much which lies outside the consciousness of the prophet himself, and will first become clear through its fulfilment. It is on this account, nevertheless, a guiding star, before it is fulfilled, and does not become through its

fulfilment in any way superfluous, but as fulfilled prophecy renders just then the greatest service to the Church.

Whoever holds Revelation to be an artificial patchwork of a seer who has seen nothing, may make further effort to discover solutions of the number riddle 666, and in fact any other riddle of this book more satisfactory than have been found up to this time under these presuppositions. The rest of us, who, in memory of the warning of Paul (1 Thess. v. 20), find genuine prophecy in Revelation, of which we already understand something and hope later to understand more, shall, in face of the scorn which is not spared us, remember the words (1 Cor. xiv. 22): *ἡ προφητεία οὐ τοῖς ἀπίστοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.*

1. (P. 436.) A usable history of the composition of Rev., which would be almost equivalent to a history of Christian eschatology, has not yet been written. Cf., however, LÜCKE, *Kommentar über die Schriften des Jo.* iv. 1: *Versuch einer vollständigen Einl. in die Offenb. und die gesamte apokal. Literatur*, 1832.

2. (P. 441.) A difficulty is certainly presented by the double interpretation of the seven heads in xvii. 9 and xvii. 10 f. But no confusion is created, simply because the two interpretations occur so close together. The interpretation, as seven kings, which alone is elaborated, is the only one which agrees with xiii. 1–3, 12, 14, since a mountain cannot be mortally wounded. At the same time, the identification in the latter passage and xvii. 11 of one of the heads with the beast, proves that the heads, like the beasts, cannot designate kings in distinction from kingdoms, but mean kingdoms together with their representative kings. Moreover, the fact that the harlot sits upon the seven-headed beast (xvii. 3), whereas in xvii. 9 she is represented as sitting upon the seven heads, presupposes that the beast is a world empire, and that the seven heads are phases of the empire, since the capital city of the world does not ride upon a king or upon a number of kings, but reigns over the world empire or over several successive world empires. If xvii. 9 were omitted, nothing essential would be lost. Just as the beast signifies not only the world empire of the antichrist at the end of time, together with its ruler, but also the world empire whose successive phases are represented by the seven heads from its beginning, so Babylon also is the capital of the world empire as such. It was situated formerly on the Euphrates, now on the Tiber, in the language of the prophets later perhaps it will be on the Seine or the Bosphorus; but through all historical changes it retains its old name. If, then, the beast be conceived of as an entity persisting throughout the course of history, then Babylon sits upon the beast; if the point of view be the changing aspects of the world empire, then Babylon sits upon the seven heads. In a stationary picture successive events are necessarily represented as simultaneous. This is true also of the interpretation of the seven

heads as seven mountains, which is not further elaborated. Of course, as the writer intended, the readers who regarded Rome as the Babylon of their age (1 Pet. v. 13), would necessarily think of the seven hills of Rome; and therefore they have always understood that Rome was intended by the Babylon of John, as by that of Peter (see vol. ii. 163, n. 3, 165, n. 4, 189, n. 5; cf. Hippol. *de Antichr.* 36 ff.; Tert. *contra Jud.* ix.; Jerome, preface *in Libr. Didymi de spir. sancto*; Andreas *in Apoc.*, ed. Sylburg, p. 75 ff., 81 ff.). However, even these seven mountains were only symbols of the places—probably upon earth—where successively the capital of the world has stood and is destined to stand (cf. Jer. li. 25). Of subordinate importance is the question as to the succession of world empires presented in Rev. Probably (1) Egypt with Pharaoh as the typical name of the king, (2) Assyria with Sennacherib, (3) Babylon with Nebuchadnezzar, (4) the Medo-Persian empire, (5) the Græco-Macedonian empire, (6) the Roman Empire with its Cæsar, (7) the shortlived empire which is to come, to be followed by a renewal of the fifth empire of which Antiochus is the antitype, who is the antichrist of the last days. This is the eighth kingdom.

3. (P. 443.) For the legend concerning Nero, cf. vol. i. 246 f., 252; *Apok. Stud.* ii. 337–352, 393–405.

4. (P. 444.) In regard to the number of the antichrist, cf. *Apok. Stud.* i. 561–576. Its interpretation, as equivalent to נרון קסר, was proposed first in 1831 by Fritzsche (*Annalen der ges. theol. Lit.* i. 3, S. 42 ff.) and then by Benary, Hitzig, and Reuss, as it seems, quite independently both of Fritzsche and of one another (cf. Bleek, *Vorles. über die Ap.* S. 292 f.). The defective spelling קסר instead of the regular קיסר (as in the Talmud; cf. also Sh, Matt. xxii. 17, and the inscription found near Bostra belonging to the year 47 A.D. *C. I. Sem.* ii. No. 170), is the least suspicious thing about this discovery. Mention may be made of other *Hebrew* interpretations as follows: Vitringa, *Comm.* 633 ff., אדוניקם, from Ezra ii. 13 with reference to the 666 fellow-tribesmen, and without reference to the numerical value of the letters. Lightfoot (with whose view the present writer is acquainted only from Wolff, *Cur. phil. in epist. Jac.* etc. 1735, p. 546), סתור from Num. xiii. 13; this gives the number 666, and the meaning of סתר suggests *μυστήριον*. This is united by Herder (*Maranatha*, S. 148) with the interpretation סרות suggested by Portzig and purporting to mean *apostasiæ*; also Herder appropriates Lakemacher's suggestion ר״ שמעון but does not, like its originator, refer it to the Rabban Simon, the son of Gamaliel (Schürer, ii. 365 [Eng. trans. II. i. 365]), but to Simon bar Giora, the revolutionist (Schürer, i. 621 [Eng. trans. I. ii. 232]). Züllig (*Qffenb. Joh.* ii. 247) proposes בלעם בן בער קסם, Jos. xiii. 22; but in order to get the number he wants, it is necessary to omit the indispensable article before קסם and the vowel ו twice. Aberle (*ThQSc*, 1872, S. 144) suggests תרינו (*sic*! supposed to mean Trajan). Völter (2 Aufl. S. 77), טרינוס אדרינוס (Trajanus Hadrianus). Bruston (*Le chiffre 666*, Paris, 1880, p. 11), נמרד בן כוש, Gen. x. 8, ו has to be omitted in the second name. Gunkel, S. 377, תהום קרמוניה, "Chaos of the primeval age." The well-known analogies adduced by Gunkel himself might well have suggested to him that an attribute without an article is questionable Hebrew. Several of these interpretations are worthy of the jest מר שלמון, "Mr. Salmon," in Salmon's *Historic. Introd. to N.T.* (1885) p. 300. *Greek* interpretations.—Iren. v. 30. 3 gives us our choice

among Εὐάνθας, Τειτάν, Λατεῖνος, the last favoured by Hippol. (*de Antichr.* 50), although, according to the report of J. Haussleiter, the real Victorinus of Pettau gives no name; in the later editions of his commentary (Migne, v. col. 399), Ἄντεμος and the Gothic name Γενσήρικος are referred to as possibilities. Others suggest ἀρνοῦμαι, "I deny," or Papiscus (written Παπεῖσκος), since the time of the ancient dialogue, "Jason and Papiskus," a typical name for the Jew who contends with the Christian. More recent explanations are to be found *ZfNTW*, 1901, S. 109–114; 1902, S. 238–242; 1903, S. 167–174, 264–267; 1904, S. 87–88, 257–261.

5. (P. 445.) In his discussion of Rev. xiii., and after a theological explanation of the number 666 (v. 28–30), Irenæus remarks in a supplementary way (v. 30. 1, cf. *Forsch.* vi. 70): "His autem sic se habentibus et in omnibus antiquis et probatissimis et veteribus scripturis numero hoc posito, et testimonium perhibentibus his, qui facie ad faciem Joannem viderunt, et ratione docente nos, quoniam numerus nominis bestiæ secundum Græcorum computationem per literas, quæ in eo sunt, sexcentos habebit et sexaginta et sex . . . ignoro, quomodo ignoraverunt quidam, sequentes idiotismum et medium frustrantes numerum nominis, quinquaginta numeros deducentes, pro sex decadis unam decadem volentes esse." This reading 616 is also attested to by Cod. C (fifth cent.), by two cursives which unfortunately are no longer extant (5 and 11, cf. Gregory, *Prolegomena*, 676), and by the Donatist Tyconius, whose remarks on this point are to be inferred from the agreement of the three commentaries dependent upon him; those of the pseudo-Augustine, of Primasius, and of Beatus, cf. Haussleiter, *Forsch.* iv. 133, also by the tract on the monogram of Christ (*Anecd. Maredsol.* iii. 3. 195), ascribed by tradition to Jerome. Irenæus was of the opinion that this reading originated innocently through errors in writing; since the numbers were written not only in numerals (thus Rev. xiii. 18, ℵACP sah. vg. S^2 S^3 Iren. and apparently also in his ἀρχαῖα καὶ σπουδαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ ἀντίγραφα), but also in numeral letters (thus B, some cursives, Copt., and probably Hippol. *de Antichr.* 48, 50: χξ′), Ξ could easily be changed into I. Notwithstanding the present writer's remarks in *Apok. Stud.* i. 569, this is certainly possible, not only in the case of the old Doric form of the I (cf. Kirchhoff, *Stud. z. Gesch. des griech. Alphabets*, 3te Aufl. Tafel i.; *Paleogr. Soc. series*, vol. i. table after plate 101; *Inscr. antiquiss. Græciæ*, ed. Röhl, Nos. 15, 17, 20 ff.), but also according to inscriptions and coins of the time of the emperors; cf. Ramsay, *JHSt*, 1887, p. 466 f. It was not until later, according to Irenæus, that inquisitive persons attempted to give a meaning to the meaningless scribal error by endeavouring to find a name which it would represent. The gist of Irenæus' further discussion is that a Roman emperor was found designated by χι: an opinion which Irenæus controverts. Tyconius, who was familiar only with the number 616, makes no reference to an historical explanation. He thought that he discovered in the number the monogram of Christ, and, as Burkitt proves (*Cambridge University Reporter*, 1896, p. 625), in reverse position. ⋋ is held to be a combination of X=600, I=10, and the old form of the episemon=6, which at the same time stands for the name of Christ. This reversed ⋌ is, therefore, a suitable monogram for the antichrist. This meaning cannot be correct and original; for, in the

first place, according to Irenæus, there is no doubt that 666, not 616, was the number written by John. In the second place, there is just as little doubt that this was originally written in numerals, not in numeral letters. This disposes of Irenæus' well-meant supposition that the reading is due to an innocent scribal error, and likewise of Tyconius' explanation, which is, moreover, based upon the incredible supposition that the monogram of Christ was in use at the time of Rev., or, if the reading 616 is not genuine, at least some time before Irenæus; see, however, vol. ii. 192 f. Finally, it is impossible that the number 616 should have originated in this accidental way and afterwards been given a meaning, because, without any resort to artifice whatever, the number gives a thoroughly intelligible name, Γάϊος Καῖσαρ (Γ=3, α=1, ι=10, ο=70, σ=200, Κ=20, α=1, ι=10, σ=200, α=1, ρ=100=616). This observation, which the present writer believed to be original with him in *Apok. Stud.* i. 571, is said to have been made earlier by Weyers, *Disput. de libro apoc.*, Lugd. Bat. 1728 (so quoted by Züllig, *Offb. Joh.* i. 147; others, 1828. The present writer has not seen the work). Because of the desire to find here a reference to Caius Cæsar, *i.e.* Caligula (cf. vol. i. 228, 237 f.), before the time of Irenæus, unknown persons residing in Rome or the West, not in Asia, changed the number 666 to 616. Spitta, S. 392 ff., holds the view that in the Jewish Apocalypse of Caligula's time, which he makes one of the sources of the canonical Apocalypse (above, p. 407, n. 11), the number 616 was found which meant Caligula, that between 90 and 110 the Christian editor, by making the Hebrew alphabet his basis and changing 616 into 666, introduced the name *Nero Cæsar*, and that finally those who are opposed by Irenæus, on the basis of "an old tradition" (S. 394), reintroduced the original number 616 from the Jewish into the canonical Apocalypse. It seems impossible to accept this explanation. For it represents the *Jewish* apocalyptic writer as basing his computation upon the *Greek* alphabet, while the *Christian* apocalyptic writer living in Asia Minor uses the *Hebrew* alphabet! But most inconceivable of all is the interpolation about the year 150 of a canonical Apocalypse originating between 90 and 110 from a Jewish Apocalypse written about 40. Nothing is more common than a confusion of the texts of an earlier and a later recension of a Biblical book (cf. in the MSS. of the Vulgate the many elements which date from a time previous to Jerome). But this presupposes that the older recension has been used canonically for generations in the Church; and cannot be at once entirely displaced by the new recension. Phenomena of this kind offer no analogy whatever for the relation of this alleged Jewish Apocalypse to the Apocalypse of John.

XI.

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY.

1. Preliminary Remarks.—(1) It is not the purpose of this text-book to arrange the entire chronology of the history recorded in the N.T. and at the same time to fix the dates of the writings brought together in that collection. The relative chronology of these writings, however, has been established in many particulars by the investigation of the individual books. In order to construct their absolute chronology, there seemed to be demanded, as the only sufficient thing, a complete enumeration and not a wholly superficial discussion of the possible synchronisms between the N.T. literature and general history, and of those synchronisms which do not as yet, but perhaps in the near future may help in fixing the dates absolutely. These synchronisms concern especially the history of Paul, the chronology of which has been discussed in recent years with particular interest. (2) Literature :—Bengel, *Ordo temporum*, 1741, 268–295; Wurm, *TZfTh*, 1853, S. 3–103; Anger, *De tempor. in actis apost. ratione*, 1833; Wieseler, *Chronologie des apost. Zeitalters*, 1848; Hofmann, *NT.* v. 11–17; Lightfoot, *Bibl. Essays* (written 1863), 1893, pp. 21–233; Aberle, *ThQSc*, 1886, S. 553 ff.; Aberle, *Bibl. Zeitschrift von Göttsberger und Sickenberger*, 1903, S. 256 ff.; O. Holtzmann, *Ntl. Zeitgeschichte*, 1895, S. 128 ff.; Blass, *Acta Apost. editio philol.* 1895, p. 22 ff.; Harnack, *Chronol. der altchristl. Literatur*, Bd. i. 1897, S. 233 ff.; Belser, *ThQSc*, 1898, S. 353 ff.; Ramsay, several articles in

Expos. 1896, 1897, 1900; Bacon, *Expos.* 1898, 1899, 1900; Schürer, *ZfWTh*, 1898, S. 21–42; Schürer, *Gesch. des Jüd. Volks*[3], i. (1901) in many passages, especially S. 577 ff. [Eng. trans. I. ii. 181 ff.]; Hönnicke, *Chronol. des Apostels Pl.* 1903; Zahn, *PRE*[3], xv. 62–68 (1904); Clemen, *Paulus*, Bd. i. (1904). (3) In the following remarks, which set forth the grounds for some of the principal dates in the table on p. 481 ff., the conclusions already reached in this book concerning the origin and trustworthiness of the N.T. writings, especially of Acts, are assumed. These remarks also recognise the principle, that in historical matters no writer is infallible, but each must be judged according to his historical position and probable intention in writing. For example, Tacitus is better acquainted with Rome than is Josephus; Josephus is better acquainted with Palestine than is Tacitus. Josephus (born in 37), though poorly informed concerning conditions among the Jews during the forty years prior to his birth and the first decade after it (above, p. 97 ff.), is the classical witness for the same conditions between 50 and 70, and in questions concerning the order of events during this period certainly deserves incomparably more credence than the chroniclers, learned and unlearned, from the time of Julius Africanus onwards. Leaving out of account the length of time between a writer and the event which he records, in chronological questions the authority of even a mediocre historian who gives a connected narrative is greater than that of chroniclers who group together separate dates, generally on the basis of some scheme. Where the chronicler has used, or seems to have used, official lists of emperors or bishops and their years of office, he should be given a hearing; but it is certain that there were no such lists of the procurators of Palestine. Furthermore, it must be regarded as not permissible to change dates which without variation are transmitted by such ancient and widely manifest tradition

as that of the N.T. writings, *e.g.*, in Gal. ii. 1 to substitute for διὰ δεκατεσσάρων, with Marcion (*GK*, ii. 497), διὰ τεσσάρων, as proposed by Grotius and Reiche (*Comm. crit.* ii. 1–10), and accepted by Baljon (*Komm. zum Gal.* S. 16–19, 102). If in the future a text with this reading should turn up, every critic would certainly know that it was a correction due to such reflections as are found in the *Chron. pasch.*, ed. Bonn, i. 436. Furthermore, on stylistic grounds, it seems impossible to reckon the fourteen years from the conversion of Paul (Gal. i. 15) instead of from the first visit to Jerusalem three years after the conversion (Gal. i. 18). Even omitting πάλιν in Gal. ii. 1, which refers directly to i. 18, with Marcion (*GK*, ii. 497), Iren. *et al.* ἔπειτα, which is twice repeated in i. 18 and ii. 1, shows that the three facts—the conversion, the first and the second visit to Jerusalem—are links in a chain (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 4–8), the second of which is separated from the first by a space of fourteen years (cf. the expression with that of Acts xxiv. 17); so that we have an interval of seventeen years between the conversion and the event narrated in Gal. ii. 1–10; cf. *ZKom. Gal.* 76 f. Moreover, for the present writer as for most modern scholars there is no question that the events referred to in Gal. ii. 1–10 are the same as those of Acts xv. 1–29. This is evidenced not only by the practical identity of the two accounts, but also by the impossibility of making any other combination. A combination of Gal. ii. and Acts xviii. 22 is impossible, because in the latter passage Paul does not go to Jerusalem at all (above, p. 29 f., n. 8), and because Galatians was written prior to this time. But it is just as impossible to combine Gal. ii. with Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, because this journey with the collection took place in the autumn of 44 (see below), subtracting from which the seventeen years, we should have the year 27 as the date of Paul's conversion, which is impossible. Even if, on the presupposition of the combination of Acts xi. 30

and Gal. ii. 1, it were admissible to subtract only fourteen years, Paul's conversion would have to be dated in the year 30, which would make such combination very improbable. In the opinion of the present writer, it is by no means certain in what year Jesus' death took place; it certainly did not occur before the year 29. Moreover, it is impossible to crowd the events of Acts i.–ix. into the interval between the Passover of 29 and the autumn of 30. One needs only to recall the complete change in the attitude of the Pharisaical party and of the entire population toward the early Church—as contrasted with that of the Sadducees—which took place in the interval between the events of Acts i.–v. and the events of Acts vi.–ix. This would require years. Furthermore, Rom. xvi. 7 (vol. i. 418, n. 23) shows that Paul's conversion could not have taken place until several years after the death of Jesus. The fact that Paul makes no mention of the journey with the collection in Gal. ii. 1 is no reason either for such impracticable combinations, or for questioning the historicity of the journey with the collection in Acts xi. 30. The historicity of the account is proved both by the general character of Acts and by the fact that Luke was in Antioch at the time when Paul and Barnabas were sent to Jerusalem (Acts xi. 27; above, pp. 2, 4, 28). Paul does not say in Gal. ii. 1 that after his first visit he remained away from Jerusalem fourteen years; this would have required just as positive a denial of his presence there as we have in i. 16–18 if there had been any occasion for such a statement. He merely says that he went to Jerusalem fourteen years after his first visit, and tells why. There is no claim that the narrative is complete, especially if πάλιν, which is by no means certain, be omitted. It will, however, be made clear below (p. 455 f.) why Paul omits mention of the journey with the collection, and why his opponents could not use this against him.

Finally, it is assumed that the regulations governing ancient traffic were used, where the sources do not expressly state otherwise. Navigation was regularly closed from the beginning of November until the beginning of March (according to Vegetius, *de Re Milit.* iv. 39, from November 11 until March 10). According to the ancient calendars, the festival connected with the opening of navigation, the *Navigium Isidis* (cf. Apul. *Metamorph.* xi. 7 ff.; Lactant. *Inst.* i. 11. 21) fell on the fifth of March, *C.I.L.* i. 1 (ed. ii.) pp. 260, 280, 311. For the causes of this "weak point in ancient navigation," the *mare clausum*, see Breusing, *Nautik der Alten*, S. 160. From 1 Cor. xvi. 6, Tit. iii. 12 (cf. Acts xx. 3, 6), we see that Paul took this into consideration in making the plans for his journeys. He awaits in port cities the end of the winter, *i.e.*, the reopening of navigation. This is also the meaning of παραχειμάζειν in Acts xxvii. 12, xxviii. 11. For this reason an assumption like that of Erbes (*Die Todestage der Apostel Pt. und Pl.* S. 48 f.), that Paul sailed from Malta on the twenty-sixth of January, is quite inadmissible. Particularly, after the experiences which the travellers had had on their way to Malta, this would have shown an incredible lack of caution on the part of the centurion Julius. Moreover, the latter was merely taking passage, and the decision as to whether, contrary to custom, the ship and cargo should be exposed to special danger rested primarily not with him, but with the captain of the Alexandrian vessel. That part of the sea was regarded as especially dangerous (Polybius, i. 37), and an officer entrusted with a responsible order would, according to Vegetius (*op. cit.*), exercise more, not less care, than the captain of a merchant vessel. In view of the character of his report in Acts xxvii.–xxviii., Luke could not have failed to note any departure from the rule, or to have stated the reason for the particular haste of the Alexandrian captain and for the consequent decision of Julius.

The synchronisms will be noted in their chronological order.

2. The Ethnarch of Aretas, *i.e.*, of the Nabatæan king Harithath IV., the father-in-law of Herod Antipas, showed himself hostile to Paul, according to 2 Cor. xi. 32 (= Acts ix. 24), at the time of his flight from Damascus to Jerusalem, three years after his conversion (Gal. i. 18). The question need not be discussed whether Damascus was at that time, and only temporarily, a part of the kingdom of Aretas (mentioned by Gutschmid in Euting, *Nabat. Inschr.* S. 85; Schürer, i. 737, ii. 82, 118 [Eng. trans. I. ii. 357, II. i. 66, 98]). The present writer believes that on very good grounds he has disputed this position (*NKZ*, 1904, S. 34 ff.; *PRE*[3], xv. 62 f.—in the latter of which articles he has contested other confused views). Certainly it was impossible to speak of an ethnarch of Aretas after the latter had ceased to live and reign. At the same time we cannot determine definitely either the beginning or the end of his reign, though from his coins and inscriptions we know that he lived to see the forty-eighth year of his reign. His immediate successor, Abia, ruled under Claudius and in the time of Izates of Adiabene (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 4. 1), the latest possible dates of whose successor, Malchus (Maliku) II. (listed by Gutschmid as Malchus III.), according to Gutschmid, S. 86, were from April 49 to April 71. But only the final date is certain, whereas the year of importance to us is that of the beginning of his reign. It is probable, however, that Aretas reigned from about 9 B.C. to 39 A.D. (Gutschmid, S. 65; Schürer, i. 736 ff. [Eng. trans. I. ii. 356 ff.]). If Aretas' reign did not extend beyond this year, Paul's flight from Damascus must have taken place in the year 39, at the very latest, and his conversion at the very latest in the year 36. However, it may just as well have occurred several years earlier.

3. Herod Agrippa I., who received the dominion and

royal title of his grandfather from Claudius immediately after the accession of the latter to the throne, Jan. 24th, 41 (Jos. *Bell.* ii. 11. 5; *Ant.* xix. 5. 1), died three years later (*Bell.* ii. 11. 6; *Ant.* xix. 8. 2), *i.e.* in the year 44, according to Acts xii. 3, 19, some time after the Passover. With this agrees the fact that the festive games at Cæsarea, on the occasion of which he died, were held in honour of the emperor, more specifically ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτηρίας (*Ant.* xix. 8. 2), which can refer only to Claudius' safe return from Britain in the spring of 44 (Dio Cass. lx. 23; Suet. *Claud.* xvii.; Eus. *Chron. Abr.* 2060; cf. Schürer, i. 562 [Eng. trans. I. ii. 163]). The summer of that year must have come before the news of this event could have reached Palestine and been the occasion of extraordinary festivities. If this determines the chronology of the events in Acts xii. 1–23, the question arises as to the relation of the collection journey in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, to the events which took place at the time of the Passover in the year 44. There are three possibilities. Of these, the *first* is to be excluded, namely, that which makes the journey of Paul and Barnabas to and from Jerusalem take place *before* the events of xii. 1–23. In this case it is impossible to understand why xii. 25 is not added directly after xi. 30, especially since nothing is added after xii. 25, the narrative beginning in xiii. 1 being entirely new. The *second* possibility, namely, that the events recorded in xii. 1–23 *coincide* with the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, is likewise to be rejected. In that case, (1) these events would naturally in some way be woven into the story of the experiences of Paul and Barnabas, and it would somewhere be intimated that Paul and Barnabas witnessed these events in Jerusalem, and the story would not be inserted into the account by means of a very indefinite date like that in xii. 1. (2) The only natural explanation of πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους in xi. 30 is the absence of the apostles from Jerusalem. The disposition of the collection

money by the presbyters, with the apostles present in the city, is, of course, conceivable; cf. vi. 1–6. But in xi. 30 the Church to which the money was sent seems to be represented by the presbyters alone, among whom the "bishop" James is reckoned, notwithstanding his eminent position (cf. xii. 17, xxi. 18; *per contra*, cf. xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23, xvi. 4, Gal. ii. 1–10; *Forsch.* vi. 353). Only the *third* possibility remains, namely, that Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem *after* the events of xii. 1–23. Peter had already fled from Jerusalem (xii. 17). Inasmuch as Peter in departing speaks only of James and the Church, not of the other apostles, we infer that the latter, or as many of them as were then present in Jerusalem, had made use of their right to flee (Matt. x. 23) immediately after the execution of the apostle James and during the imprisonment of Peter, since manifestly Agrippa's designs were against the apostles in general. So Acts xii. 1–23 is an *episode taken out of the past*, which, apart from whatever independent value it may have, serves to show the condition of things which Paul and Barnabas encountered in Jerusalem. One apostle had been beheaded, another had been saved by a miracle and had afterwards fled, the others had left Jerusalem earlier. The direction of the Church was in the hands of James and the presbyters alone. *Paul did not see an apostle on this occasion. Therefore he had no reason whatever to mention this journey in Galatians.* The only thing that follows directly from what precedes is the fact that the collection journey took place after the death of Agrippa I., therefore at the earliest in the summer of the year 44. Since, moreover, the full year during which Paul and Barnabas were teaching together in Antioch (xi. 26) could have ended, not with the introduction of the name Christian, or with the appearance of Agabus (xi. 27), but only with an event causing a serious interruption in the teaching work, *i.e.* with the journey with the collection, from which point the time

(*ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον*) is to be reckoned backwards, it follows that Barnabas could not have brought Paul from Tarsus before the summer of the year 43. But these dates (summer of 43 and summer of 44), before which the events could not have taken place, must coincide very nearly with the actual dates. For, in the first place, if a year or more elapsed after Peter's flight and the death of Agrippa, before Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem, the episode in xii. 1–23 is inserted in a very awkward place, and fails to fulfil its purpose, namely, to show the condition of things at the time when Paul and Barnabas arrived. Moreover, the expression *κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν*, xii. 1 (cf. xix. 23), notwithstanding its flexibility, needs to be connected in some way with the context, and the only thing with which it can be connected is the collection journey, which ended the first full year of Paul's work as a teacher in Antioch (xi. 26, 30). The events recorded in xii. 1–23 did not take place before the beginning of this year,—in which case the episode would belong before xi. 25, if it ought not to follow immediately after xi. 18,—but in the course of this year, from summer to summer, or autumn to autumn. Therefore the collection journey took place in the summer, or, since it was not customary to travel to the south in the hottest part of the year unless it was necessary, more probably in the autumn of the year 44,—the autumn of the year in which James had been put to death at Easter,—and Barnabas brought Paul from Tarsus in the summer or autumn of 43. But these dates must be further defended, in view of the misunderstandings which have arisen about the collection journey. The first occasion for the collection mentioned (xi. 28) is Agabus' prophecy of a general famine. This very general prophecy (that *ὅλη ἡ οἰκουμένη* cannot refer to Judea has been shown above, p. 130 f.) caused the Christians of Antioch to think at once of their poverty-stricken brethren in Judea, and led to the decision to raise a collection for them, each giving according to his ability.

The language in xi. 29 and the analogy of other collections (1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 10, ix. 2) justify us in supposing that a year or more elapsed before the collection was completed, and that it was not sent until much later. In xi. 30 (ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν, cf. Gal. ii. 10) the sending of the collection is clearly distinguished from the resolution to take and to send a collection. The difference in time between the prophecy and its fulfilment is even more clearly indicated in xi. 28. Every unprejudiced reader would necessarily infer from the contrast between μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι and ἥτις ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου that *the prophecy was made in the time of Caligula* (died January 24, 41), and *fulfilled in the time of his successor Claudius* (vol. i. 228; cf. Bengel, *Ord. temp.* p. 247). Since now xi. 25–26, 30, xii. 25, place us in the year between the summer or autumn of 43 and the same time in 44, it is clear that in xi. 27–29, according to his custom (above, pp. 64–68), Luke goes back to the time prior to January 41 in order to explain the journey with the collection in the autumn of 44. The date mentioned in xi. 27 (cf. vi. 1; Matt. iii. 1) refers quite generally to the beginning of the Church in Antioch, described in xi. 19–26. No statement is made as to what occasioned the sending of the money, and to assume that the actual breaking out of the famine in Palestine caused it to be sent is arbitrary. If the indefinite prophecy of a single prophet was sufficient to lead to the collection of a charitable fund, any indication that this prophecy was about to be fulfilled could have led to the resolution to send the money at once to the poor Judeans, who had been in mind from the first. If, in addition, the news had reached Antioch of Agrippa's persecution of the apostles, and of the orphaned condition of the Church at Jerusalem, then there was all the more reason for such an immediate exercise of brotherly love. The prophecy of Agabus, however, did not begin to be fulfilled until after the beginning of Claudius' reign, which was generally afflicted by *assiduæ*

sterilitates (Suet. *Claudius*, xviii.; for further particulars see above, p. 130 f.). For Luke this was sufficient fulfilment of the prophecy of Agabus, whose indefinite and popular language he does not hesitate to repeat. It was likewise sufficient to induce the Antiochians to send the money collected, without waiting for a great famine actually to occur in Judea. Although this makes the Pauline chronology really independent of the date of the famine in Judea, the following brief remarks concerning the latter may be made. According to Jos. *Ant.* xx. 5. 2, it took place under the procurator Tiberius Alexander. The correct reading in this passage is certainly not that adopted by Niese following the epitome ἐπὶ τούτου, but ἐπὶ τούτοις, as in the Greek MSS., the Latin version, and Eus. *H. E.* ii. 12. 1; at the same time, however, it is unnecessary, with Anger, 43 f.; Wieseler, 157 f.; Lightfoot, 216; Schürer, i. 567 f. [Eng. trans. I. ii. 169 f.], to refer this to the last two procurators mentioned, namely, Fadus and Tiberius Alexander. Because, in the first place, Josephus, in the concluding sentence of xx. 5. 1, sharply distinguishes the history of the procuratorship of Fadus from what follows. In the second place, that construction would require the reading ἐπὶ τούτων. The phrase ἐπὶ τούτοις, like the following πρὸς τούτοις (cf. also xx. 12; Niese, 267), is to be taken in a neuter sense, and means, as often in Eusebius, "under these conditions and circumstances," and consequently "at this time"; cf. *H. E.* i. 1. 3, 2. 20 (ἐφ' οἷς), iii. 4. 11; chap. 12; 23. 1; *Mart. Palæstinæ*, xii. (beginning) (cf. xi. 31), practically the same as ἐν τούτοις, *H. E.* iv. 21, and ἐν τούτῳ, iii. 18. 1, iv. 15. 1, v. 13. 1, vi. 18. 1. There is nothing in the context of xx. 2. 1 to indicate that the famine in connection with which the princess Helena distinguished herself by deeds of mercy (xx. 2. 5) occurred during the procuratorship of Fadus (xx. 1. 1 f.), for the reason that xx. 2. 1 ff. deals with the conversion of Helena to Judaism. In this

connection, Josephus speaks *proleptically* of her journey to Jerusalem, which was coincident with the famine (xx. 2. 5), and, in the same way, speaks even of her death (xx. 4. 3). He then returns to the procuratorship of Fadus (xx. 5. 1), and only after he has given an account of the accession of Tiberius Alexander does he indicate that the activity of Helena belongs historically in connection with the famine (xx. 5. 2). From xx. 1. 2 we know that Fadus was still in office in 45 (according to a more uncertain reading, on the 28th of June 45). According to xx. 5. 2, Tiberius Alexander was again recalled in the year 48; for Josephus connects this event with the death of Herod of Chalcis, which is dated by him in 48, by a *καί* before which there should be no pause. The year is, therefore, the date of Alexander's recall. This is not contradicted by the indefinite connection indicated in *Bell.* ii. 11. 6. If we are willing to assume, contrary to the whole impression of the narrative in *Ant.* xx. 1. 1–5. 2, that the decree of Claudius, referred to in xx. 1. 2, belonged to the latter and not to the earlier part of Fadus' term of office, and that Fadus held office a very short time, while Tiberius Alexander held office for a very long period, their respective terms of office must be divided somewhat as follows: Fadus, 44 to 46 or 47; Tiberius Alexander, from 46 or 47 to 48. Therefore the famine in Judea certainly did not fall in 44 or 45, but took place between 46 and 48, probably 47 or 48. Even if repeated bad harvests from 41 to 45 in various lands had raised prices in Palestine also, famine conditions did not exist there at the very earliest until 46, and so were not the occasion of the collection journey. Two further remarks may be added. In 2 Cor. xii. 1–4, Paul alludes to an experience of visions of a kind to give him a feeling of his importance for the rest of his life. Although, according to his own statement, fourteen years have elapsed since this experience took place, he speaks of it with the greatest animation and

precision. When he confesses himself unable to give any definite account of his physical and psychical condition at that moment, it is not because the memory of it has faded, but merely because he is reproducing the first impression which one has upon awakening from a state of ecstasy (cf. Acts xii. 9). For him it must have been a very significant experience. Of course, the reference here cannot be to the experience near Damascus, as some ancient writers suppose, nor to his vision on the occasion of his first visit to Jerusalem subsequent to his conversion (Acts xxii. 17–21); for 2 Cor. was certainly written later than Galatians, in which we are informed that the apostolic council, which is spoken of as already past, took place fourteen years after the first visit and seventeen years after Paul's conversion. By the vision referred to in 2 Cor. his thoughts were turned to a future mission to the Gentiles (Acts xxii. 21, ἐξαποστελῶ, not ἐξαποστέλλω). It was necessary for him to wait for years in Tarsus until the Lord should redeem His word and *send* him to the Gentiles. In the summer of 43, Barnabas sought him out in Tarsus, and drew him into the missionary work at Antioch. According to the chronology here followed, 2 Cor. was written towards the end of the year 57. Subtracting fourteen years, we have the year 43. The two dates, arrived at independently of each other, agree in this, namely, that the significant revelation in 2 Cor. xii. 2, and the new call and actual participation of Paul in missionary work among the Gentiles, both fall in the year 43. Is this to be explained as chance, or do the two reckonings agree both as regards the year and even the time of the year, because the events mentioned in 2 Cor. xii. 2 and Acts xi. 25 were simultaneous? If several years before this Paul became aware that he was to receive a new manifestation of Jesus, by which he was to be directed to preach to the Gentiles, he could not have begun this work until this revelation was received. Barnabas' summons could not of

itself have been sufficient. The fact that only the human summons is mentioned in Acts xi. 25 is merely an accurate illustration of the same relation which exists between Acts xv. 2 and Gal. ii. 2. The human summons does not exclude the *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*. But in both cases the historian Luke emphasises the external aspect of the matter, whereas Paul emphasises the supernatural side in the great crises of his life. A second remark needs to be added here concerning Peter's visit to Antioch. In *NKZ*, 1894, S. 435–448, the present writer claimed and endeavoured to prove that this visit took place before the apostolic council, probably shortly after Acts xii. 17. It is left to others to judge whether or not Belser, *Bibl. Stud.*, edited by Bardenhewer, i. 3 (1896), S. 127–139, has successfully refuted this thesis. The visit of the prophets from Judea, Acts xi. 27; the collection journey, xi. 30; Mark's settlement in Antioch, xii. 25, in the autumn of 44; the visit of Peter and of others associated with James, Gal. ii. 11–14,—constitute a series of events extending from about 40 to 45.

4. Sergius Paulus, the Proconsul of Cyprus, Acts xiii. 7–12.—Concerning this, cf. the extended discussion, *NKZ*, 1904, S. 189–195, which is directed especially against Mommsen. Cyprus became a senatorial province under Augustus, and remained such from 22 B.C. onwards (Dio Cass. liii. 12. 7, liv. 4. 1). It seems that during the great Jewish rebellion under Trajan (Dio Cass. lxviii. 32, and therefore under unusual conditions, Cyprus was governed by an imperial Legate, a certain M. Calpurnius Rufus, *C.I.L.* iii. No. 6072, if the latter be identical with the person of the same name who previously under Hadrian had been proconsul of Achaia (*Digest*, i. 16. 10. 1). The governors of Cyprus usually bore the title of proconsul before as well as after Trajan's time. The full name of the proconsul (Acts xiii. 7), *L. Sergius Paullus*, is found in all probability in an inscription of the city of Rome

according to which he was one of the *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis* under Claudius (*C.I.L.* vi. 31545, cf. *Prosopographia*, iii. 221, No. 376). The year cannot be determined; the only thing that is sure is that L. Sergius Paulus later than this was appointed to the much more important post on Cyprus. At Soloi on the island of Cyprus an inscription has been found, first published by Cesnola (*Cypern*, German transl. by Stern, S. 379, No. 29), and then more carefully edited by Hogarth, *Devia Cypria* (1889), p. 114. This inscription ends with the words: τιμητεύσας τὴν βουλὴν [δι]ὰ ἐξαστῶν (*sic*) ἐπὶ Παύλου [ἀνθ]υπάτου. Hogarth regards the writing as wholly that of the first century. This makes it impossible to doubt the identity of this proconsul of Cyprus (the Paulus of the Soloi inscription) with the proconsul Sergius Paulus of Acts, and with the Sergius Paullus of the Roman inscription. For other than chronological reasons alone, the opinion of Mommsen, that the Soloi inscription refers to a certain Paullius Fabius Maximus, who died 14 B.C., cannot be maintained; see *NKZ*, 1904, S. 193 ff. Of importance as showing the connection of the Sergian gens with Cyprus is another Cyprian inscription found in 1887 (*JHS*, ix. 241, No. 56: Λούκιον Σέργιον Κ[. . .] Ἀρριανὸν συγκλητικὸν τριβοῦνον Σεργία Δημητρία τὸν ἀδελφόν). Moreover, Lightfoot (*Essays on Supernat. Rel.* p. 295) has shown it to be probable that the Sergius Paullus whom Pliny, *H. N.* i., mentions in the list of authorities for lib. ii. and xviii. (in the first reference only *Sergius*, not *Paullus*, see the critical apparatus of Sillig or Detlefsen), is the proconsul of Cyprus, and that the notes about Cyprus, *H. N.* ii. 210, xviii. 68, were derived from him. For other conjectures see *Prosopographia*, iii. 222, under Sergius Paullus. The Soloi inscription contains a date. A certain Apollonius (if he is to be identified with the Apollonius of *C.I.L.* vi. 1440 is questionable) set up a monument to his parents on the 25th Dem-

archexusios of the year 13. If this date refers to the year of the emperor's reign (cf. *C. I. G.* 2632, 2634),—in this case the emperor Claudius,—then the date is fixed as 53. Hogarth's hypothesis, that the figure *P* (100) should be added,—which gives the number 113, to be reckoned from the first organisation of the province, giving us the year 55,—seems to the present writer hazardous. The concluding words of the inscription just quoted seem to presuppose that the Paulus in whose proconsulship Apollonius as censor examined the senate of Soloi, was no longer in office; that, therefore, Paulus governed Cyprus before 53. Now it is true that these two lines and a half are written in somewhat different characters, *i.e.* are a later filling out of Apollonius' list of offices. But from this it does not follow that Apollonius and the proconsul Paulus did not hold office until a time subsequent to the date of the original inscription. Since whatever Pauline chronology is accepted, it is impossible to date Sergius Paulus' proconsulship of Cyprus later than 53, it follows that the supplement to the inscription records a distinction of Apollonius belonging prior to 53, and forgotten in the original inscription. But the proconsulship of Sergius Paulus must be dated back at least two years. According to *C. I. G.* 2632, the proconsul of Cyprus in the twelfth year of Claudius, *i.e.* in the year 52, was L. Annius Bassus (cf. Plin. *Ep.* vii. 31), who was not *consul suffectus* until the year 70 (*C.I.L.* vi. 200). There is no need to discuss the question whether he is identical with the person mentioned in Tac. *Hist.* iii. 50, year 69, nor the statements of Mommsen concerning him in the index to Keil's *Plinius*, p. 401, which to the present writer are unintelligible and certainly incorrect, nor the statements of Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*[2], i. 391, concerning his predecessor, Cordus; cf., on the other hand, the correct statements concerning both in *Prosopographia*, i. 63, ii. 188. Since in *C. I. G.* 2632, Bassus carries out

an order of his predecessor, Cordus, and had, therefore, only just begun to govern, Q. Julius Cordus (*C. I. G.* 2631; the same person mentioned in Tac. *Hist.* i. 76?) must have governed the island until the spring of this same year, 52. The proconsulship of Sergius Paulus falls in the year beginning in the spring of 51, and ending in the spring of 52.

5. The Expulsion of the Jews from Rome, Acts xviii. 2.—Dion Cassius (lx. 6. 6) makes the following remark in connection with the first year of Claudius, *i.e.* A.D. 41 (since there is no transition to the year 42 until lx. 9. 1, cf. 10. 1): "The Jews, who had again so increased in numbers that it would have been difficult to exclude them from the city without a riot on the part of their rabble (*ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου σφῶν*), he did not indeed drive out, but commanded them, while retaining (otherwise) their ancestral customs, not to assemble." The reference in *πάτριος βίος* can be to nothing else than that which in the edicts of tolerance in Jos. *Ant.* xix. 5. 2–3 is called *τὰ ἴδια ἔθη, ἡ πάτριος θρησκεία, τὰ πάτρια ἔθη, οἱ ἴδιοι νόμοι.* Since the observation of the Sabbath and the religious services in the synagogue on the Sabbath were a prime feature of their ancestral customs, the decree against *συναθροίζεσθαι* cannot refer to the religious services, which in Rome were held in a large number of different synagogues (vol. i. 47), but is directed against large assemblies and tumultuous gatherings of the whole Jewish populace in Rome, which were especially pleasing to the Jews (Jos. *Bell.* ii. 6. 1, 10. 3; *Ant.* xvii. 9. 1 ff., 11. 1, xviii. 8. 2; Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.* xxxii.), and which would be appropriately designated by *συναθροίζεσθαι* (Acts xix. 25; Jos. *Bell.* ii. 10. 3) as distinguished from *συνάγεσθαι* (cf. *συναγωγή, σύναξις*; Acts xix. 39, *ἔννομος ἐκκλησία*). With this decree against the Jews is to be compared the stricter measures against the *hetæriæ*, which Dio Cassius reports in the passage immediately following. Thus understood, this account of Dio

Cassius agrees well with the fact that Claudius at the beginning of his reign showed great favour to the Jewish princes, Agrippa I. and Herod of Chalcis (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 5. 1; Dio Cass. lx. 8. 2), and that at their request he granted the Jews throughout the whole empire, including Italy, the right of religious worship (*Ant.* xix. 5. 3, of the year 42),—the same had been granted earlier to the Alexandrian Jews, *Ant.* xix. 5. 2,—warning them, however, to make modest and peaceful use of it. If this warning were not followed, it did not mean a return under Claudius of the conditions that prevailed under Caligula, but the enforcement of police regulations against the insubordination of troublesome Jews in different places. But it is very improbable that the Roman Jews gave occasion for such measures so soon after the year 42. The expulsion of the Jews from Rome mentioned in Acts xviii. 2 and Suet. *Claudius*, xxv. (vol. i. 433, n. 6), must belong to a later date. On the other hand, it is wrong to conclude, with O. Holtzmann, *Ntl. Zeitgeschichte*, S. 127, that, from favours shown by Claudius to Agrippa II. between 50 and 54 (Schürer, i. 586 f. [Eng. trans. I. ii. 191 f.]), this edict does not belong to this, but to an earlier period. This continuous patronage of Agrippa does not presuppose general love for the Jews on the part of the emperor; neither is the fact that in consequence of the repeated tumults among the Jews in Rome, the patience of the Roman police was finally exhausted, to be taken as evidence of an especially unfriendly feeling or attitude of the Emperor toward the Jews. The date cannot be fixed more definitely either from the "Teaching of Addai," ed. Philips, p. 16, or from Eus. *H. E.* ii. 18. 9, who simply follows Acts, or from Orosius, *Hist.* vii. 6. 15, who declares that he found the ninth year of Claudius' reign mentioned in Josephus, who says nothing whatever about it; it must be fixed from the chronology of Paul as determined from other data.

6. Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, Acts xviii. 12–17.

—Since the words in xviii. 12, *Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας*, are clearly intended to indicate not the motive for the Jews' charges against Paul, but the time and circumstances of them, it is fair to infer that Gallio did not assume office until some time during Paul's eighteen months' sojourn in Corinth, and, since official changes were usually made in the spring, not until the spring following Paul's settlement in Corinth. L. Junius Gallio (called *Annæus Novatus* before his adoption by the rhetorician Gallio), the elder brother of the philosopher Seneca, left Achaia on one occasion (according to Seneca, *Epist.* xviii. 1 [105]) in order to get rid of a fever which he had contracted there. The sea-voyage here referred to cannot be the same as that which took him to Egypt (Plin. *H. N.* xxxi. 62), for the occasion of the latter voyage was a hæmorrhage. He died in the reign of Nero (Dio Cass. lxii. 25). It is naturally impossible to determine the date of his death more definitely from Tac. *Ann.* xv. 73. The date of his consulate is just as uncertain (*Prosopogr.* ii. 237) as that of his proconsulate in Achaia. Inasmuch as his younger brother Seneca was consul in 56, Gallio probably held the office at an earlier date. During the exile of his brother, from which the latter was recalled in 49 (Seneca, *Dial.* xii. 18. 2), Gallio continued his honourable career undisturbed. Seneca's history, therefore, throws no light upon the dates of his brother's career. In addition, the investigations of Ramsay (*Expos.* 1897, March, p. 201 f.), Schürer (*ZfWTh*, 1898, S. 41), and of Hönnicke (*Chronol. des Apostels Pl.*, S. 26 ff.), have led to no sure result. Even if we knew when Gallio was adopted, and received this name from his adopted father, this information would be of no importance for the chronology of Paul; for Luke could have given him this name (Acts xviii. 14) without scruple, even if he had not yet assumed it at the time of this incident of which he writes.

7. The procurators Felix and Festus, Acts xxiii. 24–xxvi. 32.—Josephus, the only authority in any way closely associated with the events in question, in *Bell.* ii. 12. 8 mentions the sending of Felix to Palestine as the last event of Claudius' reign (ii. 11. 1–12. 8), and places *everything* which he relates concerning Felix's procuratorship (ii. 13. 2–7, cf. *Ant.* xx. 8. 4 on the first year of Nero) *after* the accession of Nero (ii. 12. 8). The remark in ii. 13. 2 concerning Nero, that he gave Agrippa ii. some other cities of Palestine in addition to the tetrarchy of Philip (ii. 12. 8) which Claudius had bestowed upon him, and that he appointed (*κατέστησεν* not *ἐξέπεμψεν*) Felix procurator over the rest of Judea, can only mean that Nero confirmed Felix in the procuratorship to which he was appointed by Claudius, except that he reduced his jurisdiction in the manner mentioned. The date of the transference of office from Felix to Festus is not definitely fixed by *Bell.* ii. 14. 1. Practically the same situation is found in *Ant.* xx. 7. 1–8, 9. Here also no account of the official acts of Felix is given until the reign of Nero (8. 1–8). Only his appointment to Palestine falls in the reign of Claudius (7. 1). This cannot be claimed as certainly regarding his marriage with Drusilla (7. 2), the account of which is given merely as an episode. Josephus' idea of the appointment of Felix is indicated not only in the distribution of material between the reigns of Claudius and of Nero, but also by the fact that immediately after mentioning the appointment of Felix he reports the assignment to Agrippa of the tetrarchy of Philip (7. 1), which took place in the beginning of the thirteenth year of Claudius' reign (53). Consequently there can be no doubt about Josephus' idea of the date of Felix's procuratorship. Felix entered office in one of the last years of Claudius' reign (between 51 and 54), was confirmed by Nero immediately upon his *accession* (October 13th, 54), and was recalled in the same

reign. But the greater part of Felix's term of office, which, according to Acts xxiv. 10, 27, must have covered at least (4+2) six years, fell in the reign of Nero. Even if only half of the six years belong after the accession of Nero (October 54), Felix could, according to Josephus, have been withdrawn, at the very earliest, in the autumn of 57. The chronology of Josephus is confirmed by Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 54) to this extent, namely, in that Tacitus assigns to the year 52 the sentence of Cumanus, which, according to Josephus, was the immediate occasion of the appointment of Felix. In another respect Tacitus' statement in this passage has caused confusion. Whereas, according to Josephus (*Bell.* ii. 12. 8; *Ant.* xx. 7. 1), Felix was sent from Rome to Palestine to succeed Cumanus, at the request of the high priest Jonathan, who was present at Rome at the time of the condemnation of Cumanus (*Ant.* xx. 8. 5; *Bell.* ii. 12. 6), according to Tacitus, Felix had governed Samaria for a long time prior to this sentence (*jam pridem Judææ impositus*) while Cumanus was governing Galilee. The statement of Tacitus is to be rejected, not only because in respect of time and place Josephus was much nearer the facts than Tacitus, and could not have invented such specific reports as those about Jonathan, but also because Tacitus' alleged division of the small province takes no account of the most important part of Palestine, namely, Judea and Jerusalem. This is a point on which Tacitus is poorly informed. It is more difficult to explain a contradiction in which Josephus involves himself notwithstanding his otherwise clear statements about Felix. In *Ant.* xx. 8. 9 he says that after Festus had been sent by Nero to Palestine to succeed Felix, the foremost Jews of Cæsarea went to Rome in order to accuse Felix, and that he would have received the punishment which he deserved for his misdeeds if the emperor had not pardoned many of his offences at the intercession of Felix's brother Pallas, who

was at that time greatly esteemed by Nero. Josephus evidently knows of the subsequent downfall of Pallas, and says with reference to it, that just when (*μάλιστα δὴ τότε*) Felix had to answer charges in Rome, Pallas was in high favour with Nero. But, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 14), who must have been informed on this point, the downfall of Pallas occurred in the year 55 (cf. the statement concerning the consuls, xiii. 11) shortly before Britannicus had completed his fourteenth year (xiii. 15). But, according to Suet. *Claud.* xxvii., Britannicus was born on the twentieth day of the reign of Claudius during his second consulate, *i.e.* (reckoning from January 24th, 41) on the 12th or 13th of February 41, not on the 12th of February 42, as Schiller states in his *Kaisergesch.* i. 338. Naturally no account need be taken of the incidental statement of Dio Cassius, lx. 12. 5, from which it might be inferred that Britannicus was born in the year 42. Accordingly, Britannicus' fourteenth birthday fell on the 13th day of February 55, and Pallas was deposed in January of the year 55. With this, however, agrees Dio Cassius, lxi. 7. 4, where the death of Britannicus is placed in the year 55. In view of the complete agreement of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius regarding these dates, which are entirely independent of each other, referring in part to the birth, in part to the fourteenth birthday of Britannicus and his poisoning, which took place shortly before his fourteenth birthday,—dates, moreover, which are associated with the names of consuls, —such trivial statements as those of Harnack, *Chronol. der Altchrist. Lit.* S. 238, to the effect that Tacitus made a mistake of a year in giving the age of Britannicus at the time of his death, and consequently put the downfall of Pallas in the year 55 instead of 56, the correct date, are to be rejected. On the other hand, from the fact that in the year 55, when Pallas was charged with high treason, he showed a defiant spirit, and was acquitted along with

Burrus (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 23), it is not to be inferred that between 55 and 57 he had gradually or suddenly regained the favour of Nero. Nero never showed him any special regard (*Ann.* xiii. 2), and it is certain that from January 55 until he was poisoned in 62 (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 65) he was never in favour with the emperor, which would agree fairly well with the words of Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 9. How O. Holtzmann, *Ntl. Zeitgeschichte*, S. 128–130, infers from this statement of Josephus that in the summer of 55 Felix went to Rome and Festus to Palestine, and especially how Harnack, S. 235, reaches his conclusion that Felix was recalled not later than the year 55 or 56 (cf. S. 237, Accession of Festus, summer of 56), these writers themselves must explain. A glance into older works, *e.g.* Wieseler, *Chron. des apost. Zeitalters*, S. 72–74, would have prevented such mistakes. According to Acts xxiv. 27 (cf. xx. 16, xxvii. 9), Felix departed, and Festus assumed office in the summer. Felix's accusers could, therefore, have left Cæsarea immediately after his departure and have reached Rome before the close of navigation; but if Josephus is correct in his statement about Pallas, they did not arrive in the autumn of the year 55, at the beginning of which Pallas was deposed, nor in the year 56, *i.e.* one year and nine months after the fall of Pallas, but must have come at the very latest in the autumn of 54. But this, too, is impossible. For since Nero did not come to the throne until October 13th, 54, Festus, who arrived in Palestine in the summer of this same year, would not have been sent out by Nero but by Claudius, and Felix, who departed in the summer, would have found Claudius still alive. Josephus would then be entirely wrong in his statement that Nero confirmed Felix in his procuratorshop and appointed Festus as his successor, and in his belief that the procuratorship of Felix fell largely under Nero. But even if he be correct in one point, namely, that Nero sent Festus to Pales-

tine, nevertheless his statement about Pallas is untenable. It is impossible to crowd the journey of Festus from Rome to Palestine, the journey of Felix and the Jewish embassy to Rome, and the adjustment of their troubles, into the period of time between October 13th, 54, and approximately February 1st, 55, to say nothing of the fact that such journeys were not usually made in the winter months, and that according to the Acts they must necessarily have been made in the summer. *Josephus' statement about Pallas is, therefore, certainly incorrect.* But even if this were not as evident as it is, even if we had the choice of rejecting *either* this incidental account of Josephus' idea of events in distant Rome, *or* his consistent conception of the relation of the procuratorships of Felix and Festus in Palestine to the administration of Claudius and Nero, without question we would hold the latter to be historical, and reject the former as an error of Josephus' due to the practical necessity of explaining Felix's escape from punishment, and to a confusion of the times of Claudius with those of Nero. Whoever makes this error a corner-stone in chronology will certainly arrive at conclusions which are absurd—and these conclusions affect more than the history of the Church. Three examples will suffice: (1) If Festus succeeded Felix at the latest in the year 54,—which, as we have seen, would be the case on this supposition,—Paul was arrested at Pentecost, 52. On this occasion, fully two years before the recall of Felix, the uprising of the Egyptians is spoken of as an event not belonging to the immediate past (Acts xxi. 38, *πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν*, cf. v. 36). According to Josephus (*Bell.* ii. 13. 5; *Ant.* xx. 8. 2), however, this uprising occurred during the reign of Nero. The arrest of Paul took place, therefore, several years after October 54, and the recall of Felix several years after 56. (2) When, at the beginning of his imprisonment in Cæsarea, Paul spoke before Felix, the latter was married

to Drusilla (Acts xxiv. 24), and there is nothing which implies that he had been only recently married. Drusilla, who in 44 was only six years old (*Ant.* xix. 9. 1), was only fourteen years old in 52. But when Felix induced her to infidelity she was married to Azizus of Emesa (*Ant.* xx. 7. 2), and, prior to this first marriage, her brother Agrippa II. had seriously negotiated with Epiphanes of Comagene for her marriage to him (xx. 7. 1). Drusilla's first marriage was of short duration (*loc. cit.*). In order to compress into a period of two years the whole of the first marriage, the struggle with the difficulties which Felix had to overcome in order to make Drusilla unfaithful to her husband, and to induce the Jewess to marry him (*Ant.* xx. 7. 2), and the period during which at the time of Acts xxiv. 24 Felix and Drusilla had been married, it is necessary to assume the most extreme possibilities. Her first marriage took place at twelve years, after negotiations concerning another marriage, which also required time, had failed. This in itself is hardly probable. Moreover, Josephus evidently knows when the first marriage took place. At the end of the twelfth year of Claudius, *i.e.* at the beginning of the thirteenth year of Claudius (= 53), Agrippa II. received the tetrarchy of Philip, and after this elevation in rank, *i.e.* at the earliest in the year 53, he gave his sister, who was then fifteen years of age, in marriage to Azizus (*Ant.* xx. 7. 1). At the very earliest, then, it was not until the year 54, probably later, that Drusilla became the wife of Felix. This marriage had already taken place when Paul spoke before Felix, and the latter retained his procuratorship for two whole years thereafter. Consequently, at the very earliest, Festus succeeded Felix in 56, probably later. (3) Neither does the "new chronology" agree with Josephus' statements about his first journey to Rome (*Vit.* 3). He was born in the winter of 37–38 (Schürer, i. 74 [Eng. trans. I. i. 77]), and completed his twenty-sixth year in the winter of 63–64; so that he

started on his journey in the spring of 64. The purpose of this journey was the liberation of some Jewish priests from imprisonment in Rome, whither Felix had sent them during his procuratorship to be condemned by the Imperial court. If Felix was removed from office in 54 (55 or 56), these priests must have remained prisoners in Rome for at least ten (or according to the incorrect reckoning of our modern chronologists, at least eight or nine) years. This imprisonment was not the result of a judicial sentence, a mode of punishment unknown among the Romans, but it was an imprisonment pending a trial. The case is conceivable only if Felix remained in office until the summer of 60; so that the imprisonment of these priests until they were set free by Josephus may have lasted about four years, just as the first Roman imprisonment of Paul lasted from two to two and a half years. As regards the data of the Eusebian *Chronicle* (Schoene, ii. 152 ff.), (1) due regard is to be paid to the fact that Eus. *H. E.* ii. 20. 1, 22. 1, agrees with Josephus as against the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* in making Felix a procurator under Nero,—indeed, he places his procuratorship mainly under Nero,—and in making Nero appoint Festus. (2) It is not possible, with Blass, *Acta apost.* p. 22, to harmonise the two chronologists, Eusebius and Jerome, on the assumption that they differ only by a year. The Latin editor places the sending of Felix in *Anno Abr.* 2066, the tenth year of Claudius, and the sending of Festus in *Anno Abr.* 2072, the second year of Nero. On the other hand, the Armenian version places the sending of Felix in *Anno Abr.* 2067, the eleventh year of Claudius (= 51), but puts the sending of Festus in *Anno Abr.* 2070, the fourteenth year of Claudius (= 54). That the Armenian version is confused, appears also from the peculiar fact that Felix's entrance upon office is not recorded until after a statement is made concerning an event which took place under his procuratorship. (3) But

even if the dates of the Armenian version are corrected on the basis of Jerome's editing (cf. *Vir. Ill.* v.), and even if we assume with Harnack, S. 234, 236 f., that the Eusebian dates for the assumption of office by Felix and Festus are the summer of 51 and the summer of 56 respectively, and that Paul's first trial before Felix took place at Pentecost (Harnack, S. 237, makes the surprising statement "at Easter") 54, there is still a contradiction to Acts xxiv. 10; for Felix had been then only three years in office, a period covering less than one-third of the time of Pilate's procuratorship. More especially there remains the irreconcilable contradiction to the course of events in Palestine under Claudius and Nero, according to the representation of Josephus. Certain dates can be obtained only by reckoning back with the help of Josephus from the Jewish war. According to the episodic narrative of *Bell.* vi. 5. 3, Albinus, the successor of Festus, was in Jerusalem at a feast of Tabernacles, which visit, according to Josephus, took place four years before the outbreak of the war, and seven years five months prior to a point of time just before the capture of Jerusalem. The second date, which is more definite, with which, however, the first agrees, refers clearly to the feast of Tabernacles in the year 62. But now all that is related in *Ant.* xx. 9. 2–3 (cf. the meagre allusions in *Bell.* ii. 14. 1) concerning Albinus' stay in Jerusalem, also took place at a feast of Tabernacles; for, since there is no previous mention of a feast *κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν, ἐνειστήκει γὰρ αὕτη* in xx. 9. 3 is to be understood as referring to the feast of Tabernacles (cf. above, p. 285, n. 4, on John v. 1, vii. 2). This is a Jewish usage of language which is evidently found in *Bell.* ii. 12. 3; since *ἡ ἑορτή* in this passage is not the Passover mentioned in xii. 1, nor an undetermined feast, in which case there would be no article (cf. the importance attached to the feast of Tabernacles, *Ant.* viii. 4. 1). Unless a peculiar coincidence be assumed, the feast of Tabernacles, briefly

referred to in *Bell.* vi. 5. 3, is identical with that spoken of in *Ant.* xx. 9. 2. From the context of xx. 9. 1–3 we learn that Albinus journeyed to Jerusalem very soon after his arrival in the country (cf. a similar case in Acts xxv. 1). If he was there at the feast of Tabernacles in 62, then he arrived in Palestine late in the summer of 62. But from xx. 9. 1 it follows that Festus died in Palestine at least three months previous, *i.e.* in May or June 62. Josephus gives the comparatively just and energetic administration of Festus only two lines in *Bell.* ii. 14. 1, and also describes it very briefly in *Ant.* xx. 8. 10–11. It produced no change in affairs, and must have been of short duration. In view of the silence of Josephus, it is a bold venture to assume that the procuratorship of Festus lasted from 54 to 55 or 56 (see above, p. 472 f.) until June 62. On the other hand, the events in *Ant.* xx. 8. 10–11 cannot possibly be crowded into the space of time—ten months at the most—between the arrival of Festus in the late summer and June of the following year. Therefore he cannot have assumed office so late as 61, but at the very latest began to rule in the year 60. When in *Ant.* xx. 8. 11 (cf. 11. 2; *Vita*, 3) Josephus calls Poppæa the wife of Nero, he is certainly speaking either proleptically or euphemistically; for the formal marriage between the two (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 60–64; Suet. *Nero*, xxxv. lvii.) did not take place until after Nero's separation from Octavia and her death (June the 9th, 62), *i.e.* about the time of the death of Festus, whereas *Ant.* xx. 8. 11 refers to a period prior to his death. Moreover, the original reading in Acts xxviii. 16 (vol. i. 551 f.) presupposes that at the time of Paul's arrival in Rome there was only one *Præfectus prætorio.* That was the case until the death of Burrus, which, as the context of the narratives shows (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 51; Dio Cassius, lxii. 13), occurred in the beginning of the year 62. After his death this office was shared by two persons. If Paul had

arrived in Rome in March 62, he would have found this new arrangement in operation. Therefore he probably arrived in Rome at the latest in the spring of 61, and accordingly Festus assumed office as procurator at the latest in the summer of 60. But this latest possible date for his assumption of office has every claim to be the correct one. As has been shown, a date much earlier is impossible, while there can be no serious objection to taking the year 59 as the date of the change of office from Felix to Festus. In view of Acts xxiv. 10 and the representation of the rule of Festus in Josephus, there is little to recommend in deducting a year from Felix's procuratorship and adding it to Festus'. Then there is also to be considered the significant coincidence, shown above, p. 462, between 2 Cor. xii. 2 and the date in Acts xi. 25, which can be absolutely fixed. By referring the relative dates back a year, this very likely combination would be rendered impossible.

8. Taking the fixed date—the death of Agrippa I. in the summer of 44—and a date almost as certain, namely, Festus' entrance upon office in the summer of 60, the Pauline chronology can be arranged plausibly without any conflict with established dates. It requires no change in the traditional dates, but only the proof that Josephus and Tacitus each in one instance gave an inaccurate report of matters with which they were imperfectly acquainted. The excess of between five and six years, concerning which we have no information, causes no difficulty. The question, whether these years should be inserted between Acts xii. and xiii., or between Acts xiv. and xv. 1, or between Acts xv. 33 and xv. 40, is not difficult to answer. The apostolic council took place soon after the first missionary journey. The language in xiv. 28 may apply to a period of months, but not to five or six years. Paul and Barnabas brought to Jerusalem the fresh reports of the first missionary journey (xv. 3, 4, 12). In xv. 35 mention

is made of the resumption of teaching in the Church at Antioch and of missionary preaching in the same city, but the close connection between xv. 40 and xv. 30–34, and between xvi. 4 and xv. 29, makes it impossible to assume an interval of more than weeks or months. Evidence is also found in Phil. iv. 15 (ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) for the statement that only a short space of time intervened between the first and second missionary journeys. But, on the other hand, in xiii. 1 we have the beginning of an entirely new historical narrative. Nothing suggests that Paul and Barnabas took Mark with them to Antioch with a view to making him their companion on a more extensive missionary journey (xii. 25). But Mark settled in Antioch, where we meet him again in xv. 37. Only in a passing moment of discouragement did he go back to Jerusalem to his mother (xiii. 13). In view of what has just been stated, room for the insertion of a five-year period of the preparation of the apostle to the Gentiles for the calling which had been placed before him, is to be found only between Acts xii. and xiii. If Luke had written a third book, we would probably know much of the history of the older apostles during the years 44–50, which he dismisses with Acts xiii. 1 (above, p. 59 f.). During this period no important steps were taken affecting missionary work among the Gentiles.

9. The death of Peter and Paul under Nero.—In view of the investigations in vol. ii. 54–84, 158–194, it may be assumed as certain that both apostles died as martyrs in Rome in the reign of Nero, and also that Paul died considerably later than Peter. The parts of 2 Tim. which it would have been most impossible to invent, prove that the last imprisonment and the death of Paul were not part of the persecution of the Christians in 64. Paul's silence regarding Peter in all his imprisonment letters, and Peter's silence concerning Paul in 1 Pet., prove

that their ways parted at the end. The clearest traces of the true course of events are preserved in the tradition of Clement of Rome up to and beyond the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. Harnack's assertion, *Chronol. der altchristl. Lit.* S. 239, 240, that Paul was certainly executed in the year 64, is as incorrect as it is bold.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ROMAN AND JEWISH.	CHRISTIAN.
	Death and Resurrection of Christ, probably 30.
	The events in Acts i.–viii. 1, from 30 to 34.
	The Conversion of Paul, beginning of 35.
Deposition of Pilate and of Caiaphas, 36.	
Death of Tiberius, March 16, 37.	
Reign of Caius Cæsar (Caligula) March 16, 37, to January 24, 41.	Three years' sojourn of Paul in Damascus, once interrupted by a journey to Arabia (Gal. i. 17).
Birth of Nero and of Josephus, 37.	
Herod Agrippa I., 37–44.	
Persecution of the Jews in Alexandria, 38.	Flight from Damascus, first visit to Jerusalem, settlement in Tarsus (Gal. i. 18–24; 2 Cor. xi. 32; Acts ix. 23–30, xxii. 17–21, xxvi. 20; Rom. xv. 19), 38.
	Peter in Joppa and Cæsarea (Acts ix. 32–xi. 18, xv. 7).
Attempts of Caligula to erect his statue in the temple, 39–40.	Agabus and the other prophets in Antioch (Acts xi. 27 f.), about 40.
	Luke a member of the Antiochian Church.
Reign of the Emperor Claudius, Jan. 24, 41, to October 13, 54.	
	Paul brought by Barnabas from Tarsus to Antioch (Acts xi. 25; 2 Cor. xii. 2), summer or autumn, 43.
	Execution of James the son of Zebedee, imprisonment of Peter, flight of Peter from Jerusalem, about Easter, 44.
Death of Herod Agrippa I., summer of 44.	
Fadus' procuratorship, 44–46 (or 47).	Journey of Barnabas and of Paul to Jerusalem with the collection, and the settlement of Mark in Antioch (Acts xi. 30, xii. 25), autumn of 44.

Roman and Jewish.	Christian.
Procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, 46 (or 47)–48.	
Famine in Judea.	
Procuratorship of Cumanus, 48–52.	
	Paul and Barnabas, active as teachers and missionaries in Antioch until the spring of 50.
	The visit of Peter and of other Jews in Antioch.
	The Epistle of James, about 50.
Sergius Paulus, governor of Cyprus, about 50 (certainly not between 51 and 53).	First missionary journey of Paul (Acts xiii. 4–xiv. 27; Gal. iv. 13), spring of 50 until autumn of 51.
Banishment of Jews from Rome, about 52.	The apostolic council (Acts xv. 1–29; Gal. ii. 1–10), beginning of 52.
Procuratorship of Felix, from 52, or beginning 53, until summer, 60.	Beginning of the second missionary journey (Acts xv. 40), spring of 52.
	Arrival, in Corinth, about November 52.
	The Epistle to the Galatians, about April 53.
Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, probably from the spring of 53 on.	Arrival of Silas and Timothy in Corinth (Acts xviii. 5; 1 Thess. iii. 6).
	First Epistle to the Thessalonians, about May or June 53.
	Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, August or September 53.
	Hearing before Gallio (Acts xviii. 12–17), autumn of 53.
	Journey from Corinth to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 18–21. Beginning of the three years' stay in Ephesus, Acts xx. 31, cf. xix. 8–10, xx. 18), before Pentecost, *i.e.* about May 54.
	Continuation of the journey to Cæsarea (not to Jerusalem) and Antioch (Acts xviii. 21 f.).
	Journey of Apollos from Alexandria by way of Ephesus to Corinth (Acts xviii. 24–28), summer, 54.
Reign of Nero, from Oct. 13, 54, to June 9, 68.	Beginning of the third missionary journey from Antioch to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1), probably in the late summer of 54.
	Settlement in Ephesus, somewhere about February 55.
	Transfer to the lecture-room of Tyrannus, about Pentecost, 55.
	Short visit in Corinth from Ephesus (vol. i. 263 f.).
	A lost letter of Paul to the Corinth-

Roman and Jewish.	Christian.
	ians (1 Cor. v. 9), toward the end of 56 or beginning of 57.
	Sending of Timothy and Erastus to Macedonia, and thence to Corinth (Acts xix. 22; 1 Cor. iv. 17).
	Letter of the Corinthians to Paul (1 Cor. vii. 1).
	The First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. v. 7, xvi. 8), about Easter, 57.
	Return of Timothy to Ephesus. Sending of Titus to Corinth (vol. i. 321 ff.).
	The uprising of Demetrius (Acts xix. 23–41).
	Departure of Paul and Timothy from Ephesus to Macedonia by way of Troas (Acts xx. 1; cf. 2 Cor. i. 8, ii. 12, vii. 5), at or shortly after Pentecost, 57.
	Meeting of Titus and Paul in Macedonia (2 Cor. vii. 5–15).
	Second Epistle to the Corinthians, about November or December 57.
	Journey of Paul from Macedonia to Corinth (Acts xx. 2), at New Year, 58.
	The Epistle to the Romans written during the three months' stay in Greece and Corinth (Acts xx. 3; Rom. xv. 25, xvi. 1), about February 58.
	Journey by way of Macedonia (Easter in Philippi, Acts xx. 6), Troas, Miletus, etc., to Jerusalem.
	Arrival in Jerusalem, and beginning of the Cæsarean imprisonment, Pentecost, 58.
Porcius Festus, procurator from summer 60 to early summer 62.	
	Defence before Festus, late summer of 60.
	Departure from Cæsarea for Rome (Acts xxvii. 1, 9), September 60.
	Arrival at Rome (Acts xviii. 16; cf. ver. 11), March 61.
	Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, summer, 62.
	Second Epistle of Peter, in 62.
	Matthew writes his Aramaic Gospel in Palestine, in 62.

Roman and Jewish.	Christian.
	End of the two whole years (cf. Acts xxviii. 30), about April 63.
	The Epistle to the Philippians, summer of 63.
	Release of Paul, late in the summer of 63.
	Journey of Paul to Spain, autumn of 63 or spring of 64.
	Arrival of Peter in Rome, in the autumn of 63 or spring of 64.
	First Epistle of Peter, spring of 64.
Burning of Rome (vol. ii. 68), from the 19th to the 24th of July 64.	Mark engaged in Rome in the preparation of his Gospel, summer of 64.
	Persecution under Nero and crucifixion of Peter, autumn of 64.
	Return of Paul from Spain, tour of the Eastern Churches, composition of 1 Timothy and of Titus, spring and autumn of 65.
	Stay in Nicopolis during the winter of 65–66.
Beginning of the Jewish War, 66.	Death of James the brother of Jesus, in Jerusalem, at Easter, 66.
	Return of Paul to Rome, spring of 66.
	Paul's arrest in Rome, composition of 2 Timothy, summer of 66.
Victory of the Jews over Cestius, November 66.	
	Paul beheaded, at the end of 66 or beginning of 67.
	Publication of the Gospel of Mark, in 67.
War in Galilee, 67.	Flight of the Christians from Jerusalem to Pella, 67.
Civil war in Jerusalem, winter 67–68.	Settlement of the apostle John and other disciples (Philip, Aristion, and others) in the province of Asia, 68.
Death of Emperor Nero, June 9, 68.	
Death of Galba, January 15, 69; of Otho, April 16, 69; of Vitellius, December 21, 69.	
Vespasian proclaimed emperor in Alexandria, July 1, 69.	
Beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, April 70.	
Capture of Jerusalem and destruction of the temple, August 70.	

Roman and Jewish.	Christian.
	Epistle of Jude, about 75.
	Gospel and Acts of the Apostles by Luke, about 75.
Reign of Titus, from June 23, 79, until September 13, 81.	Epistle to the Hebrews, about 80.
Reign of the Emperor Domitian, September 13, 81, to September 18, 96.	The Gospel and Epistles of John, 80–90.
Reign of the Emperor Nerva, from the 18th of September 96 until the 15th of January 98.	Appearance of the Greek Matthew, about 85.
Reign of the Emperor Trajan, from the 25th of January 98 until August 117.	Revelation of John, about 95.
	Death of John, about 100.

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